00078824

BOMBAY BRANCH
OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY
TOWN HALL, BOMBAY.

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 18 July, 2018

POPULAR PROGRESS IN ENGLAND.

1660—1820.

CHAPTERS IN THE HISTORY

OF

POPULAR PROGRESS

CHIEFLY IN RELATION TO

THE FREEDOM OF THE PRESS

AND

TRIAL BY JURY.

1660—1820.

WITH AN APPLICATION TO LATER YEARS.

BY

JAMES ROUTLEDGE.

MACMILLAN AND CO.
1876.

[*The Right of Translation and Reproduction is Reserved.*]

LONDON:
R. CLAY, SONS, AND TAYLOR, PRINTERS,
BREAD STREET HILL,
QUEEN VICTORIA STREET.

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

PAGE

INTRODUCTORY 1

CHAPTER II.

A RETROSPECT 3

CHAPTER III.

JAMES II.—THE WHIG REVOLUTION OF 1688.—ANNE 36

CHAPTER IV.

FRESH CENTRES OF HISTORY : THE HANOVERIAN LINE 60

CHAPTER V.

A CHASM OF THIRTY-FIVE YEARS.—THE EVENTS OF GEORGE THE SECOND'S REIGN ; FROM THE REIGN OF GEORGE III. 75

CHAPTER VI.

THE SAME CHASM OF YEARS ; FROM ANOTHER SIDE 94

CHAPTER VII.

FROM 1763 TO 1789.—NEW TIMES 109

CHAPTER VIII.

PAGE
FROM 1763 TO 1789.—SOCIAL AFFAIRS 137

CHAPTER IX.

FROM 1789 TO 1794; THE FRENCH REVOLUTION AND ITS REACTION; REIGN OF TERROR IN ENGLAND 174

CHAPTER X.

FROM 1794.—STATE TRIALS.—THE SPY SYSTEM.—SCOTLAND AND IRELAND 200

CHAPTER XI.

AT THE END OF THE GREAT WAR 240

CHAPTER XII.

WILLIAM HONE, PUBLISHER AND "PARODIST" 267

CHAPTER XIII.

SUSPENSION OF HABEAS CORPUS IN 1817 284

CHAPTER XIV.

GOVERNMENT IN 1817: SPIES AND INFORMERS: ARREST OF WILLIAM HONE 315

CHAPTER XV.

HIGH TREASON IN 1817: WATSON, THISTLEWOOD, AND OTHERS . . 343

CHAPTER XVI.

THE THREE TRIALS OF WILLIAM HONE: THE FIRST DAY'S TRIAL . . 364

CHAPTER XVII.

PAGE
SECOND TRIAL OF HONE 394

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE THIRD TRIAL, AND AFTERWARDS 419

CHAPTER XIX.

MR. HONE'S AFTER-YEARS 452

CHAPTER XX.

LIBERTY AND RESPONSIBILITY: THE FREEDOM OF THE PRESS . . . 493

CHAPTER XXI.

LIBERTY AND RESPONSIBILITY.—SECURITY AGAINST FOREIGN FOES . 537

CHAPTER XXII.

THE CHANGES OF SIXTY YEARS. 560

ERRATA.

Pages 67 and 68, *for* "Forster" *read* "Foster."
Page 186, line 29, *for* "Granville" *read* "Grenville."
Page 195, line 1, *for* "or" *read* "for;" line 12, *for* "saying" *read* "said."
Page 266, line 11, *read* "four and a half."
Page 270, line 12, *read* "exceedingly."
Page 296, line 14, a comma at "people" alters the sense.
Page 313, line 14 in extract, *read* "to be regretted."
Page 323, line 24, at "information" substitute a comma for a period; line 33, a comma at "this;" line 35, *read* "against."
Page 417, line 16, *read* "character as well as of."
Page 426, line 34, *read* "Mr. Hone's absolute hatred to."
Page 558, line 13, *for* "aboard" *read* "abroad."

POPULAR PROGRESS IN ENGLAND.

1660—1820.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

THE object of this volume is not to present anything at all resembling a constitutional history of England, or of any period of English history; but by a series of in some cases almost bare though not undigested facts, and in others of simple observations on the nature of facts, to direct the attention of readers to certain marked characteristics of ever-varying times. It has appeared to the writer that, in most cases of ordinary reading, facts in any sensible degree covered up in elaborate writing are entirely lost, or convey no definite ideas, and that the relations of certain men to important events are frequently forgotten, or are only remembered with an utter confusion of the ideas involved. It will be the aim here to give as much importance to the influence of poor men as of rich and distinguished ones, where the former influence can be traced with any degree of accuracy; and there will be no attempt to ignore on account of heterodoxy of creed the action of men, for instance, as "extreme" to the society in which they lived as Richard Carlile, Gale Jones, and others like them who exercised a strange influence in an exceptionally strange time. To William Hone the parodist, to Samuel Bamford the Radical poet, to Robert Owen the undoubted philanthropist, to William Lovett the representative Chartist, there will be an attempt, at all events, to pay as true and just a regard as to Junius, to Horne Tooke, to the labours of Wilberforce, or to the statesmanship of Pitt and Fox. The selection of the two historic

periods may be very simply explained. In 1660 the spell of despotism was made to rest, and, in a sense, was riveted on England. From that time till the end of the Great War, in 1815, the struggle against it never ceased. In the years from 1817 to 1820, the spell was broken, and with the latter of these years our facts and dates will end. From that time the popular interest never again lost ground in the State. If the reader will bear a little with the dryness of the first few chapters which have been intentionally condensed from a vast mass of material to exact facts, he will find that they have an essential connection with later important events, which are given more in detail, and that, indeed, they are indispensable to a right understanding of those events, though the further elaboration of them was neither necessary nor desirable in view of the purport and structure of this volume. For instance, we shall see the bare fact of the rise of the Whig and Tory parties, under their distinctive names in the reign of Charles II., whereas we shall have vastly greater concern with the rise of a third party—the party of the unrepresented masses of the people—in 1817. Yet to know how and in what way the earlier party lines were drawn, and the party names assumed, has a distinct bearing on the struggles of a time when the right of two knots of rival politicians to represent all English political action was roundly disputed, and eventually and determinedly rejected, as it is at this day. To have left popular action from 1815 downwards to the guidance of the Whigs would have been folly, if not worse. To ignore the errors and frequent half-heartedness of the Whigs, would be to ignore history. To acknowledge the occasional great services to the nation of eminent men who are known as Whigs, would be simple ingratitude, and would also be the reverse of political wisdom, in view of the sure difficulties and dangers of coming years, when the examples of patriotic lives may once again be the best incentive to patriotism. If we can view Whig, Tory and Radical alike, in truth and honesty, hiding no shortcomings, and traducing no virtues, public or private for any purpose whatever, some useful end may perhaps be attained.

CHAPTER II.

A RETROSPECT.

Social Problems at the End of the French War, 1815—Spirit of the Nation—Questions in History—The Reformation and the Commonwealth, 1500–1649—The Restoration, 1660—The Clergy; their Previous Sufferings; their Retaliation—Divine Right—Milton and Hobbes—Charles II.—The Savoy Conference, 1661—Corporation Act—Act of Uniformity—Birthday of Modern Nonconformity—The Drunken Parliament—Ireland—Conventicle Act, 1664—The Great Plague in London; Conduct of the Ejected Clergy—Five Mile Act, 1665—Test Act, 1673—The Duke of York—National Dislike to the Church of Rome—Parliamentary Test, 1678—Change in the Temper of Parliament—Dissolution of the Pension Parliament—Habeas Corpus Act—Lord Shaftesbury—Exclusion Bill—Dissolution of Third Parliament—Scotland—Claverhouse—Monmouth—Duke of York; Petition against him—Fourth Parliament, 1680—Fifth Parliament, 1681—King Charles Pensioned by France—Jeffreys and Scroggs—Rye House Plot—Lord Essex, Lord William Russell, and Algernon Sydney—Protestant and Catholic Plots—Truth as between the Churches—Death of Charles II., 1685—Whig and Tory—The Army; the Guards—The *London Gazette*—A Penny Post—Lighting of London—Pennsylvania—The Three Creeds: the Anglican, the Catholic, the Nonconformist—Question of an Established Church—The Quakers—Statesmanship of the Restoration—Laud, Noy, Prynne—Bishop Ken and Nell Gwynne—Tillotson and Howe—Literature of the Restoration.

IF any one were to take, as an isolated period, the time in English history from the end of the Great War in 1815 to, say, 1830, he would probably be more bewildered than by any fifteen years taken for a like purpose from the pages of Gibbon or the history of the Caliphs. If his eye rested specially on the year 1815, he might find English and Continental statesmen assembled together, with many prayers, and much and very ostentatious patronage of the Almighty—patronage quite as real and quite as shocking as Robespierre's—to recast the map of Europe—"for all time" as they said; and perhaps in some

cases supposed. He could not fail to find that Englishmen boasting of Magna Charta, Habeas Corpus, Bill of Rights, of a free press, of civil and religious freedom, were in reality living in a state of society in which men dared not express their thoughts openly, on the simplest political matters, unless they spoke in approval of a system of government upon which the people of future and not necessarily distant times will look with amazement. He would find that no man who did not, as sceptics often did, profess the faith of the Church established by law could serve his country as a Member of Parliament, a Justice of the Peace, or as member of a Town Council. He would see that the supporter of innovations on liberties which were supposed to have been won ages earlier, and for ever, went by the good name of Conservative, and that persons who contended for the old laws, traditions, and loyalty of the English nation, were prosecuted and persecuted, as firebrands, as enemies to social order, and, by one of the strangest caprices of the human will, as contemners of the Divine law.

He would find also, however, that the spirit of the nation had not been brought into bondage, but had from time to time asserted itself, with a boldness and hardihood, an absolute recklessness in a just cause, as when, without much consideration for cause it carried all before it at Agincourt and Blenheim, or with a very clear perception of cause, asserted the prerogative of the nation at Naseby, and secured "the Protestant succession and the liberties of England" at La Hogue. He would find again, that men, Whig and Tory, against whose lives history has no charge, were supposed by their opponents to have been actuated by the most unworthy motives, while others not by any means so highly respected in fact, were treated with the utmost deference, and often with homage more or less sincere. Possibly at this stage, he would give up in despair the study so confined, missing the central fact of English history, that from a mass of contrarieties, of strange and often unaccountable views, political and religious, from divisions which at the time of their existence seemed little less than suicidal, the freedom and nationality of the nation have grown. As it was of

old, so it remains. Historic truth, deaf to every cry of petulance, or impatience, or caprice; deaf too, to the mere partizan, is ready to answer the man who is willing on his part to compare fact with fact, and deduce from records which may at times seem conflicting, the very truth. In the case of the history of the fifteen years dating from 1815, what is read of the struggle for freedom of the press, involves an inquiry, whether there ever had been a time in England when the press was free. To know what is signified by one political party inscribing on its colours, and using as its distinguishing toast, the words "Church and King," and another party, the phrase "Civil and Religious Liberty," it would be necessary to know when and how civil and religious liberty had become endangered, and whence and from what cause had sprung the belief of so many persons, that Church and King so united are the symbol for national prosperity and security as against foreign foes. In this wider view in time and meditation, it becomes possible to do justice at once to the memory of Pitt and Fox, of Lord North and Lord Holland, of Mr. Canning and Sir Francis Burdett; of Edmund Burke and Mr. Wilberforce on the one hand, and on the other of Dr. Priestley and Thomas Paine.

Questions of this nature would then arise—What is the Habeas Corpus Act? When did it become law? When was it suspended? Why was it suspended? What class of persons were they who caused the suspension? What purpose was the suspension intended to serve, and what consequences did that suspension entail on those against whom it was directed? What were the Test and Corporation Acts, the Army Test, the Parliamentary Test, the Conventicle Act, the Act of Uniformity, the Five Mile Act, the Catholic Disabilities, against which popular feeling so intense, and in the end so irresistible, was arrayed? What was meant by the cry for Parliamentary Reform? To answer these questions—and unless they are answered the condition of England at the end of the Great War is one of the most perplexing of riddles—it is necessary to go backward, though it be but for a passing glance, to earlier times.

The two great events which stand out in boldest relief in

English history, as dominating and designating all subsequent events, are the Reformation and the Commonwealth. The former was preceded by printing, and brought with it the right of private judgment. With the latter there was an irresistible military power; with both the germs and the assurance of future freedom. There are persons who dispute the value, and indeed maintain the evil of private judgment, as there are persons who assert of the Commonwealth that it was a simple usurpation; but in approval or disapproval there is entire concurrence as to the magnitude and importance of the two events. In Cromwell's time, as the shelves of the British Museum attest, men published pretty nearly what they pleased. The Press was to all intents and purposes free from political interference, though social influences were strong. Naturally also there was political risk; but the degree of hardihood evinced is astounding when we consider the restrictions of later times. There were numerous imitations of the works of the "saints" at a time when the saints were supreme. The *Mercurius Pragmaticus* (September, 1647), a paper of burlesque "intelligence from especially Westminster," preceded the legitimate *Intelligencer* of the saints by nearly three years, and made sad havoc of the Parliament and its allies. It began each number with a rhyme, of which the following may be taken as a fair specimen:—

"A Scot and a Jesuit join'd in hand
First taught the world to say,
That subjects ought to have command
And princes to obey.

"They both agree to have no King,
The Scotchman he cries further—
No Bishops! 'Tis a godly thing
States to reform by murder."

In this way the rhyme goes on, till at last it shows that the next step will be to say there is no God. In 1649 the heading has the addition, "For King Charles II." If any one had said half as much in condemnation or reproval of men in authority in the reign of any of the Georges, he would have felt the heavy and relentless hand of the law. If he had said in the

reign of Charles II. anything at all resembling in daring what was said in Cromwell's time, he would have been hanged without benefit of clergy. Excellently preserved volumes of these two papers are in Dr. Williams's library in London, and they are but examples of a large class of journals. The Puritans prided themselves more on demolishing an opponent in argument than on silencing him by authority.

Need it be added that the Restoration was the protest of Crown, of Ecclesiasticism, and of highly-privileged classes against both the Reformation and the Commonwealth? Not that the Laudians objected to the defiance to Papal authority; simply that they objected strongly to the defiance to that Ecclesiasticism on which they rested, as on a guiding faith. This at any rate is the character of the Restoration, and it supplies the key to many of the leading events in the subsequent history of England for more than a hundred and fifty years. The bishops had been expelled from the House of Lords by the Long Parliament, and many of the clergy, against whom nothing tending to scandal ever had been hinted, were visited with severe and cruel penalties. Socially there was no mercy in the Puritans as a body. With the Restoration the opportunity of the clergy came, and they were not slow to take advantage of their position. It was made criminal to deny that the king reigned by right divine. It was held to be unlawful on any pretext whatever to take up arms against the king. Religion was declared an affair of state, to be settled by rulers, and accepted by peoples; to express a doubt of this was to incur the heinous guilt both of heresy and treason. The two notable uprisings of our history; the two great breaks in our long line of hoary tradition; the two tremendous assertions against all churches and courts, and all vested interests, of the right of conscience and private judgment, were in that sense to stand condemned, and if possible to be obliterated from history. Such of the clergy as agreed with this, were welcome to their livings; such as could defend it had a sure road to preferment and honour, or at lowest, to all the comforts of life. Those who markedly disputed it were treated as renegades. Happily the influence of Milton,

of Hooker, of Jeremy Taylor, of John Howe, of Richard Baxter, of Algernon Sidney, of Thomas Fuller, of Andrew Marvell, among many others, was infinitely more potent than anything that came from the pen of teachers like Thomas Hobbes. Men might be pushed to the background in person, but no edict of king or Parliament could push out of sight the hateful written words to which from generation to generation new lessons were added.

Firm in the face of the new order of things stood persons of very different views and character; the Puritans, within and without the Church; the Sectaries, so-called; the Republicans; the Men of Intellect who had imbibed the spirit of Milton's *Areopagitica*—our first and grandest defence of "the liberty of unlicensed printing;" the men who had seen something of other lands; the philosophers—men, according to Voltaire, never really dangerous, as fanatics are, but according to history other than that of Voltaire, capable of more good and more evil than almost any other class of persons. Much that was noblest in England, much that England will revere longest, was arrayed against the principles of the Restoration, although there were men whose names will long be honoured who were silent when the choice was between a genial and a harsh creed. Certainly, for one who advocated passive obedience, Hobbes was the most rebellious of philosophers in cases where his own freedom was infringed. His defence of an ecclesiastical system was pre-eminently devoid of religious feeling. Of all the men who talked of the divine right of kings, at a time when the doctrine was the shibboleth to place and power, perhaps he was the one least actuated by mere personal gain. In the present time his views, if newly enunciated, would pass unnoticed as the vagaries of a dreamer, unless, indeed, his great literary ability redeemed, as it has redeemed, from oblivion his strangely retrogressive opinions. At the time of the Restoration, his writings were what was needed to invest with the halo of philosophy that ignoble political creed which soon became known at court as Hobbesism. Against these doctrines rose in all its majesty the spirit of the Commonwealth, and that

spirit, after the manner of the Persians with their sacred fire, was carried on to the Revolution of 1688, through the High-Church reign of Anne, and the corruption of the five reigns that followed hers to our own time. Had this spirit not existed, had it been effectually crushed, men like Chancellor Clarendon and Sir Robert Walpole, nay, men of the high intellect of Chatham and Fox would not have been powerful enough to preserve England from the fate of Spain.

Charles II. began to reign on his thirtieth birthday, May 29th, 1660; and curiously enough, on the preceding day, the Electress Sophia of Hanover gave birth to a boy, who, although of small account in England in the year 1660, so small indeed that his existence was probably never once thought of, amid the din of preparations for the coronation, was destined one day to have a coronation all his own; and to call the throne of Alfred, "the throne of my ancestors." If people with special interests to serve had been shut out from the presence of Charles, it is probable that after the first executions he would have been shrewd enough to see, and good-natured enough to act on the perception, that a throne founded on popular approval and freedom, is safer than one founded on despotism. Apart from Presbyterianism, he had no special hatred; and the Presbyterians had given him cause for hatred. He would in any case have made his court what it was in licentiousness and profanity; but it is hardly likely that his reign would have been notable for political action which more than a century would be needed to undo. The Divine Right clergy, however, were eager to put the political position somewhat in this shape:—We declare that there is no warrant in Holy Writ or in human nature for any claim by subjects as a right; everything is of the free grace of the crown. On no pretence whatever can a subject take up arms against his sovereign; on no plea whatever can he claim to worship God in any other form than as the State—that is the King—shall decree. This we the clergy solemnly declare. Then we claim on the other hand the right to pursue Sectaries, Firebrands, Papists, and Heretics, Quakers and Fifth-Monarchy men,

Presbyterians, and Anabaptists, Unitarians and Unbelievers, whithersoever the Divine Spirit may lead. This was the virtual compact.

On the eve of this arrangement, it encountered a danger. An attempt to secure uniformity by moral means, before using force, was deemed necessary; and twelve bishops and twelve Presbyterian divines were assembled in the lodgings of Dr. Sheldon, Bishop of London, at the Savoy, in the Strand, to bring together all disputants in one National Church. It is an undoubted fact that there were many very good men, on both sides, at that time, who meant exactly what the conference was ostensibly intended to secure. There were many others, however, who meant no such thing; and the discussions, long before the end, were mere wranglings. The twenty-four divines sat from April to July. Meanwhile the Solemn League and Covenant had been burned by the hands of the common hangman; and this and sundry other actions of the same kind sufficiently indicated the tendency of the court. The CORPORATION ACT became law the same year. It provided that no one should take a seat as member of any corporation unless he had received the sacrament in a stipulated manner according to the rites of the English Church; that he took the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and that he declared it unlawful, on any ground whatever, to take up arms against the sovereign.

The ACT of UNIFORMITY was passed early in the following year, 1662, and came into effect on the 24th August—curiously, if an accident, but probably by design, on the anniversary of the massacre of St. Bartholomew's day. The fact of enforced uniformity was by no means new; but the new act was carefully constructed to leave no loopholes for escape. The day when this Act came into force has been called the birthday of modern Nonconformity; and not without reason, for on that day two thousand clergymen, comprising men of eminence, learning, and piety, gave up stipends and houses, and went out, in many cases, into helpless, hopeless poverty. To comprehend the sacrifice, we must follow still farther the enactments of this reign. The Parliament that passed these measures received the

name of the 'Pension Parliament,' because of the bribes it received from foreign powers. It was elected in the first flush of the Restoration, and sat from 1661 to 1679. The Scottish Parliament, known as the Drunken Parliament—"a Parliament," Bishop Burnet says, "mostly drunk"—endeavoured to vie with the Parliament of England, as to which should the more speedily obliterate everything that had been done in the period between the death of Charles I. and the accession of his son. The counter feeling in Scotland, however, was too intense to be easily put down. Forty years later, in the reign of Anne, a Scottish Parliament, in which republican Fletcher of Saltoun had a seat and great influence, declared that to tolerate "those of episcopal ways—which God avert!—would be to establish iniquity by law." Scotland had to unlearn that lesson at the right time, as England had to unlearn many other lessons of the same kind. Ireland, unfortunately, was almost shut out by circumstances from any part in the general action of England and Scotland. The terrible severities of the Commonwealth were repeated, so far as the confiscations of lands were concerned, after the Restoration; the Catholics, who had lost all but their lives, were made to feel that what was left to them had become a burden.

In 1664 the CONVENTICLE ACT was passed. It was the natural sequel to the ejection of the two thousand clergymen. At the root of its provisions was that famous one that no more than five persons, in addition to the family forming a conventicle, should meet together for worship, or without the securities of the oaths already devised. At this time the great plague broke out in London, and wicked people affirmed that many of the fashionable clergy, who had taken the oaths, found all at once that pressing private business called them away from London; and their places, it was said, were voluntarily filled by the nonjuring clergy. What may be taken as certain is that many of the ejected clergy in the tribulation of that mournful year found pressing business wherever the mortality was thickest, and did manful duty there. There had been previous plagues, of the horrors of which no true records had been kept. In one such case, in the reign of

Elizabeth, in a very brief period, 18,000 persons had died; a few years later 28,000; a few years later still 30,000; and then after a number of years, but all within human memory, 35,000. In this latest of the great plagues of London, however, the number of deaths vastly exceeded anything known at any previous time; and the facts remain pictured for us in all their horror. The fatal carts rumbled on the streets; the fearful cry, "Bring out your dead!" rose above the groans of the dying and the lamentations of those who dared to remain with them to the last, and fight for them as long as possible, that they should not be trundled alive into the plague pits. Persons of fashion fled from the pestilence. The grim representatives of the banished faiths drew near to their "people," and prayed, and helped in sundry ways, not lost to history, to save life, and comfort and support the dying. Next year the FIVE-MILE ACT was passed, and was enforced with rigour.

The beauty of this Act was in its capacity to fill up several important gaps in the acts which had gone before. No Nonconforming minister must now, unless travelling, approach within five miles of any city or corporate town or any place where he had formerly done duty as a minister. Consider the effect of these acts on a man, for instance, like Baxter. First, he was not to preach without taking oaths which would destroy his Nonconformity. Next, he was not to preach where more than five persons in addition to the household were present. Now he was not to approach nearer to his friends than five miles. Greater stringency could not have been required if the Nonconformists had been banditti, ready to imbrue their hands in blood. To such of them as could apply themselves to manual labour, or emigrate to the cities of refuge over the Atlantic,—cities which would have a mighty influence some day on the destines of England—there was a chance of escape. The old and weak went to the wall; in most cases they found that the best city of refuge for them would be the grave. It may be granted that the law was not more severe than in Tudor times, if it was anything like as severe, save in exceptional instances. The picture Dr. Lingard gives of the reign of Elizabeth, and

especially of the operations of her Conformity and Treason Acts; prisons crowded with popish recusants—as many as 400 and 600 presented at a single sessions—ears bored with hot irons, disgraceful and cruel whippings, scaffolds reeking with noble and generous blood, domiciliary visits, resulting in men and women being harried from bed to prison, are features of that fierce Tudor time. If such facts as the bloody circuit are set aside, the Stuarts were less high-handed than the strong-willed Tudor queen. But the people were now different from those of Elizabeth's reign. Reading was becoming common; the nation had tasted liberty; peaceful pursuits were increasing; a return to Tudor times was as impossible as a return to the nomad state.

In 1673 the TEST ACT was passed. It provided that all persons holding public office of any kind should take the oaths, according to the rites of the Established Church, and should specially abjure the doctrine of transubstantiation. This enactment, an exceedingly unpleasant one to King Charles, was directed specially against the Roman Catholics; and the Duke of York, the King's brother, and heir-apparent to the throne, was a Roman Catholic. It was now found that intolerance is a double-edged weapon which cuts both ways. Worse than this, however, remained. In fact Parliament was beginning at this time to reflect a widespread fear that the next reign would be signalised by a return to the Communion of the Church of Rome, and an acknowledgment of the Papal Supremacy. Possibly no preaching either of Episcopal or Nonconforming divines could have effected so great an end as to convince the people that a return to the old communion would be inimical to the interests of England. The English, unlike the Scotch, were repelled by the long sermons of the divines of Cromwell's time, and never again, at least till Wesley, were very easily influenced, nationally, by fervid preaching. Hence perhaps we may partly account for the general leaning to the Established Church, which never made preaching the primary consideration in its communion, and which eschewed fervour, and at times earnestness, on principle. It must be granted that in the time of the Commonwealth preachers had great influence; but many of them were imported

preachers—imported, that is, from north of the Tweed; and imported or otherwise, Presbyterian or Independent, their influence was ephemeral when once the imminent danger had passed. There were two facts, however, which accomplished what no preaching could have materially influenced. There was the reign of Mary, still vivid in people's minds. There was also the massacre of St. Bartholomew. There had been in other times great cruelties, that had been disowned by the persons who perpetrated them, or by persons who employed or incited the perpetrators. In these two cases the Church of Rome had accepted and approved the holocausts; and the people of England knew it, and dreaded the accession of the Duke of York to the throne.

Five years, more or less, after the passing of the Test Act, which had proved sufficient to drive the Duke of York from his commands, the PARLIAMENTARY TEST became law. Here it was provided that no one should sit in either House of Parliament who did not, in addition to taking the oaths, abjure the doctrine of transubstantiation and the worship of the Virgin Mary. When the Bill went to the Lords the Duke of York pleaded, and even wept, it is said, as he besought the House to leave him his creed in private as "between him and his God;" and the privilege was at last accorded, but only by a majority of two votes. It was the year of the murderous perjuries of Titus Oates, fully believed in by the nation at large, and the miserable proceedings that followed the so-called revelations included this Parliamentary Test. The temper both of Parliament and of the nation had unmistakably changed. Fourteen years earlier an Act of the Long Parliament, which had made it imperative on the King to call a Parliament once in three years, was swept away. There was to be no check on the royal prerogative, no distrust of so wise, so just, so pure, so religious a King. Now here was an Act directed against the King's brother, on the ground that a check was necessary, and that distrust and apprehension were the prevailing sentiment. The prosecutions emanating from Oates and Bedloe, and men of that kind, had brought about a veritable reign of terror. The King at last

took the necessary courage, and dissolved his Pension Parliament after an existence of eighteen years. The last notable act of the Parliament was this baneful Test. From that time for a hundred and fifty years, no Catholic sat in either House of Parliament.

The New Parliament met in March, 1679, and was found to be so decidedly Protestant that the Duke of York withdrew to the Continent, having first obtained from Charles a declaration that he never had been married to Lucy Walters, the mother of Monmouth, and hence that the succession was undisputed. In May, the same year, the ACT of HABEAS CORPUS was passed, at the instance of Lord Shaftesbury, whose name it long bore. The principle of the Habeas Corpus Act was really embodied in the Great Charter and elsewhere, and was of the nature of those things which Englishmen delight in terming of immemorial antiquity. Here, however, it became a defined law—became in fact what it has been termed, the Second Great Charter of England. It provided that no judge should, under severe penalties, refuse to a prisoner a writ of Habeas Corpus, directing that the body of the prisoner should be produced in court, with a clear certification of the cause of imprisonment; that the prisoner should be indicted the first term of his commitment, and should be tried on the second, and that no person once set free should be recommitted on the same charge. Neither the Court nor Parliament appears to have had a correct conception of the real nature of the Bill that was becoming law. Lord Shaftesbury, to whom the Act was in so great a measure owing, had, and still has, a name so curious, that it may be said to stand almost alone in English history, as representing versatility, unearnestness, intrigue, a sharp wit, a clear perception, and an utter absence of principle. Like some men, however, to whose names we shall come, Lord Shaftesbury had no liking for arbitrary power, and this led to his great service to the nation in the Habeas Corpus Act. If we look through the history of England at this time, we shall find a number of men of somewhat the same character, though we shall certainly not find one that would answer to the same description. Men of

great vices, and really ignoble character in the main, had the one virtue of hating arbitrary power. A few days after the passing of the Habeas Corpus Act the Commons carried a Bill to exclude the Duke of York from the throne. This—the EXCLUSION BILL—was what the King most of all dreaded, and he immediately dissolved his third Parliament. It can hardly be said that Charles, in view of the professions made to him on his accession to the throne, had not been somewhat long-suffering with respect to the relations of Parliament to his brother. This, however, was to have an end. The Parliament now dissolved had only sat from March till May. Alarming news had arrived from Scotland. The cruelties of Claverhouse had led to fierce reprisals. The Archbishop of St. Andrews had been dragged from his carriage and murdered. A little later there came news that Claverhouse himself had been defeated at Drumclog. The Duke of Monmouth was sent with an army; and two successes followed. First, he defeated the insurgents at Bothwell Bridge; secondly, he followed up his victory with healing clemency. The latter, however, did not commend itself to the court. Monmouth was replaced in his command by the Duke of York, who went to Scotland as Lord High Commissioner, and committed atrocities which make the blood curdle to this day. It is not difficult to see that Monmouth, with all his weakness, of which there can be no doubt, must have had some qualities of the better kind, to endear him, as he certainly was endeared, to the people.

King Charles had not as yet seen his way clearly to dispense altogether with Parliament. Some very disagreeable facts were transpiring in England. The party headed by Lord Shaftesbury, had gone the length of presenting the Duke of York, on his arrival in England, before the Grand Jury of Westminster as a Popish recusant, and so critical did the presentment seem that the Chief Justice (Scroggs), discharged the jury. Parliament met on the 21st October, 1680, and by the 11th November, the same year, had passed another Exclusion Bill, which, as before, was met by dissolution of the House. A new Parliament—the last Charles ever called—met

at Oxford on the 21st March, 1681. It was thought that under the shelter of the quiet cloisters of Oxford the members would be free from all bad influences, such as those that prevailed in London. It was soon apparent that this was a mistake. The cries of "No Popery" were louder at Oxford than they had been at Westminster. An Exclusion Bill was immediately proposed. Then Charles dissolved his last Parliament, which had only existed seven days. He had secured, by treaty with his magnificent brother of France, a fresh pension. To this state, in less than twenty-six years, the England of the Commonwealth had come. Some other devices for procuring money had also been found, and the King was no longer dependent on the Commons for supplies. So he published a declaration of reasons for the dissolution, made many good promises as to calling another Parliament—promises intended to be broken; and from that time he had peace, in his own way.

The two most infamous judges in our history, Scroggs and Jeffreys, were empowered to crush out every indication of popular disaffection; and they did their best to that end. The charter of London, on a poor pretence, was taken away, and a large fine extorted for its restitution. The Protestants found also that others besides Titus Oates and Bedloe could discover plots, real and fictitious, and bring people to the scaffold. The Rye House plot was real enough; its object also undoubtedly was to exclude the Duke of York, and place Monmouth on the throne. A portion of the conspirators, however, went farther, and it is about as clear as anything can be, that their object was to stop the King and the Duke of York near to the Rye House, in Essex, on their return from Newmarket, and murder them. History has always been greatly concerned with this Rye House Plot. In the conspiracy to prevent James from ascending the throne several persons whose names are bright in history were involved. That men like Lord William Russell and Algernon Sydney were conspirators to murder has generally been discarded as to the last degree improbable. That they were involved in the larger conspiracy, there can be no doubt. Lord Essex cut his throat in the Tower. Lord William

Russell was executed on the 21st July, and Algernon Sydney on the 29th December. Monmouth escaped to the Continent. No one could blame the King for these executions. The plot, however, was made use of for acts which very soon outstripped even those brought about by Oates. No better lesson in toleration and forbearance could have been given. It was not, in this case, a change of reign that brought about a change of policy, but merely a change from Parliamentary to personal government. Under the former, Catholics were sent to the block; under the latter, Protestants. Each party argued that the other was treasonable. The Catholics asserted that their opponents were setting aside the legitimate succession; the Protestants held that the Catholics were maintaining that succession by the destruction of the law. Narrowed to the one issue, the Protestants were certainly right, if tested by constitutional principles, now undisputed; while the Catholics were as certainly right if tested by the principles of government acknowledged at the time and maintained with such effrontery by the Divine Right clergy. The whole future of England, however, rested on the Catholics being beaten; and it is for this, and not on any mere technicality, that Russell and Sydney have been by many persons termed martyrs, and by many more patriots.

On the 6th February, 1685, Charles died, "under circumstances," the nobleman who wrote "Letters to his Son;" among others, says, "which led to the suspicion of poison." The general opinion of history has altogether discarded the suspicion as untenable, although the grounds for it were more numerous than those upon which, at a later period, the reality of the birth of a son to James II. was disputed. A little before the end, Charles, who had made all right with Father Huddleston and the Roman Catholic Church, recommended to some people around him to "take care of poor Nell,"—Nell Gwynne; and not to let "poor Nelly starve." It is notable that he had no word for the clergy whose theories had been so fashionable, and so much in request, at the beginning of his reign. The "nobleman" to whom reference has been made above says: "A great

divine and popular historian regarded this (the reference to 'poor Nell') as a blemish on the character of Charles; but the philosopher judges differently: he is glad to find that so profligate a prince was capable of any sincere attachment, and considers even this sympathy with the objects of sensuality, when the illusions of sense could no longer deceive, as an honour to his memory." This very beautiful reflection is well worthy of a philosopher. The idea of anything being regarded by an eminent divine as a blemish on the character of Charles, and by a philosopher and man of the world as honourable to the royal memory, will remain among the curiosities of literature.

In this reign the two great political parties—not for some time yet, however, presented to us in any definite form—began to be called Whig and Tory. The former term was at first applied, as one of opprobrium, to a part of the Scotch Covenanters—a stigma on their presumed wild poverty and wilder fanaticism. The "gentlemen" who came into power with the Restoration thought the term an excellent one to apply as a nickname to those Englishmen who were held, justly or unjustly, to have a leaning to the principles of the Commonwealth. In Ireland, at the same time, there chanced to be a body of men not very respectable to polished society, and they had the name of Tory, a term expressive of their tendency at once to Popery and to the plunder of English settlers, many of whom were Cromwell's men. The Whigs, therefore, found that they could effectually reciprocate the compliment of their opponents by applying to them the term Tory. In this way the now famous party lines were drawn. The reign of Charles is notable in the history of the army. The Coldstream Foot-Guards, formed from a regiment enlisted ten years earlier at Coldstream, and transferred by Monk to the King in 1660; the Life Guards; the Blues; the Royal Scots; the 2nd, or Queen's; the 3rd, or Old Buffs; the Scots Fusiliers; and the King's Own, were embodied,—the beginning really of our standing army. The *London Gazette* was begun at Oxford in 1665. A penny post for London had been started four years earlier. A general post-office also was established. London began to be lighted with oil

lamps in 1681. A year later William Penn received the grant of land which became Pennsylvania. These may be taken as items, showing that what are now stable institutions and facts in life were to some extent assuming the forms with which we are acquainted. From the time of the Restoration the ancient trust of the kings of England, that in times of emergency their lieges would supply men and money for the national defence, had vanished. It is worth noting also that the reign which gave birth to the terms Whig and Tory, and to the term Cabal—indicating cliqueism within both parties and beyond both—also may be said to have given birth to the still more significant term, Mob. The Divine Right of Kings; the contention of the two great Political Parties under modern names, but with very indistinct principles; the establishment of plot and counterplot in Cabal; the decided material progress; and then, the Populace which had become Mob. It is also worthy of note, however, that the Parliament which framed so many bad laws, and a few good ones, hardly, in the latter case, knowing what it did, carried out the immense reform involved in the Abolition of Feudal Tenures and Purveyance. Henceforth the King had his revenue, and the people held their lands free from the claim of military servitude. In this fact—to which the nation had long been drifting—the standing army itself represents a whole chapter of social and political progress.

Three great religious facts confront us at the end of this reign: the Roman Catholic hoping almost against hope for supremacy; the Anglican Churchman, having secured supremacy after a few years of dismal eclipse; the Nonconformist, under many different names, demanding freedom. The last of the three in his day of power had not been noted either for tolerance as to opinion, or for mercifulness as to sin. Indeed, it is not too much to say that if the entire body of Nonconformists could have been welded into one they would have been less endurable in social life than either the Catholic or Anglican Church. The safeguard had been that they never could be welded together. Their strength, as well as their weakness, had lain in the diversity of their views. In order to secure union they were compelled

to discard uniformity. A genial Nonconformist would have perfectly understood the couplet of the well-known hymn:—

> "And Satan trembles when he sees
> The weakest saint upon his knees."

A genial Churchman would have been quite as likely to go farther, and render the couplet:—

> "And Satan trembles when he sees
> The vilest sinner on his knees."

The clergyman, having taken so large a number of oaths, naturally inclined to swear in company; but if the person professing to swear was willing to obey the form, there is no evidence to prove that the spirit of the oath was too rigidly exacted. The intercourse and amenities of social life remained as they could not have remained if the Divine Right principles had been pushed to extremity. For instance, it was possible for two such men as Dr. Tillotson and John Howe to be warm and confiding friends; and many similar instances might be given to show that in the private relations of life there were some very estimable men among the clergy entrusted with the sharpest weapons of intolerance, as instances might also be given of many similar men, and also of some very intolerant men, among the Nonconformists. The established clergy, forming, as Mr. Matthew Arnold tells us, a national institution for the promotion of goodness, were ready to forgive everything but rebellion, which, to them, was as the sin of witchcraft. "Lord, send us peace in our time," was the prayer of many good men. "Lord, send us power in our time," was the prayer of some very bad men. "Lord, make us tolerant, as Thou art tolerant, of all honest and sincere views," was a prayer that had yet to be learned slowly and painfully, and through several generations. The Nonconformist had the grandest of all political creeds, and frequently had to make the most magnificent of all stands for freedom. But there is no evidence that he had the magnetic power which was necessary to absorb the genial elements of the social life of England. He could not wink at morrice-dancing on Sundays, could not enter a theatre, could not brook the

tavern, which even then stood conveniently near to the church doors. He was believed to account himself better than other men, as, however, he very frequently did not. A woman taken in adultery, in the very act, would hardly ever, so much is there in character, have sought mercy from a Puritan, though if she had, she would probably have found his brotherliness equal to her need. The Catholic was in the worst plight of all, and in that plight we shall find him many stages farther in these historical inquiries. Once he had ceased to be a member of the dominant English Church he became a member of a dominated foreign Church. Driven from the great educational institutions at home, he was compelled to send his children to seek their education abroad. Careers for his sons had to be similarly sought in foreign lands. Social position in England he came in time to have none. Tolerant he never professed to be, profess it who might. In times long subsequent to these, when he could not, from the nature of things, become a Conservative, still less could he call himself a Radical, and least of all was he a Catholic, save in the sense of a claim to universal domination; and the term has only been conceded to him by Protestants as one of courtesy. In politics when the Churchman was a Conservative by birth, and the Dissenter a Radical by birth, the Catholic remained a hybrid. We may, at the end of this reign, see many features of the social life of England assuming long-continued forms.

In statesmanship the Restoration might have been rich if the best men had not been pushed into the background. The King liked clever men, humorous men, and he had a quick eye for the qualities he liked; but he had no esteem other than of a transient nature for sincere men of that highest intellectual calibre which cannot simulate. Sir William Temple was shrewd and able without being intrusive. Lord Shaftesbury was what has been stated above, and was marked dangerous. Lord Halifax would have been all that the King desired, but unfortunately he was too proud not to chafe at times under slavish dogma, and too brilliant to affect admiration for the bigotry of James. There were few men among the statesmen of the time who could

safely be pointed to as embodying anything at all resembling an ideal of statesmanship. It may be said, and truly, that a statesman should not be taken at the estimate of his enemies, but on the strength of this we have had Laud raised to the position of a martyr, and Sir William Noy pronounced an enlightened lawyer. Happily it is generally possible to test the calumny and eulogy by facts. In the case of Laud one fact overweighs all argument. The Puritan lawyer, Prynne, wrote a book condemning women who acted on the stage, and using some strong epithets against the practice. About the same time the Queen chanced to appear in private theatricals. It was placed beyond dispute that Prynne's book was printed prior to the Queen's acting. It chanced also, however, that Prynne had written against the Church of England, and Bishop Laud, who could not quite find a plea against the enemy of the Church, induced Noy to prosecute the presumed satirist of the Queen. The culprit was sentenced to stand twice in the pillory on two consecutive days, and to have an ear cut off on each; to be heavily fined, and to be expelled both from his University and from Lincoln's Inn. A subsequent attack on Laud and the Church led to another severe punishment. There are some portions of Laud's career not discreditable; but his bloodthirsty and relentless character offers no example to Englishmen, and never will be referred to in history without horror. In due time the Archbishop, then an aged man, had to face judges as inexorable as he had himself been, and foremost among his prosecutors was Prynne, who might have been supposed the most interested of advocates. Prynne, however, was an altogether unaccountable man—opposed to the court of Charles I, opposed to Cromwell, persecuted by men of all parties, agreeing thoroughly with no one, and so strangely constituted, that, apart from the unpleasant feeling which his name might call up in the mind of one who had injured him so deeply, Laud was none the worse, if he was not a little the better, for falling into his old enemy's hands. There is another fact recorded of a very different man. When Charles II. visited Winchester, the Prebend's house was

assigned to Mistress Nelly Gwynne. The Prebend sternly declined to have his house so appropriated, and Mistress Nelly had to go elsewhere. James II. would have contrived to punish this as an offence; Charles made the delinquent Bishop (Ken) of Bath and Wells. There were depths in Bishop Ken's character for which Charles had no plummet. He was the author of that Evening Hymn which, day after day, since that time, has ascended from the ancient parish churches and the homesteads—from the aged and the young—of England in thanksgiving to God for the mercies and blessings of each passing day. What Charles did understand was that the clergyman was right with respect to the Prebend's house, and perhaps he would have understood something more, if other clergymen had been equally faithful.

It may be well here to note as another fact of great historic importance the individual character of the men who, at this time, represented conflicting principles. Every Church has its history of persecution, and each individual history reads as if it stood alone of its kind. It were hardly too much to say that the principles represented by an extreme portion of the clergy of the English Church at and after the Restoration were among the worst political principles ever known. It would be difficult indeed to conceive anything more despotic. If the laws had been carried into effect England had become a pandemonium. That they were not carried out may be taken as certain. There was undoubtedly much mercifulness in the great body of the Anglican clergy. The Compromise embodied in the Prayer Book, although often adduced as a defect, was really a merit of the Establishment; there was an attempt on the part of many to unite men of all creeds in a State Church. With that view there was a balance of formula, and indeed an inexactness, which have ever since been a dire offence to many persons; but which were really a necessity, if the nation was to possess an Established Church at all. Of the personal relations of the better part of the divines, one fact is pleasantly suggestive. Frightened at the substantial danger—not bugbear—of papal pretension, Dr. Tillotson, on one memorable occasion, preaching before

King Charles, not only said that the King had the sole right to choose the religion of his people, and that the duty of the latter was at least silence, but also that God was as "necessary to the welfare and happiness of mankind as if the being of God himself had been purposely designed and contrived for the benefit of men." Both these doctrines were at once assailed by men of Dr. Tillotson's own Church: by Dr. Patrick, for instance, afterwards Bishop of Ely, and others. But it was reserved for nonconforming John Howe to succeed in bringing the future archbishop to his knees in unfeigned penitence. When the hereditary champion of Nonconformity heard of the sad falling away of his friend, he, according to Dr. Calamy, wrote a letter which went, through surplice and everything, direct to the heart of Dr. Tillotson. Mr. Lowth, afterwards a high dignitary of the Church, had written severely from another point of view, on the same subject; and the great divine had turned away in silence. He could not be silent, however, when John Howe appeared, bringing with him the sharp letter he had written. Mr. Howe talked "till the dean fell to weeping freely, and said that it was the most unhappy thing that had a long time befallen him; and that he saw what he had offered was not to be maintained." It was most honourable to both the unswerving Puritan and the future representative of the compromise of the Anglican Church. This, however, is not the reason why the circumstance is referred to here. The object is rather to show that the bad laws were not inexorably carried out; that sincere friendships did still exist between men of conflicting creeds in spite of the Act of Uniformity and acts for the repression of schism. It shows, moreover, that men like John Howe still had an important influence on public affairs.

Was, then, an Established Church necessary at all? and if so, was the Anglican Church the best that could have been established? The following reasons are offered as suggestions that an Established Church was necessary. First, the nation as a whole was not sufficiently advanced in the knowledge of Christianity to afford to dispense with an open recognition of that faith as the faith of England. Some rule must be laid

down, with the concurrence of learned men, and men in power, for the guidance of the masses of the people who could not possibly fathom for themselves the mysteries involved in a faith which challenged inquiry, and yet was beyond reason, and who needed to be instructed even in the simplicities of the faith. Children would be born, young persons would seek each other in marriage, many would need the solace of religion in their last hours, and many too would find, or fail to find, solace in affliction in the sacred words, which, in some form and fashion, would have to be spoken over the grave whether there was an Established Church or not. It is difficult to see how this national responsibility could have been evaded at that time. Secondly, a network of instruction was needed, and no power other than that of the State could undertake to weave that network on any given principle. It would have been the wildest folly at such a period to leave each town to form a standard of its own—to have, say, Chichester Unitarian; Portsmouth Catholic; and Canterbury of the Anglican Church. Yet that principle might, and to some extent certainly would, have been the result of the nation refusing to commit itself to an Established Church. Thirdly, if it was, and we can hardly doubt that it was, necessary to have an educated man and his family set down to every certain area, or population, it is very difficult, to the present writer at all events, to see what better machinery than an Establishment could have been provided for the purpose. An educated squire might have become a despot from seeing that he was so far in advance of his neighbours. An educated clergyman could only become so in defiance of his principles; and that those principles were often strong enough to render defiance of them impossible, our whole social history attests. It is, therefore, accepted here as a simple axiom that an Establishment was a necessity at that time. The founders of the colonies of America went out educated to disown the National Church as it existed in England, and to dispense with it on their own part, and in form they succeeded, while they failed essentially in fact, and failed on the very grounds upon which their resistance had been made in England.

It is quite certain that the Puritan colonists while proclaiming an intense dislike to the principle and form of an Established National Church, adopted and enforced the much more oppressive and exacting principle of established local churches, among which heretics and schismatics had a bad time. The Church of the village or town was the centre of the social life of the place. If Milton was right that Presbyter is only old Priest Writ-large—and he was rarely wrong where questions of freedom were involved—his assertion might have been carried farther, and perhaps might have had an application to religious bodies with which he was more closely connected. The men who fled from England and founded new homes for "freedom of worship," were by no means disposed to grant to others the freedom they had gained for themselves. Roger Williams was compelled to withdraw to the desert to escape a dominant Church. In fact the Pilgrim Fathers did not disown, any more than the Covenanters disowned, the principle of an Establishment; but simply an Establishment that was episcopalian. If the Independent or Baptist minister could not be strictly termed old Priest Writ-large, he had in many cases, at least, all the love for priestly power, and especially for that social influence which is supposed to have been a characteristic of priests in all ages. These remarks are not offered as an argument for an Established Church under all future conditions of English life; but as suggestions that at the time with which we are now dealing, it was impossible in free America to escape the fact of Establishment, even though the name was avoided, and though the men who founded the new homes were in many cases of the best blood of England. The social fact still existed; nay, the lines were drawn far more tightly in America than in England. This assisted to save the Church of England. To be let alone was always one of the most cherished of the assumed rights of Englishmen. The Puritans made the cardinal error of letting nothing alone in daily life. The Divine Right clergy in the main preached merely of moral duties, not of doctrinal subtleties. They stood in bland good nature on the "legality" doctrine which men like Bunyan abhorred

as little less dangerous than schism. In many cases they knew little of any faith that demanded truth in the inward parts. They acted, in short, as men who knew that they belonged to a Political Church—a "National Institution" for decorum. They were great at the maypole and the harvest home; they avoided spoiling people's dinners by too long sermons; and with respect to little faults or misdemeanours they were ready to act in the spirit of the Welsh jury (real or mythical), who found a man "not guilty," and exhorted him "never to do so any more." Wherein, it was argued then and long after, was the good of opposing men who so well understood the principle of "live and let live?" Politically incorrect, the clergy were socially in accord with the amenities of English life. The fruit of this was seen to their advantage under circumstances of apparent untowardness to them, and to the principles they represented.

It must also be stated that in referring to the Church of England as a political institution of the Restoration, and in that sense as a re-creation of the reign of Charles II., there is no intention here either of conceding or disputing the Roman Catholic position, that the Church of England began with Henry VIII. The question has frequently been put by clergymen in a form which involves a gross fallacy, and at times an absurdity. All the same though it is true that from the time of Ethelbert—from the time when Augustine came to England at the close of the sixth century of the Christian era—there has been a visible Church of England. Our great National Cathedral, St. Paul's, was begun; and the Archbishopric of Canterbury, and several bishoprics established before the seventh century was five years old; Westminster Abbey was begun a few years later. Whether the Church so founded should be Roman or English, was a question of centuries. Dogma changed with changing times. The relation to the civil power also changed. In the early Saxon period bishops were elected by the clergy; in later times they were selected by the Crown; at one period by the Pope; at another, the scenes shifted, but the Church remained the Church of England. Now, the King successfully

withstood the Pope; now, the Pope was too strong for the King. In the reign of Henry VIII., the position taken was that the Church should be National—an ugly thing in some respects, in its political aspects, but at least anti-Papal, and hence separated from all the traditions of Rome. In dealing, therefore, with the Church of the Restoration, reference is not made to its parochial system, in many particulars old, or to its doctrine, or its order of ministers or priests, or to the liturgy—the product of a gradual evolution of the thought of many minds; but to that organization which, identifying itself with the Ecclesiasticism—the Divine Right of Charles, as it had identified itself with the Divine Right of Henry and of Elizabeth—was made the tool of a base kingcraft. The Church as a faith was deeper than all this; but this was the fact which stood out most palpably in the times with which we are dealing. It is to this fact that the national instinct was opposed. Politically, it may be repeated, Baxter and Howe would, in one sense, have founded a grander Church. But, it is also true, that when Baxter tried to frame a Liturgy he failed where the men of compromise—the men possibly who lacked in intensity of zeal—succeeded. He would have made a ritual as grim and verbose as a Presbyterian service, and the at least healthy and genial features of the Liturgy had been lost.

Again, all other views of the Church of England at the Restoration would be very partial and imperfect if we missed the one fact that there was in it a vein of deep seriousness with respect to the designs of Rome; a seriousness without which the plots of Oates had been fruitless; and which in emergencies awoke a response not to be misunderstood from Nonconformists. One *Friendly Call, or a Seasonable Perswasive to Unity, Directed to all Nonconformists and Dissenters* (1679), with one or two passages of which the reader may be interested, is a model of Anglican Churchmanship in both its narrowness and comprehension. The writer asks, why, in view of the aims and pretensions of Rome, "should not every man put to his helping hand to build up the walls of unity? Are we not brethren? Have we not one Father God? One Head Jesus Christ? Is he

not our Common Shepherd? Have we not one Faith, Salvation by Christ? Do not we believe him come in the flesh? Do not we confess his name? Are we not all Christians? And indeed are we not also of one Mother the Church? Why then this separation? This division? This drawing several ways? Why cannot or why do not you unite as you ought to do? If there be any obstacles and stumbling blocks of offence that lie in the way, set to your hands and endeavour to remove them." In order that this may be carried out—

"You [Dissenters] must then lay aside that bitterness of Spirit, which some of you call Zeal, wherewith you upbraid those of the contrary Party, and to the multitude cunningly insinuate an Opinion of Holiness and Integrity of your Selves, and of loosness and neglect of your Adversaries: always on the least occasions lashing them with sharp and severe reproofs, ripping up the faults of Bishops and the Clergy of the Prelatical Party. You must leave these common Assersions which abound among many, throwing all Faults and Errors on the Ecclesiastical Government; and to it impute all Faults, all Corruptions, endeavoring thereby to win to your selves the Opinion of Wisdom and Distinguishment, calling your selves the Godly, the Brethren, the Good People, God's Children, the Sanctified; and others, the Ungodly, Reprobates, Worldlings, Time-servers, Men-pleasers, Moralists, and *Latitudinarians*, *Arminians*, and the like. You must also lay aside that eager endeavor of making Proselytes, especially of the weaker Vessels who are apt to be easily led and perswaded by godly and Religious pretences, though thereby they do great damage to their Husbands and Families, making the separation within their private Walls as wide as that which you have caused in the Nation. You must also cease to cry out and exclaim against Magistrates and Rulers, Kings and Governors, as Severe, Cruel and Tyrannical, upon the least restraint of your Liberties; as if you were thereby become Martyrs for the Cause of Christ, and branding those, that perhaps not without occasion given thereto, put some moderate restraint upon you, with the Titles of Blood-suckers, and Blood-thirsty Men, Persecutors and Tormentors; drawing all the Scriptures that any way favour the Innocency of such as have Suffered for the Truth by wicked Tyrants, to your own selves, and apply them still to your Case as if you were the Persons pointed out by the Finger of the Holy Ghost, and for whom they were chiefly intended. Also you must not speak contemptibly of Bishops as you too frequently do, giving them scurrilous Names, as Limbs of Antichrist, Locusts of the bottomless pit, domineering Lords, Usurpers, Spiritual Tyrants, Lordly Bishops, &c., and calling the Ministers of the Gospel in contempt Priests, nay *Baal's* Priests, Time-servers, Hirelings, State Divines, dumb Dogs, vain Bablers, with such like

Language; those whom the Scriptures Dignifie and Honour with the Titles of Christs Embassadors, Gods Stewards, Pastors of Christs flock, Stars, Angels, Gods, receive too often from you contrary Denominations; being scandalized at the Title of Lord given to Bishops, which is an Honorary Name annexed to their Temporalities by the Kings of *England*, you call them in Disdain, Lordlings, Proud, Imperious, Arrogant, and the like."

These passages may show both that there was a vein of intense earnestness in the Established Church, and also that even in the opinion of some of its best men, the concessions necessary for the proposed Union were all to be made by Dissenters; a very great stride indeed from the position of the Savoy Conference, which rested on mutual concession. Granting, however—as of course a great many people never will grant—that an Established Church was a necessity of the time, was the Anglican Church the best for the purpose? For the purpose, at that time, we may safely conclude yes. The great danger of the nation was from the Roman Catholic Church. If there was to be tyranny at all, the Anglican Clergy were prepared to centre it in the King at London, not in the Pope at Rome. So far there was clear gain. The future was within the nation's reach. The battles of freedom could be fought out on the banks of the Thames, without any reference to the palaces and the potentate on the Tiber. Then the Roman Catholic and the Puritan alike stood on exact dogma which admitted of no surrender. The Church of England as a political institution came into existence, in spite of all the penal laws against opinion, on the principle of cutting away a little here and a little there, so that this man or that might be comprehended in the ecclesiastical fold. Whatever, therefore, may be said of the intellectual character of the Ecclesiastical creation of the Restoration the Anglican Church alone perhaps was possible as an Established Church; and watched and checked by other churches, it answered all the purposes of the time. It provided, on a uniform plan, for receiving children into the Christian communion, for marriages and for the solemnities of the services after death, for weekly religious services, for a myriad centres of social life, and a myriad

civilizing influences. Wherein it succeeded, and where it failed we shall consider hereafter.

Among the religious sects which rose into note during the Commonwealth, the singular community of the Quakers never can be overlooked by any Englishman who wishes to form a right conception of the influence on public affairs of private life and character dominated by religious faith and zeal. No religious body can show a brighter, sadder history of heroism; of unflinching obstinacy and courage in what men deemed essentials of Christian life and political honour, and of marked inoffensiveness in what they deemed innocent or non-essential. Their difficulties began with the first of the bad enactments of the Restoration, and continued down to a very recent period in our own time. Their founder was poor and illiterate, and, according to his enemies, was little if at all better than a madman. The sect he founded differed from other professedly Christian bodies in the novelty of its views, and was by nearly all termed infidel. Moreover, when in a time of extreme fashion, the "Friends" wore with a rigorous adherence to rule their one adopted garb, they were marked out as distinctly as soldiers in uniform, and were a butt for all ridicule. They discarded baptism, disowned a paid priesthood or preacherhood; were offensive in fact to "hireling" priests and preachers everywhere, and they made the word hireling to ring in men's ears. Reasonable—if severe—criticism on the language of the Athanasian Creed led to the charge that they denied the doctrine of the Trinity. Their silent worship was accepted as indicating a disbelief in the efficacy of prayer. In fact there was hardly any heterodox idea, or any immorality even, that was not laid to their charge. The prejudice against them ran into all classes, and, in spite of both private and public virtue almost if not altogether unique in the history of sects, existed long and bitterly. Cobbett spoke of them as English Jews; mobs were incited to hoot and deride them. In this way the trials of the Quakers were very severe, and were continued long after those of any other religious body in England except the Catholics. No amount of patience and forbearance

secured them from outrage. Yet they were among the safest and most reliable of political allies so long as party action rested on political principle. The sincere men among them braved any difficulty or danger, in politics as well as in religion, for what they believed right. They are the only body of religious men in England of whom it can be said that they have as a body been in the front in every battle of freedom from the time of the Commonwealth till now. "Is it right?" is the question that runs through their history—not "Is it politic?" The most politic of men in business, they fought Ecclesiasticism, the State Church, the immoral clergy, the persons who made war, and the persons who kept slaves, with a grand forgetfulness of selfish consequences.

So much is simple truth as to the Society of Friends. That there were and are many worthless and insincere men among them is undoubted; but where a man truly believed in the central doctrine of his faith—the never-ceasing influence of the Spirit of God in the affairs of each individual person—he was of an order of manhood never yet surpassed for high principle in human history. The doctrine of the Divine influence was not new, even to the forms of English popular life. It was an accepted principle of the Roman Catholics, only they vested it in the Church and in a perpetual priesthood. It was recently the principle, in another form, of M. Mazzini, who held with the fervour of a devotee that Almighty God is guiding and directing by means of His creative and all-pervading Spirit the well-being and future happiness of mankind; and that revelation will succeed revelation by the same Divine power and never-ceasing influence. Many good Quakers also and M. Mazzini, dissimilar in much, are very nearly akin in history, in their devotion to the interests of mankind without reference to name or creed. How to save people from needless suffering; how to inculcate purity of life; how to serve freedom and beat down oppression; and, finally, how, after failing a hundred times at last to succeed, are among the lessons taught to England by the followers of George Fox. Logically there are hardly any bounds to the creed of a member of the Society

of Friends. There is no reason why the same influence that made George Fox the founder of a sect of religious persons, should not some day influence another teacher to widen the foundations of the sect. On the masses of the people, however, the Quakers had little influence. Silent prayer, or communion, did not conduce to that enthusiasm which was a vital element in the success of Wesley. The political and social influence of the Quakers, on the other hand, has been vastly greater than that of any other religious body in England of so small an account numerically, and though the influence was not so marked during the reigns from Charles II. to George III. as it was afterwards, there is certain proof that it existed as a living and active principle and produced sensible results. The Unitarians, from the fact that they too were disowned by all other sects, have a history similarly marked by extreme oppression and injustice; and they too, through a long period were ever ready with courage and sacrifice to bear witness to the truths of Liberalism. The value of the Presbyterians in struggles for freedom was incidental merely; in power they were violently favourable to Establishment, as in our own time they accepted the *Regium Donum* in Ireland. The Independents and the Baptists, on the contrary, cannot be identified with any willingness to countenance or support the principle or fact of an Established Church; and with them in this were the Quakers and the Unitarians to a man. The Quakers, however, went farther. A broad, genial, and at times most humble feeling of humanity, such as had not been known in a sect for more than sixteen centuries, was the basis of their creed.

Lord Macaulay has written of the Literature of the Restoration in terms of scathing and enduring severity. Nothing, he thinks, could well be worse, taking as akin the literature and the life it depicted and to which it appealed. In answering the question, however, whether such literature should now be preserved, and placed in the hands of the young, he suggests that while Sir George Etherege was unquestionably a vile man, and Plato a man of strict morals, passages might be produced from Plato less delicate than those alleged against

Etherege. Very likely this is the exact fact, but does not the fact suggest another idea? Bad as the Restoration was, we must remember it was tested by a much higher ideal than anything known to the Greeks of Plato's time. The morals of the reign of Charles were perhaps lower even than those of the Romans of Pompeii; but an hour or two in the museum at Naples would be sufficient to convince any one they were merely so because they were tried by another standard. The illiterate people of London have sacked houses before to-day for doings not at all as bad as many that were accepted as ordinary affairs of life in ancient Greece and Rome. If Charles and his court had been left to themselves, it is hard to say what they would not have done; but they were not left to themselves—there were other influences afoot to save England though as by fire.

CHAPTER III.

JAMES II.—THE WHIG REVOLUTION OF 1688.—*ANNE.*

1685—James II.—National Dread of Papal Ascendency—The Duke of Monmouth—The Bloody Circuit—Work of Jeffreys Within One Year—Burial of Charles II.—Monmouth Executed—Jeffreys Rewarded—Temple Bar—Baxter and Jeffreys—1687; The Church—The Trimmers—Kirke—Lord Halifax—Test Act and Habeas Corpus Act Challenged—Test Act Maintained by Parliament; Stultified in the Law Courts—Fatal Importance of that Step to the King—Relations of the Clergy to James II.—Bishops sent to the Tower—Trial, and Acquittal—Birth of the Prince of Wales—Prompt Invitation to the Prince of Orange—1688—The Revolution—William III.—Marlborough—William's Title to the Throne—The Bill of Rights—Mutiny Act—First Suspension of Habeas Corpus Act—The King's Proposals for Comprehension—Toleration Act—Episcopacy Abolished in Scotland—Wars in Scotland and Ireland—1690—Defence of Limerick—Sarsfield and the Irish Brigade—Glencoe—William's Second Parliament—Tory Majority—Beginning of the National Debt—Bank of England Founded, 1692—Intrigue and Treason—La Hogue—Greenwich Hospital—First Triennial Parliament; Whig Majority—Treason Act, 1696—Freedom of the Press—Death of William III., 1702—Queen Anne—Lord Somers—The Tories in Power—Insult to the Memory of William—Tyrannical Conformity Bill; Rejected by the Lords; Carried at a Later Period—"High Church" and De Foe—Semper Eadem—Queen Anne's Bounty—New Churches in London—Union of England and Scotland—The Union Jack—First Parliament of Great Britain—Landing of the Son of James II.; Temporary Ascendency of the Whigs—Our First Historic Mobs; Incited by the Clergy—Lord Somers—Sacheverell—Position of the English Church—Influence of Education—Popularity of the Church—Literature: the *Tatler*, *Spectator*, and *Examiner*—Addison, Steele, and Swift—Eleven Years of War—National Debt, 1713—Property Qualification for Members of Parliament—Schism Bill—Death of Queen Anne—Walpole.

DURING the latter part of the reign of Charles II. we see not merely the Church of England but the entire nation in a state of marked uneasiness as to what the King meant, and what his brother, if once raised to the throne, would attempt and perhaps

perform. The cruel nature of James had been placed beyond question by his doings in Scotland. His not dishonourable refusal to disown his creed, even for the succession to the throne, reminded people of Mary; and the name of Mary was a fearful name in the vastly greater part of English homes. If James won effectually and beyond dispute there was everything to fear, and nothing to hope, save from another uprising; and that, the Church of England had for a generation pledged itself, was under no circumstances permissible by the Word of God or the ancient law of England. The Duke of York had yet to discover how much and how little ecclesiastical pledges and professions meant when directed by self-interest. His first opportunity of making what he deemed a wholesome impression was in the case of the Duke of Monmouth, who, utterly defeated by Feversham and Marlborough, was captured in just such a plight as James would have wished; half-famished, and only half clothed, a poor, pitiable, broken-down suppliant for mercy. Would King James only see him, the prisoner said—see him once, and once only, that he might plead for pardon? Yes, James would see him; it was quite in the range of his tastes to see the man he intended to kill. Monmouth was led into the royal presence, where he abased himself to the extent of his wishes. Then he was executed.

Then Judge Jeffreys and the soldier Kirke—the man with recollections of Tangier—were sent to the West of England to punish those who on the march of Monmouth had espoused the rebel cause. Jeffreys carried all the power of the law; Kirke led what he called his "lambs," and them he sent out among the helpless country people to use a savage pleasure which was amply gratified. They tortured and slew in all directions. Jeffreys went from town to town, holding his Bloody Circuit. At Dorchester, Taunton, Exeter, Wells, and elsewhere, some deeds were done such as no pen ever can record, but which still remain in local tradition. At Taunton you are shown where the brutal Judge, while dining, had three toasts drunk,—one to the King, one to the Queen, and one to himself,—and where at each toast ten persons were "thrown off"—hanged in the street before the

Judge's eyes. You see where men were executed to the merry strains of fife and drum; and there is one story, fearfulest of all, of a young girl who sacrificed her virtue to save her father's life, and who was then pointed by Jeffreys to her father's dead body hanging in front of the hotel. The poor girl went raving mad. Families reduced to destitution were but incidents of this fearful circuit which James, with playful delicacy, called "Jeffreys' campaign." A few words were sufficient to bring a person to death. All this was done within the year. Charles was buried on February 14th. Monmouth landed at Lyme on June 11th, was defeated at Sedgemoor on the 6th July, and executed on July 15th. In September, Jeffreys returning triumphantly from his circuit, was made Lord Chancellor by his grateful master. Yet there came a time when loyal English men and women swore by the name of this wretched King and of his dishonoured house, when gentle English ladies wore the Stuart colours, and loyal English gentlemen drank in dumb show, when "walls had ears," to "the King over the water;" when Scotland gave some of her best blood on battle-field, and on the far more terrible scaffold; gave some of her noblest heads to bleach on turrets and ramparts, on the walls of Carlisle and on Temple Bar, in defence of the family of a King who had the tastes of a tiger and the talents of a low order of Jesuit. Temple Bar, built in the thirteenth year of the Glorious Restoration, has still its story against the Stuarts and their minions, and against some of those, and the minions of some of those, who supplanted the Stuarts.

To the House of Commons James assumed the tone of a master. He required money, and asked for it in so ominous a manner that he had sums voted larger than his demands. The Nonconformists saw Richard Baxter handed over to Jeffreys for a "scandalous libel on the bishops and clergy," in a paraphrase on the New Testament. The clergy were bidden to do or forbear to do this and that on their peril. Edict after edict went forth to the Bishops, the Universities, and so to the parishes. The Test Act, which prevented the employment of Catholics, and the Habeas Corpus Act, which left undue power in the hands of

the Juries, were to be repealed on the meeting of Parliament in November. Jesuits were, by the fiat of the King, allowed to open schools; Roman Catholics were instituted to Church benefices. The Universities were ordered to confer degrees on men who had sworn allegiance to the Pope. The Protestant clergy were ordered not to preach doctrinal sermons. A Declaration of Indulgence in April, 1687, made religion "free" in England and Scotland. A second Declaration, dated April, 1688, was ordered to be read in all churches on the 20th and the 27th May.

Among the statesmen of the time there were those who called themselves the Trimmers. In reality they were the product of the Restoration, and were the connecting link between it and other Trimmers in the reigns of William, and Anne, and the Georges. They had trimmed from choice in the reign of Charles II. They trimmed now from necessity in that of James. The spirit of levity, of sport with religion, with the virtue of women and the honour of men, that had prevailed during the twenty-five years of the reign of Charles, had now its reaction in a reign of grimness, not known before since the time of Mary; and the Trimmers felt that their interest was in continuing to trim. The whole spirit of society King James knew was impregnated with trimming, and he hoped everything from that fact. He even ventured to ask Kirke, the butcher of the Bloody Circuit, to become Roman Catholic, but Kirke, who could presume, only laughed, and said he was pre-engaged; he had promised the Emperor of Morocco that if ever he changed his religion he would become Mohammedan. What could James do with a man like Kirke? The chief of the Trimmers as a party was Lord Halifax, who had the gift to trim almost, though not quite as much as the King wished, but who heartily hated the King and the King's principles. Halifax drew the line of trimming at the repeal of the Test Act and the Habeas Corpus Act. The King declared that there must be a real standing army, and that he could only have it by being able to employ Roman Catholics. Therefore the Test Act must go from the Statute Book. The Parliament refused. The King tried the Law Courts

by appointing a Catholic gentleman to a colonelcy, and ordering that a servant of the gentleman should prosecute him, and so force a decision. Solicitor-General Finch, and four Judges remonstrated against this attempt to break the law. They were dismissed from office. Eleven Judges decided in favour of the Colonel. One, Lord Chief Justice Herbert, said that the laws were the King's and that he could dispense with them when he thought proper. If, however, the reader will ponder over the chief events of English history, he will find that the King had here feloniously touched the one thing which the English people never yet for any long time suffered to be so touched with impunity. The people have forced Parliaments, Kings, Law Courts, and Mobs, to observe the law. They have again and again, down to our own time, stood quietly, under a load of oppression while bad laws were being maintained. They may have rioted, but they never rebelled till the law was broken. It was this feeling that gave Mary and James the throne, that held back willing and eager spirits from violence in the reign of the first Charles, and at the end of the reign of Charles II. It was exactly the same feeling that held back vast numbers of wildly-excited people, in 1816-17, and in 1830-32. There was "no cause" till the law was broken. At last James broke the law. Trimmers, political and religious—trimmers in name, or trimmers merely in fact—would now, unless utterly infatuated, move with the heartiness and decision of men who had the law on their side.

Of all trimmers there had been none quite so shameless as the clergy; but to ask them actually to go into their pulpits, and give up at once their own special interests as against a rival Church, and their darling supremacy, was too much. Primate Sancroft, and six other Bishops, petitioned the King that they might not be compelled to read a declaration contrary to law—Primate Sancroft, who afterwards refused to crown William III., and went into retirement as a non-juror. On the 20th May only four clergyman read the Declaration; on the 8th June the Bishops were committed to the Tower. Dissenters even (another proof, perhaps, how little social tyranny there had been

on the part of the great body of the clergy) had by this time caught the fact that the repeal of the Test Act did not mean freedom but slavery, and they too joined in the deafening cheers that followed these seven persons, who were actually suffering for the maintenance of a test altogether inimical to freedom, and the equality of all men before the law. There was no credit to the Bishops as a body, though there was credit to some of them, in the course taken. In the case of Sancroft there was simply a man who desired to maintain laws which made him in the most palpable of senses supreme before the law. However, the Church was for the moment National. It was England against Rome,—and the Nonconformists were English. The trial of the Bishops was on the 29th June. At night the Jury were locked up. On the morning of the 30th they presented, by Sir Hugh Langley, their foreman, a verdict of "Not Guilty"—one of the most memorable of all our historic "Not Guiltys." On the 10th of the same month a Prince of Wales had been born. There was now another life, people saw, between England and the hope of freedom. On the 30th June, before the night had well fallen on the scene of the trial, Admiral Herbert, in the disguise of a sailor, left London for Holland, and in due time he delivered to the Prince of Orange, from nobility, and others, an invitation to rescue England from a detested tyranny. There was no longer any great fear that the King would be able to maintain his throne by force. The shouts of the people, echoed by the army on Hounslow Heath, were the death-knell of the sovereignty of James. The importance of the decision was not in the acquittal of the seven Bishops, but in the assertion, in the face of a King, of the higher supremacy of the law. Trial by Jury had won a great victory and established a great precedent. Then in that victory was involved the triumph of Protestantism. Not of a Protestantism willing to be tolerant; simply of a Protestantism from which toleration would some day come with all the certainty of an unerring law. It cannot be denied that there was a real victory. Nor can it be denied that the Established Church had done its part towards that victory with something of a new-born

dignity. Of the conduct at this time of the clergy generally Lord Macaulay says:—"Did they serve the King for nought? He laid his hand on them, and they cursed him to his face. He touched the revenue of a college and the liberty of some prelates; and the whole profession set up a yell worthy of Hugh Peters himself. . . . : The clergy went back, it must be owned, to their old theory, as soon as they found that it would do them no harm." The clergy richly deserve the picture; but it can hardly be deemed a complete picture. Assuredly there were many eminent men of the time to whom it does not in the least apply.

The Prince of Orange was not long on the throne before he found that it was a throne of thorns. He, it is quite certain, would gladly have made his reign the era of religious freedom, which means a little more than religious toleration; but the law and a powerful national feeling were against him. In the end he had unquestionable evidence that Englishmen of great ability and distinction not only were not heartily inclined to toleration, but were looking away, and more than looking away, from his stern court to the intrigues of St. Germains, to the craven King who had been expelled. The old story of the fleshpots of Egypt was being repeated. The Trimmers still trimmed; and the prince of them was the ablest soldier in Europe—nay, the greatest soldier of the age, the future Duke of Marlborough. A courtier from the early age of twelve years; page at that time to the Duke of York, and henceforth scarcely ever, if ever, unemployed, Churchill had even before the great victories that are indissolubly connected with his name, seen all manner of service, and climbed to every eminence he had really attempted. He had served in the Guards at home, against the Moors at Tangier, under Turenne in Europe, against Monmouth in the West of England. He had for wife one of the most beautiful and most self-willed of women, and one of the most ardent intriguers. His own manners were charming, his temper perfect; his loyalty up to a certain point undoubted. William read these facts as if he were reading a book, and never seems to have questioned that the genius of Churchill would be the one peril or the great safeguard of the reign. It is not clear,

however, whether Marlborough's talents for intrigue were not over-estimated, or whether his deception has not been too readily assumed. He had deserted James in the very crisis of the Royal affairs, and by the aid of Lady Churchill had carried with him the Princess Anne. It is difficult to see that in taking this course the intriguer did not overreach himself, if we assume that he was an utter intriguer. There was open to him the part which Wellington afterwards played in becoming the main prop of the throne as it stood—a part of remarkable honour and status, not to speak of wealth—the god of Churchill. Granted, again, that Marlborough was a consummate intriguer, as Lord Macaulay pictures him, it must have occurred to him that it was useless, after the first betrayal, to attempt to intrigue for James, who had given pretty strong evidence that he never forgot and never forgave. In the first place, then, loyalty to William was a duty; in the second, it was apparently a necessity. It is more than probable that Marlborough, who was not cruel, and who certainly had quite as much principle as Halifax and the other Trimmers, had determined in his own mind that, as far as his power went, England should not again fall under the shadow of a gloomy despot. It may be partly true, as Lord Macaulay so fearfully paints it, that the great soldier had in effect risen by his sister's dishonour; but the strong terms of the picture need qualification. It has been placed beyond dispute that he had constant communication with James, and that in those intrigues he made promises which he never fulfilled. It would be easier, however, to set this down to other causes rather than to an intention to bring back the male Stuart line. It would, for instance, be easier to believe that Marlborough hedged his position, so that he should be safe in any eventuality. It must have been evident to him that on the death of William —the sick and childless King—there was everything to gain by the succession of Anne, and that everything would be endangered if the succession recurred to her brother.

A great deal has been written as to whether William's title to the throne was or was not elective. It was elective this far, that without Mary, William was not at all in the direct

succession; and that even with Mary, he was only in the direct succession by the rejection of the heir in the male line. When William reigned alone, after the death of Mary, he did so not only to the exclusion of the direct male line, but of Anne. At the same time it is frequently forgotten that William's title to the throne was much nearer than that of George I. He was not only the husband of the daughter of James II., but was himself grandson of Charles I. His mother was sister to Charles II. and to James. If Roman Catholics were to be passed over, he was the real heir, for he was of good Protestant stock, if anybody in Europe could be so deemed. The settlement of 1688, therefore, was the settlement in the right and true line of succession, without being in the direct line. It was the settlement of the Protestant succession and of the Bill of Rights—facts which have satisfied Englishmen ever since, and which will probably satisfy them for all time.

The notable features of William's reign may be very briefly summarised. The Bill of Rights was a new charter—the third; generally reckoned of what we call our Great Charters. It secured the succession; declared that it is illegal for the sovereign to dispense with the laws, or to levy taxes without the consent of Parliament; that it is contrary to law to raise or maintain a standing army in peace; that subjects have the right of petition, Members of Parliament the right of free speech in debate, and that Parliament should be called together frequently. This was the first real step taken with the consent of both sovereign and people to break the rivets of the Restoration. A refusal of some Scotch regiments to embark for Holland in 1689, led to the MUTINY ACT, which has been renewed annually from that year to this. The intrigues with St. Germains led to the first suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act for a year, dating from April, 1689; but this step was twice renewed in this reign of war and intrigue. Proposals by the King to admit Dissenters to places of trust, and to include in the Established Church men of the kind expelled from it in 1662, were rejected; as like proposals for comprehension would be rejected by Convocation to-morrow. A TOLERATION ACT, to relieve from certain penalties

all Nonconformists, except Catholics and Unitarians, became law in 1689. A little earlier the Scottish Convention had abolished Episcopacy, and expelled the Bishops; but had, at the same time, proclaimed William and Mary King and Queen of Scotland. In this memorable year war had been waged both in Scotland and Ireland. The battle at the head of the romantic pass of Killiecrankie had been fought, and Dundee slain. Londonderry had been gloriously defended and relieved. Schomberg had reduced Carrickfergus, Belfast, Dundalk, and Newry. Finally, as a foreshadowing of more war, early in 1690 William prorogued his Parliament, that he might himself be free for military command. The dissolution of Parliament almost immediately followed.

In the same year the Battle of the Boyne was fought, and the character of the Irishmen who stood with James was redeemed by Sarsfield's glorious defence of Limerick. This reference is made here chiefly for the purpose of noting the first great exodus of Irishmen to a foreign land. In October, 1691, Sarsfield and 12,000 volunteers left their country for ever, and became soldiers of France. Their voluntary expatriation is one of the most painful circumstances in the history of modern times, and is singularly like a leaf from the history of some great depopulation of the East. Women and children followed the boats into the water, with wailing that was heard in the ships far out to sea, and that even yet finds echoes in tradition. Long after this, Sarsfield and his men were heard of and more than heard of by Englishmen on fiercely-contested battle-fields, and the men long after their great leader's death. Six years earlier (in 1685), in the midst of the mad crusade of James against Protestantism, the revocation of the Edict of Nantes had sent 50,000 French Protestants into England, with their precious manufactures of silk and lace. The expatriation of Sarsfield was equally impolitic, and the massacre of Glencoe, which followed, was hardly less disastrous to William and to the nation. The new Parliament met in March, 1690, and was found to have a strong Tory bias. William procured a settlement of his revenue, with the avowed intention of borrowing money on the security

of it for the war. In 1693 a loan of a million was raised, on life annuities; the foundation was laid of our National Debt. In the following year the Bank of England was founded for purposes connected with the debt. Meanwhile, in England itself, there was for the King little but turmoil. The Primate (Sancroft) had refused to crown him, and the duty had been performed by Dr. Tillotson, then raised to the primacy. Several Bishops had refused to take the simple oaths of allegiance where no obnoxious tests were required. Marlborough, in the King's absence, was caught in the very midst of intrigues and sent by Queen Mary to the Tower; but he was subsequently and magnanimously released, almost unconditionally. It was a dark time. There was one set-off, however; the battle of La Hogue, fought in the very sight of James and his army, ready for the invasion of England, inspired the nation with new confidence in the invulnerability of its homes; and Mary's graceful act of giving up for a naval hospital the Royal Palace of Greenwich—one of the earliest graceful acts of any English sovereign for the benefit of the undistinguished masses of the people—was almost worth another victory.

In 1695 William refused his assent to a Bill for TRIENNIAL PARLIAMENTS, but in the following year, on a threat by the Commons to stop the supplies, he was induced to pass the Bill. The first Triennial Parliament met in November, 1695, with a clear Whig majority. This Act differed from that of the Long Parliament, repealed in the reign of Charles II., in providing, both that a Parliament should be called at least once in three years, and that no Parliament should exist longer than three years. In the following year the TREASON ACT was passed, securing to a prisoner a copy of the indictment against him, and of the panel, that he should be assigned counsel, and should not be convicted on the evidence, taken on oath, of fewer than two witnesses. This was the most important step yet taken for giving effect to the provisions of the Bill of Rights. Finally, Parliament, by refusing to re-enact the law for the censorship of printing, conceded, or rather secured, all that Milton had contended for as LIBERTY OF THE PRESS. In this measure all

the relations of sovereign and subject, of the upper and the lower classes in society were altered. The effect was immediate. The *London Gazette*, which had hitherto enjoyed a monopoly of publication, at once found competitors which, in a short time, more than equalled it in influence and mercantile success, and pushed it aside as a popular journal of news. William died in March, 1702, leaving a name for enemies to cavil over and to remain the watchword of a fierce religious party for several generations. His reign had not been one of unbroken warlike glory, and so far as he was personally concerned, it had been very chequered. His victories in Ireland had owed much to Schomberg, Marlborough, and Ginkell. On the Continent he had never, save in repairing disasters, been deemed a match in war for Luxembourg. Then, he was a foreigner. His trusted troops were in the main Dutch. His wars were Continental wars in a sense of which England had had little experience; that is, the interests were presumed to be, as however they were not, purely Continental, although William in his hatred to the policy of the French King, had represented Holland more than England, and foreign treaties had had a meaning and importance in his eyes which Acts of Parliament, unless directed to foreign affairs, had not. Yet no one who has read carefully the history of these times will doubt that here at last was a real King, ready to second, or to lead, if he were allowed, sensible and determined opposition to the principles that had been laid down and declared to be unalterable at the "Glorious Restoration."

Anne's reign of twelve years, during which she had no fewer than twelve Parliaments, was notable for its great wars. It was the reign of Blenheim, Ramillies, Oudenarde, Malplaquet—of the capture of Gibraltar. Among its great names were those of Marlborough, Peterborough, and that old Admiral Benbow whose fame is still so well preserved in our popular national song. Marlborough's warlike policy like his character has been the subject of dispute from that time to this. That his wars in some important senses led to national demoralization and corruption is unquestioned. The advantage was that they proved once more what Englishmen could do in war, when led

by men of genius and determination. In that way the battles of Marlborough warned off intruders for a long time to come. We see also in this reign some new historical personages, and begin for the first time to find traces of our modern ministry and of certain political facts destined to long duration. Sir John Somers, undoubtedly one of the chief authors, if not the author, of the Bill of Rights, appears in certain bodily form as an important historic character. He had held high office in 1699, and had been dismissed from that office with some ignominy in 1700, on a charge of connivance with piracy, afterwards shown to be entirely false. His fame all the time had broadened. He seems at this time like a calm power in reserve —one of those men to whom nations look in time of great need. On the accession of Anne, Marlborough, Godolphin, and those who followed them, rose at once to high power. The ministers were Tory. When the first Parliament met on October 20th, 1702, it, to the Queen's great joy, was found to be Tory also. The spirit of the House of Commons may be judged from three facts. The new members had scarcely taken their seats when they voted (October 27th) that Marlborough had "signally retrieved the ancient glory of the English nation;" and the word retrieved was retained by a vast majority of votes in defiance of the declaration of the minority that it would be accepted as an insult to William's memory, which of course was the intention. Ministers also introduced, and the Commons passed, a Bill to punish with heavy fines, and for a second offence with transportation, all persons holding public office, who having once taken the Sacrament in the Established Church, should afterwards attend a conventicle. The Bill originated, it was said, in a Lord Mayor of London, a Dissenter, having in the previous reign attended his meeting-house in his official robes. The true fact was that the Tories had determined to cut up Nonconformity root and branch. The Lords spiritedly rejected the Bill; thus making one good mark for civil and religious liberty. In 1711, however, in the turmoil of the Sacheverell madness the same Bill, on the motion of Lord Nottingham, a bigoted and intolerant person, of poor intellect—became law. The third

notable fact which deserves attention is that the Church after becoming well-nigh wild with joy over a book, entitled, *The Shortest Way with Dissenters*—an admirable defence, as was thought, of the Occasional Conformity Bill—discovered that the book was written in mockery by that worst of all Dissenters, Defoe. The obnoxious writer was dealt with in February, 1703; fined, pilloried, and utterly disgraced. That is, the Court put him in the pillory, and the people pelted him with bouquets of flowers. That was the disgrace of Defoe. All this was within a year of Anne's accession to the throne. Meanwhile Her Majesty had adopted as the motto of her arms the words, "*Semper Eadem*," as if to make certain that the new policy should be changeless.

For the Church it was evident the Queen had an affectionate regard; that she would be to it a great benefactor. She restored its "first-fruits" and "tenths," a relic of the Pope's dues, and a fund of late times often appropriated to royal mistresses, but henceforth to be known as Queen Anne's Bounty. Meanwhile (1710-11) Convocation met, and prayed the Crown and Parliament for more churches. The Commons answered the demand by voting money for fifty new churches in London alone; churches which were in due time designed by Sir Christopher Wren. The Tories were now in the full swing of power, and with a slight interval, from 1708 to 1710, they retained power during the whole of Anne's reign. The interval was when the Queen and the nation were threatened with an attempt to upset the succession. In 1707 the Act of Union of England and Scotland was duly passed without any great manifestation of feeling in England. It received the Royal assent in May, and on July 28th the UNION JACK was hoisted as the flag of GREAT BRITAIN. The first Parliament of Great Britain met in October the same year. Lord Somers was made President of the Council, indicating a slightly different feeling in the Royal Councils. In fact, Prince James Edward, now about twenty years of age, had landed in Scotland, and it seemed likely that the principles of the Revolution of 1688 might soon again be in demand. The Tories also found that

possibly a little more reticence might be advisable than when, in the first days of Anne's reign, they drank the health of the horse, "Sorrel," from which William had had the fall that caused his death. Habeas Corpus was suspended, measures for defence were pushed on, and for a couple of years the Whigs held office. When the danger was over the Tories returned to power. They had no more checks or semblance of checks during Anne's reign.

Perhaps there is no better evidence than the life of Lord Somers that the principles of the Commonwealth still influenced public affairs, and assisted to form as well as dominate Whiggery at its best. His father, a Parliamentarian of great zeal and high character, had commanded a troop under Cromwell, and there can hardly be a doubt that the after principles of the far more eminent son, as lawgiver of the Whigs, was owing in a great measure to the lessons of his earlier days, though, like many other young men educated under the stern rule of the so-called saints, he subsequently allowed nature to run riot in a course of lax morality, for which he would have been the last to offer a defence. His pen was engaged in such works as *A Just and Modest Vindication of the two last Parliaments*" (1681), against the King in the case of the Duke of York; *The Security of Englishmen's Lives; or, The Trust Power and Duty of the Grand Juries of England, explained according to the Fundaments of the English Government.* He also wrote, translated, and collected much. Probably he wrote some keen satires that are now nameless, and many that are lost. His rise to a first position as a lawyer and politician is dated from the trial of the Seven Bishops, for whom he was an advocate. He was a prominent speaker in the Parliamentary debates which ended with the declaration that James II. had abdicated the throne. He was chairman of the second of two committees that drew up the Declaration of Right. In fact in all that Lord Somers did with a grave and responsible object there are traces of the stern purpose of the men who read of the relations of rights and duties by the light of the Commonwealth. Of the charge that he was a supporter of piracy, there cannot be two opinions. He simply

fell before his political enemies, who knew that with him fell the soul of his party at that time. It speaks well for the temper and tact of this great man, that he succeeded in causing even Queen Anne, almost against her will, to confide in him. It is certain that without him, Whiggery, during many years, had remained a poor pitiable creed, with few, if any, redeeming qualities, and that when in long after years it was in a measure redeemed from worse than even existing Tory principles and practices, it was by recurring to the writings of Lord Somers.

Another great distinction was achieved by the Church of England. This reign was the era of our first real mobs in the modern sense; and to the glory of our national religion they were High Church mobs. In December, 1709—the Whigs then in power, and the so-called Pretender threatening invasion—two sermons were preached by Dr. Sacheverell, a Southwark rector, who advocated the prosecution of Dissenters, declared the Revolution unholy, and passive obedience and non-resistance the duty of all Englishmen. The mad rector's sermons were ordered to be burnt by the common hangman, and his own rights as a clergyman suspended. Then began the opportunity of High Church. Sacheverell was pronounced a martyr; the people kissed his hand, and fell at his feet, and destroyed the property of Dissenters in his name. The Commons impeached him, and he was condemned; but during his trial the precincts of Parliament were invaded by the mob, and the Queen herself heard on every side, and doubtless with unfeigned joy, the cries of—"God bless your Majesty; we hope your Majesty is for Dr. Sacheverell." It was madness on a small scale, not unlike that evoked by Peter the Hermit on a large scale. It is worth notice how this firebrand Tory priest, who, let alone, never had been heard of in history, should, by means of the notice accorded him by Parliament, have been able to create an entirely new fact in our history. There had before this time been mobs and mobs; but it was the glory of the Church to produce in many respects the most senseless, stupid mobs the country had ever known. To find a mass of people anxious to cast off slavery might have been understood, but to find masses of people anxious to cast

off freedom was a strange spectacle. The history of the English Church for a century previous to this time had shown many vicissitudes: — Paramount power in the reigns of the first James and the first Charles; a healthy sifting during the Commonwealth; brilliant supremacy, with unpleasant drawbacks in the reign of Charles II.; victory in the reign of James II.; a steady position, which the King could not touch, in the reign of William; and now, in the reign of Anne, such glory and position as no Church ever had had before; a position in fact almost regal, with security for future power.

What did the Church of England do or attempt during this time to justify its selection as the National Church? what to raise the condition of the masses of the people? We have seen that it did not with any general decision raise its voice against the profligacies of Charles II.; that it did not protest against the cruelties of James II., till those cruelties touched itself. John Knox, in Scotland, laid the foundations, from Church revenues, of a system of national education, which the sons of many poor Scotchmen have had reason to reverence; for it was education for the poor. The Buddhist monk in Burma is the village teacher, and so worthy is he of his poor hire, that hardly a Burmese child is unable to read and write. What large-hearted effort did the clergy of the Church of England make in a national sense to educate the poor? With such wealth, such social influence, such political power; with the universities, the cathedrals, the parish churches in their hands; with their opponents of the older church and the newer churches excluded from cherished rights of citizenship, in what way did the Established clergy prove their right to their stipends? This question had to be met or evaded at a later day, with secret societies springing up, and fierce disloyalty to both Church and Crown claiming to represent the larger loyalty to England. It is true the clergy, by high-class education, gave tone and character to polished society, and some beautiful characters were the offspring of the great efforts made. If, however, the highest success was to give tone to polished society, then, though the value of these need not be disputed, the Church

loses its greatest claim to nationality. Is there proof of any manful effort, on a large scale, to use for national education the revenues entrusted to the clergy?

If we take the great names in high scholarship and literature from 1660 to 1727, the Established Church so far outstrips all others that comparison were a chimera. Such names as those of Pearson, Barrow, Sherlock, Cudworth, Burnet, Patrick, South, Atterbury, Tillotson, Bull, and Beveridge represent a still larger number of great names, and an array of scholarship which leaves out of question any possibility of comparison. Some of them are English classics; many were liberal theologians even in cases where they were not always liberal politicians. Nearly all were men of whom England has ever since been proud, and who are marked as belonging to a great age in theology. These facts must have had something to do with the popularity of the Established Church. We must not forget, on the other hand, the exceptional position of the Church, and that after the first generation of the Puritans of 1662 had died out, high culture was placed beyond the reach of all but members of the Established Church, or at least of all but those who could take the oaths. This robs the Church of the glory of her pre-eminence, though it cannot rob her of the fact of that pre-eminence, nor lessen the importance of that fact in her history.

If we turn again to the splendid endowments which were provided during those times, we find a kindred story of individual character and influence in the Church. From 1684 to 1727 no fewer that ninety-six grammar-schools were founded. Of these at least fifteen were by clergymen of the Church of England, among whom were Archbishop Sancroft, Bishops Lloyd, Law (non-juror), Archbishop Tennison, and Bishop Wilson. Of endowed schools for the poor—free and not classical—there were established in London and the immediate vicinity, between 1684 and 1727, no fewer than seventy distinct foundations; in extra-metropolitan Kent and Surrey, twenty-seven; in North Hants, twenty-four; in Cambridgeshire, seventeen; in Suffolk, twelve—three counties Puritanically inclined. In Stafford and Worcester (Royalist, or Tory,

counties) the numbers were eighteen in the first case and twenty-one in the second. The Tories were by no means behindhand here. Many like instances might be given, all over the country, of schools not subsisting from year to year, but possessing the elements of permanent life. These facts are from the Reports of the Endowed Schools Commission, which has done so much, and so well, to revive old foundations, and adapt them to new and more exacting times. Nor should it be forgotten that in the catechizing of the young, in the personal influence of the parish clergyman, and in the fact that the poorer clergy were often schoolmasters, important work was done. In the north of England very interesting stories exist of clergymen who were also at once farmers, schoolmasters, doctors, lawyers, and general advisers to parishes. One fine old man, whose story has been well told by one of our great writers, was known as "Wonderful Walker." He wore clogs (shoes with wooden soles), farmed, dealt in cattle, was doctor for man and beast, and, among many other good acts, provided a basin of broth for every one who went from long distances to church on Sundays. The stipend was, in Walker's time, originally 5*l.*, increased to 17*l.* a year. The living is now certified at 80*l.* a year. If, therefore, the Church, as a Church, fell far below the Church of Knox—and it did—in organizing its revenues and directing its polity with a view to reaching educationally all the children in the land, individual clergymen certainly did their duty with a singleness of purpose which never was surpassed.

This leads naturally to the notice of the parochial system, and its effect on education. The idea was to set down a clergyman in a certain place, which he was to call his parish, and within which he was to become the centre of many influences, but beyond which he was not to interfere—a rule often strained to absurdity in our own time. The result was that one parish might be as a hive of intelligence and industry in learning, and another as a mass of ignorance and stupidity. In this the Episcopal Church differed widely from the Presbyterian Church. The latter, educationally, had far more of the spirit of the Act

of Uniformity than the former; a somewhat curious but an undoubted fact. The Scotch plan—the plan of Knox—was to educate Presbyterians on a uniform system; but then the system was based on also communicating general knowledge, to which Scotland has owed everything. The English plan was to educate Episcopalians on a system resting on many centres of life, and on individual character; but then it did not rest on the foundation of the necessity of secular knowledge. Hence the Scotch boy had the guarantee that the elements of knowledge were within his reach, while the English boy had to take his chance. The result is seen in the fact that north of the Tweed every poor boy reads and writes, while in the South of England (the rule does not so clearly apply to the North) the farm labourer—the man on whom the Church ought to have had the most direct influence—is altogether ignorant as a rule. When the defenders of the Church say that the Established clergy, and the laity whom the clergy guide, have done more than Dissenters for education, they raise a wrong issue, which will become only the more apparent as we proceed in these inquiries. The Church occupied the ground and the revenue; and though individual clergymen and laymen did splendid service to the nation, if an angel had been sent to write on the wall of Westminster, or of St. Paul's, the fiat of Justice on the Established Church at the time with which we are concerned, can it be doubted, in view of the comprehensive system of John Knox, that the words would have been:—"Thou hast been weighed in the balance, and art found wanting"? The popularity of the clergy, however, from Charles to Anne, may be said to have even increased, and perhaps never had been wanting since the Reformation. The people rejoiced when Elizabeth succeeded Mary. They did not rejoice for the Commonwealth. They assuredly rejoiced for the Restoration. In the reign of Anne the clergy were like the inheritors of the earth; and from some cause or other they enlisted the popular sympathies. Was it simply that they continued more genial than the Puritans, and that their geniality chorded with that of the nation? We shall again renew the inquiry under

different circumstances from those of the reign of Queen Anne. Under the conditions already narrated, the question of the popularity of the Church requires further explanation than that the clergy did not put on men heavy burthens hard to be borne, and that the Puritans somehow did make that mistake.

It is usual to say that this reign was an important one for learning and literature. Letters began, too, to have an important place in statesmanship. Men like Locke and Halley stood aloof from party; but Swift and Bolingbroke went clearly together on one political side, and Steele and Addison clearly together on another. The *Tatler*, the *Spectator*, the *Guardian*, the *Tory Examiner*, the *Whig Examiner*, filled up a vast field, and represented genius of a high order, with very much that was base and mean. The pungent wit of the *Examiner* (*Tory*), with Swift, Atterbury, and Bolingbroke as contributors, had made itself a veritable power in the State before it was confronted by the *Whig Examiner*, with Addison and Steele, as contributors. The Whigs, however, were then fairly in sight of the promised land, and in a short time the new organ accomplished its work by driving its competitor from the field. Then the Whig organ, with a flourish of trumpets, closed its own brief existence, and its contributors found employment for their pens in other, different or kindred, publications. It was a time when there was ample scope for wit and humour, for sarcasm and scandal, for profound thought, and for efforts which never again ceased for the purpose of brightening the lives of "common men." The *Spectator* alone is said to have sometimes sold 20,000 copies in one issue. The ideal of life seemed to have been reached; and this ideal continued till workmen began to inquire what all this literature represented to them. No high and pure writings could possibly be produced without benefiting all the people directly or indirectly, and political writing of a high order existed. Yet when the case came to be pressed home from the standpoint of the untaught, it was not easy to show in what way these great writers represented the sufferings and privations of the poor. Where taste and philosophy were concerned, it would perhaps be difficult to say what subjects Addison did not touch

and adorn. Where light and graceful gossip was concerned, Steele in many respects stands alone as a sketcher of life and manners. In satire, Swift was unapproachable in his time, and in some particulars never has been approached since. What fierce bigotry—what intense scorn—what licence as to taste—what utter disregard, at once of conventional religion and human rights! He was so often right, too, as against extreme views and unrealities, that his works are an excellent tonic, even if they clash with a reader's opinions at every line, and especially if the reader have been passing through a course of Puritan literature. The *Sentiments of a Church of England Man*, and the views *On the Sacramental Test*, might be read with advantage even in these times and by the opponents of the writer. In Swift's own time, his satire cut to the bone; and he was cut deeply in return. When he was made dean, some wicked enemy of his fastened to the door of the cathedral:—

> "When Wharton reigned a Whig he was,
> When Pembroke, that's dispute, sir;
> In Oxford's time, what Oxford pleased,
> Non-con, or Jack, or Neuter.
> This place he got by wit and rhyme,
> And many ways most odd,
> And might a Bishop be in time
> Did he believe in God."

It is difficult to say whether this work of an enemy did not convey a part truth; whether in fact, though the faith in God could hardly be doubted, the faith in Christianity as understood by the Church was not very questionable. Of Swift's political and social services to the nation at a corrupt and troublous time there can be no doubt. Yet, when we consider how little the people who were carried away to Marlborough's wars were indebted to Swift, any more than to Addison and Steele, the question of the direct influence of literature on the nation involves a difficulty. The truth is that the great writers, like the statesmen and lawyers of the time, have left nothing to show that they ever gave a thought to the condition

of the great body of the nation. They taught each other to talk about "society" in much the same sense as that in which the French king is reported to have said—"France, that is me." By society their aims and thoughts were bounded, and from it literature took complexion.

A few more glances at Queen Anne's reign, as a whole, are necessary. War began with the accession to the throne, and ended in 1713, the year before the Queen's death. All Europe agreed that it had been a very glorious war. What it had cost in life was one of the subjects not to be too minutely entered into. That was and is a dark subject. Very probably there were a few widows and orphans in some parts of England at the end of Anne's reign, but of suggestions of this kind history takes no note. If a Bishop had had the good fortune to be killed, he would have had a grave in Westminster Abbey, and a name to live for ever. If Prince George of Denmark, Anne's husband, had been killed, the event would have been notable enough for many speeches in Parliament and a national mourning. But what of these common, undistinguished people, who must have in some cases died under painful circumstances? The cost in money is more easily computed than the cost in life. In 1713 the National Debt was over 54,000,000*l.* The ever-increasing figures are interesting. The Commons complained that the Queen had been paying the expenses of her allies as well as her own; but they were pointed to the glory, and there the complaint ended. It was not an earnest complaint in any way. The glory covered all. Towards the end of the reign —great intrigue then afoot—an Act was passed making it necessary for a county member to possess a PROPERTY QUALIFICATION of 600*l.* a year, and a borough member 300*l.* a year; an Act which remained on the statute book till 1858. Later, in 1713, on the motion of Bolingbroke (an "unbeliever"), a SCHISM BILL passed both Houses, providing that no person should keep a school, or act as tutor, who had not subscribed to the tenets of the Established Church, and received a licence from the Bishop of the Diocese. The penalty for breach of the law was imprisonment without bail. Happily, before the Bill received the Royal

assent, the Queen died; and a few years later the measure, which had passed both Houses, was repealed with the OCCASIONAL CONFORMITY ACT. Plotting with Bolingbroke to bring her brother to the throne, Anne was caught in the meshes of a sovereign from whom there was no escape. She died on the 1st of August, 1714. Of her character, Marlborough's asserted reply in a foreign court expresses everything. "She is a good sort of woman," he is credited with having said. When that is said, all is said of "Good Queen Anne." Dr. Smollett extols her virtues in ampler terms. She was a pattern, he says, of all the virtues, and no subject suffered for treason in her reign. It is certain she was inordinately fond of eating, and ill-natured people added of drinking; but the latter has been denied. Governed, in the first instance, by the Duchess of Marlborough, and in the next by Mrs. Masham, the Queen was never altogether mistress of herself, and apparently never wished to be so. She was happy in being governed. She wished to be, as she was, a good sort of woman. None the less, however, she thought herself also a great Queen.

One person, towards the end of Anne's reign, began to have an importance which would not again be denied him for many a long year. While Bolingbroke, and Harley, and Godolphin, and Marlborough were intriguing with the Queen's help, Mr. Robert Walpole was nobody in the state. He had held office during the short Whig triumph of 1708, and had paid the penalty by being expelled from the House for corruption when the Tories under Harley returned to power. When the Queen's end approached, Walpole began to be busy; he became one of the leading elements in a great organization which would decide for a long period the politics and, in a sense, the destinies of England.

CHAPTER IV.

FRESH CENTRES OF HISTORY: THE HANOVERIAN LINE.

Three Central Facts in History from 1714—Landing of George I.—Root of the Succession—Absurd Arguments as to the Succession—Dr. Price, Burke, and Paine—King George and King Charles—Action of Party—The Stuart Plot—The Whig Counterplot—Whig Ascendency—Walpole's Accession to Power—Habeas Corpus Suspended—The Riot Act—High Church Mobs—The Rebellion; its Chief Duration—North of England and West of England Traditions—Whig Administration, 1716—Occasional Conformity and Schism Acts — Convocation — Bishop Hoadley — Septennial Act; a Whig Measure—First Septennial Parliament—Peerage Bill—"Encouragement to Loyalty in Scotland" Act—National Debt—The South Sea Scheme—Birth of the "Young Pretender," 1720—Press Prosecutions—Burridge and Mist—Execution for a Pamphlet—Honour to Addison, Prior, and Steele—Immoral Clubs—Death of George I.—His Influence as a King and as a Man.

In the foregoing chapters an attempt has been made to direct attention to four great events which may be termed the pivots of English history from the accession of Henry VIII. to the reign of George I. From that time three fresh facts must be considered:—A Disputed Succession, American Independence, and the French Revolution of 1789. These are the all-pervading influences of the six next reigns. If we lose sight of any of them we lose the gist and pivots of the history of these times; the mainsprings of popular discontent, of the strange longings for freedom and for knowledge, which even the most prominent and clear-sighted of contemporary statesmen so little understood; and finally of that wide-spread defiance to authority which, through many errors and great suffering, never really was hurled back in absolute defeat. Our Sovereign Lord King George I. landed in England on

September the 18th, 1714, more than six weeks after Anne's death; a proof, possibly, that George was not over glad to leave his Electorate for what he was pleased to call the "throne of my ancestors." It came to be the throne of his ancestors from the fact that by the Act of Settlement of the reign of William III., confirmed in that of Anne, about fifty persons more or less clearly in the direct succession were passed over, that the son of the Princess Sophia of Hanover, granddaughter of James I., and wife of the Elector of Hanover, should by right of his Protestant faith be King of England. The reader will recall the fact that on the day previous to the Coronation of Charles II.—that is, on the 28th May, 1660—the son of the Princess Sophia was born, and was of so little account in England that his advent to the world caused not a ripple on the vast sea of preparations that reflected back the glory of the already risen sun of the Glorious Restoration; and, indeed, so little were the prospects altered in the course of many subsequent years, that when our gracious sovereign landed at Greenwich, he could scarcely speak a word of that, which to be consistent, he must have called his mother tongue.

A year and a few months short of a century had elapsed since James I. gave his daughter Elizabeth to Frederick Elector Palatine—that is, early in the year 1613—and there were few probable changes or chances of human life that seemed at all likely to bring about the succession to the English throne in the exact way in which it came to pass in this year 1714; that the descendant of the Elector Palatine and of Elizabeth his wife, would, with the great right of national choice and approval, condemn to perpetual exile the direct hereditary Stuart line, till the last of that line passed away. A hundred years later, in a dangerous time, an excellent Dissenting minister, Dr. Price, preaching on the anniversary of the Revolution of 1688 to the members of the so-called English Revolutionary Society—which really only meant an English Reform Society—stated that the English people by the Revolution of 1688 had acquired the right to choose their own governors, and to cashier them for misconduct And what a display of eloquence Mr. Edmund

Burke a little later made about that sermon! 'Choose their own governors?' he said; 'why, it was expressly stated in the Act of Settlement, that the English people not only had not chosen their own governor, but that on behalf of themselves and of their posterity for ever they abnegated the right to do what Dr. Price affirmed they had done.' This rejoinder of Mr. Burke was made in the first crisis of the French Revolution of 1789. Then another combatant appeared in Mr. Thomas Paine, whose *Rights of Man* went into a hundred cottages for one in which Burke's *Essay on the French Revolution* would ever have been heard of, if Paine had not written a reply. The sermon of Dr. Price was a simple statement of a fact; only it was incorrectly, and in any case needlessly, put. Mr. Burke and Mr. Paine were both wrong. The English—that is, the Whigs—in 1688, had asserted no new fact. They simply had asserted a law of nature, and a law which it never could be necessary to reassert till the occasion for reassertion arose. Therefore Mr. Burke was quite right in stating that there had been no assertion of any new principle in the constitution of England. The people of England had not put forth any plea of right to dethrone James II. They simply dethroned him, and in so doing acted exactly in the spirit of their ancestors, and exactly, we may well hope, as their successors would act if the liberties of England were in danger. The Queen of England is as truly the successor of Alfred as if there had been no break in the line; and again we may loyally hope that there may be no more break in the line, even to the end. Burke wrote nonsense, but it was brilliant nonsense, and it fell on prepared ground. Paine wrote common sense, but it was common sense which fell like seed in a wintry season, so far as affected the national policy with respect to France, if indeed it was not one of the main causes for the general alarm that soon ensued, and amid which Paine was stigmatised in terms which history would be glad to drop out of sight. Whatever the merits or demerits of this man, and his faults were great, he was no coward. As "a citizen of the world," when the life or death of Louis XVI. was in question, Paine voted for life, and was

answered by the opprobrious epithet of "Quaker," by Marat. He was made to be silent, and to pay a heavy penalty for his fault.

Of King George let us note one other fact of a curious or interesting kind. The reader has seen that the Electress Sophia gave birth to her little child at the very time that the carpenters were putting up platforms, from whence the grand coronation of Charles II. might be viewed. Observe, also, that on the night of the 18th May, 1714, the year of his accession to the throne, the Electress Sophia died. George I. remained the figure-head of the State for thirteen years, from August, 1714, to June, 1727. Of his landing at Greenwich Mr. Thackeray wrote these pungent words:—"Here we are all on our knees. Here is the Archbishop of Canterbury prostrating himself to the head of the church with Kielmansegg and Schulenberg, with their ruddled cheeks grinning behind the defender of the faith. Here is my Lord Duke of Marlborough kneeling, too, the greatest warrior of all time; he who betrayed King William, betrayed King James II., betrayed Queen Anne, betrayed England to the French, the Elector to the Pretender, the Pretender to the Elector; and here are my Lords Oxford and Bolingbroke, the latter of whom has just tripped up the heels of the former, and, if a month's more time had been allowed him, would have had King James at Westminster. The great Whig gentlemen made their bows and congés with proper decorum and ceremony; but yonder keen old schemer knows the value of their loyalty. 'Loyalty,' he must think, 'as applied to me, it is absurd! There are fifty nearer heirs to the throne than I am. I am but an accident, and you fine Whig gentlemen take me for your own sake, not for mine. You Tories hate me; you Archbishop, smirking on your knees and prating about heaven, you know I don't care a fig for your Thirty-nine Articles, and can't understand a word of your stupid sermons. You, my Lords Bolingbroke and Oxford, you know you were conspiring against me a month ago; and you, my Lord Duke of Marlborough, you would sell me or any man else if you found your advantage in it. Come, my good Melusina, come, my honest Sophia, let us

go into my private room, and have some oysters and some Rhine wine, and some pipes afterwards; let us make the best of our situation; let us take what we can get, and leave these bawling, brawling, lying English to shout, and fight, and cheat in their own way." It would have been cowardly to recall these particulars for the purpose of reflecting invidiously and by a side issue upon the throne. The Queen, or any of her successors, male or female, must ever be the one person at any particular time in the realm on whom all eyes are fixed, whose every act is watched, and who can reply to no aspersion. If the same sort of criticism applied to them were applied to others many a reputation would be effectually destroyed. If this were remembered we should probably have fewer idle and objectless attacks upon members of the royal family. At the same time we should have less of that flattery which makes every royal personage have the virtues of a saint and the wisdom of a sage. There is the line of sober, restrained loyalty and respect, not by any means connected with fulsome adulation, and to preserve that line it is above all things necessary to picture men and women exactly as they were. It is in this spirit that Mr. Thackeray treated the first Hanoverian king.

The action of party in 1714 is a curious study. We have previously noted the Tories in the full flush of power, and what they did then. We have seen the Church of England in the height of its glory, and how little it did—for instance, for national education. We shall now see the Whigs in a like position. It will be our duty to notice what they performed for freedom, for "progress," for giving effect to their own principles of the Revolution of 1688. A short time before the death of Anne, the clever and now essentially Tory intriguer, St. John, Lord Bolingbroke, triumphant over his old colleague and co-intriguer, Harley, Lord Oxford, was in the midst of a plot, with Marlborough, and unquestionably with the Queen's real, if not avowed, concurrence, for the restoration of the exiled Stuarts. The great soldier who had won Blenheim was at the time in disgrace, on his wife's account, and in relation to those money transactions in which he and Walpole had alike fallen under public odium.

He was the one man, however, who could not be spared if there was to be another struggle for the throne. Accordingly when Bolingbroke had made the field clear at home for his own special intrigues, communication was opened with Marlborough; and so fair to all appearance were the prospects that if the Queen had lived a few months longer it is probable Bolingbroke and the haughty Duchess Sarah would again have been foremost in a Stuart Court. The Whigs had foreseen this and prepared for it; and happily there were among them some men who knew how to act both with wisdom and promptitude. Halifax, Somers, Walpole, the Duke of Somerset, and others, with the Duke of Shrewsbury in high trust, were on the alert from the moment the Queen's illness was seen to be imminently dangerous. Addison and Steele—with Lord Halifax, vigilant as a fox on the background—were pouring out their strong, and, indeed, unanswerable, appeals for the Protestant succession, depicting in terms which carried conviction everywhere the dangers of popery and arbitrary power. Flushed at once with the sense of danger and a prospect of office, the Whig writers were at last more than a match for the brilliance of Bolingbroke and the terrible satire of Swift. Late in July Bolingbroke was triumphant and Oxford an outcast. On the 30th July—the Queen then lying at the point of death—Bolingbroke had the unwelcome spectacle of the Dukes of Argyle and Somerset appearing at court, and of the Duke of Shrewsbury receiving them as if the visit was expected. There was no longer any doubt that a counter-mine was ready to be sprung. Queen Anne died on the third day from that time. Then the Privy Council assembled, and the Act of Succession was read. Then the Archbishop of Canterbury (Tennison), the Lord Chancellor, and the Resident in Anne's court of the Elector of Hanover, produced sealed papers enumerating the names of eighteen persons to act for the King till he arrived. Nearly all these men, in addition to others who already held office, were Whigs. There were among the dukes, Somerset, Argyle, and Devonshire; among the lords, Halifax, Cowper, and Wharton—the man who wrote the ballad "Lillibulero," and helped to sing

James II. from the throne. Addison was made secretary as the first fruit of his reward. Marlborough—who had landed at Dover the very day after the Queen's death, and who would some days later enter London in triumph, and find his carriage break down in the streets—an unlucky omen it was thought—was not even named in the list of the persons to represent the sovereign. The haughty duchess has left some remarkable pictures of her feelings under these and earlier unwonted trials. That Marlborough never succeeded in winning the sympathies of the Jacobites the literature of the time bears marked evidence, and as he must have known this, the proof seems strong that he never was prepared earnestly to support the exiled family till the death of Anne. One old song, of which Bishop Burnet is the chief subject, says:—

"Of every vice he had a spice,
Although a rev'rend prelate,
And liv'd and died, if not belied,
A true Dissenting zealot.
If such a soul to heaven should stroll,
And 'scape old Satan's clutches,
We may presume there may be room
For Marlborough and the Duchess."

Of all melancholy remains, however, connected with the name of Marlborough there is nothing exceeds in that way the letters of the great Sarah herself when in disgrace, when Mrs. Masham rose to the Queen's favour, and when all hope of future influence had gone. How she pleaded, threatened, and sent the duke to expostulate she has left in indelible characters for all time. Her bitterness remained till the grave closed upon it and her. In London, Edinburgh, Dublin, and elsewhere George was proclaimed king. On the 31st August, before the landing at Greenwich, Bolingbroke's seals were taken away, and his offices locked up. The Duke of Ormond, who went in great splendour to Greenwich, was not even received at the court held there. From that day Ormond was a confirmed rebel, and very soon was an exile and an outlaw, a brand he bore till his death in 1747. His estates were confiscated. There only remained his name

—a watchword for High Church mobs. Lord Oxford had the gratification of kissing the King's hand, but in such a fashion that he was glad afterwards to glide away unnoticed in the crowd, to await events which soon overtook him. On the whole, perhaps, no court more intoxicating to some, and more dismal to other of several, bands of intriguers was ever held in this world than that first court of the first George. The very stolidity of the King only made it more certain that his likes and dislikes would be immutable.

All power was now in the hands of the Whigs, of whom Walpole made himself the chief agent, and eventually the head. Lord Halifax died early in the following year, after which there was the necessary shuffling of the ministerial cards. Then Walpole's long term of office began. Meanwhile the personage known in Whig histories as the Chevalier de St. George, or the Pretender, and in Tory histories as King James the Third of England and Eighth of Scotland, had also been proclaimed in his ancient kingdom and in the north of England, and the Whigs were put on their mettle. Bolingbroke had followed the example of Ormond and crossed the English Channel. Oxford, who had wisely stood his ground, was committed to the Tower, where he lay long; when in quieter times he was set free from Walpole's implacable animosity, he retired into private life, and made that famous collection of manuscripts which bears his name in the British Museum. By the middle of the year the Habeas Corpus Act had been suspended, and a Riot Act passed. It was full time. Lord Mar, the man so well known to history as "Bobbing John," was fast collecting men in Scotland, and soon Mr. Forster and Lord Derwentwater began their fatal march to Preston. Large mobs in every town were screaming their loudest for "High Church and Ormond," destroying the property of Dissenters, and denouncing the Whigs, who always had a great dislike to such denunciation. But there was no very distinct shouting for James III. Opposition to the "Hanoverian rat" did not imply love for the Stuart wolf. In December the "Pretender" landed at Peterhead, and found his cause hopelessly wrecked. The march to England had

ended in utter disaster; Mar had been hopelessly defeated at Sheriff Muir. On the 5th February, 1716, the exiled Prince re-embarked at Montrose, and the throne of King George's ancestors was secure to King George. It is worth notice that the Rebellion only lasted about four months, and was sharply and strongly dealt with. It is beyond the scope of this narrative to tell in detail of what followed. Mr. Thackeray makes light of the executions; "a few persons put to death," he says, "and a number at their own request transported;" there the affair ended. There are different traditions, however, in the north of England and in Scotland, where Forster's march and Mar's defeat are yet, together with the later and still better remembered uprising of 1745, very deeply engraven on the popular memory. In London and the south of England generally the event was one among many, as the bloody circuit of Jeffreys is to the north of England and in Scotland. What the "campaign" of Jeffreys is to the west of England, so are these rebellions to the north—land-mark periods from whence other events are computed. A North-countryman going into Taunton or Exeter would be amazed to find how little he knows of deeds which West-countrymen and countrywomen still talk of with horror, and of names which are the terror of the little children. Exactly similar are northern traditions as to the Rebellion of '15 and '45. The old people like the familiar omission of the century. It was in '15—there never was another '15; or in '45—there never was another '45 in all the world's history. So must it have been when the Romans, during their long four centuries of rule in Britain, avenged some trifling insult by a massacre; and so, perhaps, will it be when some future India talks of certain deeds which will not readily pass away from the records of 1857. There were very relentless acts indeed after the Rebellion. Such items as this: "Sir Thomas John, for transporting 130 Preston prisoners to the plantations, 1,000*l.*," speak volumes when we consider what transportation to the plantations meant. It has never been alleged against Sir Robert Walpole that he loved blood-shedding for itself, but the contrary. It is certain, however, that he never spared an

opponent, or hesitated to sacrifice an enemy who might be dangerous.

Before the end of 1716 there could no longer be a question that the Whig power was supreme in England, and it is important to see what efforts were made to restore to the people of England just and righteous laws. Freedom of conscience was to some extent the gainer in the repeal of the Occasional Conformity Act, and by the consignment to the limbo of unaccomplished measures of the Schism Act of Queen Anne's reign. These are the more prominent of the services which the Whigs in their day of power rendered to that civil and religious freedom which came to be their motto. Convocation, moreover, very fortunately ceased in 1717 for considerably more than a century, and the occasion gave to this famous step the aspect of a Whig measure. Bishop Hoadley of Bangor, hoping perhaps that a new rule in the state implied new political principles in the Church, had expressed certain liberal sentiments as to Toleration, and had been taken so sharply and violently to task in Convocation, that the subject took the historic name of the Bangorian Controversy; a memorable dispute, for Bishop Hoadley was in favour of abrogating several penal laws against the free expression of opinion, while Convocation was rigidly in favour of maintaining them. How the after-result came about it is difficult now to say, but orders were indicated without being given. The clergy were made to understand that the sittings of Convocation were to cease. The gist of the dispute came to be one as to the principles of the Revolution or those of the reign of Anne, and the Whigs, who cared little for freedom of opinion, were firm as to the party lines. A few years later (1721-22) a bill was passed to enable Quakers to give evidence without oath. These acts so far are in favour of the Whigs.

There is, however, the other side. In 1716, the Triennial Act was repealed, and a Septennial Act substituted. This was a purely Whig measure, devised for the simple purpose of preventing an election at an inconvenient time, with Tory mobs and High Church clergy, inciting to something very like

rebellion. The measure was concocted at the house of the Duke of Devonshire, and was introduced by the Duke to the Lords. The first Septennial Parliament met in February, 1717. The Whigs next tried to restrict the Royal prerogative as to additions to the Peerage, but after carrying the Bill through the House of Lords it was defeated in the Commons—on the real ground, wicked writers have said, that the gentlemen of the Lower House were unwilling to destroy their own chances of becoming peers. An Act was also passed for "the Encouragement of Loyalty in Scotland." By this Act a loyal tenant was empowered to claim the estates of a malcontent landlord, or a son the estates of a father. It will be seen what a cunningly devised as well as wicked act this was, and how if carried out it must have completely reduced Scotland to the sad condition of Ireland. No one, in these days, will be at all likely to fall into the error of supposing that these measures were concocted from patriotic motives. At the same time it must be remembered that there was even then a broad line of distinction between a Whig who understood Whiggery and a Tory who understood Toryism. In all our history we shall rarely find a purely Whig mob, shouting for the restriction of freedom, as we shall scarcely ever find a Tory mob shouting for anything else. This principle came somehow to be inwoven into the nature of things. There were some very good Tories; Bishop Atterbury, for instance, was undoubtedly an excellent man, as he certainly was an able writer. There were some very bad Whigs; Lord Wharton, to whom reference has been made and who died early in this reign, was an utter *debauchee*, only less abandoned than his son, whose name became a synonym for licentiousness. Many of the Whigs were excessively narrow in their views, and still more so in their social action. Many Tories were broad and generous, both in social action and in opinions. Yet the fact remains that when the action of the two parties came into collision on the basis of distinctive principles, the Whigs were generally in the right. When they came into collision, on personal or party grounds, the reverse was much oftener the fact.

King George and the Whigs had another very considerable advantage besides the defeat of the so-called Pretender in 1715. Louis XIV., the arch disturber of Europe, the man against whose brilliant combinations and brilliant selection of servants, the genius of William III. had all but struggled in vain, and for which only Marlborough was a fitting match, had died; and more than one European Court breathed more freely. During this reign, also, the wars with Spain and otherwise, the cost of the King's mistresses, and the corruption in the public service had raised the national debt enormously. The amount was now becoming a little alarming. At the time most needed, however, the famous Blount brought gladness to court, ministry, and nation by undertaking to wipe the debt away, almost as with a sponge. A man named Law, had previously proposed to the French Government a like project, which went under the name of the Mississipi Scheme. Blount, with an equally great genius, formed a South Sea Scheme, and he was hailed as the saviour of society, as if society ever had been saved by financial "schemes." Unhappily for Blount, Law's bubble burst at the most unfortunate of times, just before the English financial harvest could be reaped. Then the South Sea Bubble burst also, and there was such ruin as we can scarcely understand or compute in these days. These facts were a trouble and a thorn to the Government for many a year. There was still another trouble, and one perhaps that vexed King George most of all. In 1720, the wife of the gentleman who called himself James III., had been foolish enough to have a son. If King George could have sent out a dagger and a poison-bowl, and insisted on one or the other being used, all would have been well. As he could not, there was sore distress to Sophia of Zell, George's wife, and to the Countess of Kendal, and some other people of her kind. Worst of all, when the news came to England the Jacobites drew together, and among them the famous Bishop Atterbury, who was caught in the fact—clear and undoubted treason—and sent to the Tower, and then exiled. At Calais he met the still more notable Jacobite, Lord Bolingbroke, who had had his outlawry reversed and his estates restored. "My Lord," said the poor

Bishop, "then we are exchanged." And they were. Bolingbroke returned to write wittily, sarcastically, and without an atom of conviction for many future years.

There was another cause of great uneasiness to the Government. With or without reason, people would print fly-sheets, squibs, and all improper things, secular and religious; and among other publications there was one called the *Weekly Journal*, a Jacobite paper, which gave the Government no end of trouble. They at last caught Richard Burridge, corrector for the Press, and ordered him to be whipped from the new church in the Strand to Charing Cross, to pay a fine of 20*l.*, and to be imprisoned a month. Nathaniel Mist also had had the impertinence to put a few questions with respect to the Spanish war—questions such as, "What are you going to war for?" Nothing of a worse nature. He was sentenced to stand twice in the pillory, to pay a fine of 50*l.*, to be imprisoned for three months, and to give security for seven years. The severity of the fine may be judged from the fact that the average cost each of poor persons, as shown by the books of a number of Poorhouses, was 1*s.* 8*d.* a week. Later, Mr. Mist was committed to Newgate by the House of Commons. These are a few from many specimens of comparatively lenient punishment. Very much greater severity was at times used. In the year 1719 a man named John Matthews had ventured to write a pamphlet entitled, *Vox Populi, Vox Dei: being the true maxims of Government; proving that all Kings, Governors, and forms of Government, proceed from the People.*" For this, John Matthews was apprehended, and executed at Tyburn. Here were some of our precedents, "to broaden down" to other precedents for Press prosecutions. There was a great compensation, however, for all this. Matthews, Mist, and Burridge might suffer; but Addison had died in glory; and so had Matthew Prior; and Dick Steele had been made Sir Richard. No one could dispute that the Press was in great honour. The punishment of a few such persons as these obscure publicists was not to be set off against polite literature, and the honours paid to it in the persons of Addison and Sir Richard Steele.

One other memorable fact in this reign was the institution of what were termed Immoral Clubs. When the general subject of national immorality was brought before the House of Lords, and these clubs were referred to, one so-called nobleman objected to restricting freedom, and Lord Wharton, son of the great Whig nobleman and debauchee, pulled a Bible from his pocket and offered to discuss one part of the subject under consideration with some of the bishops. This occurred some time in 1721. There is every reason to believe that the bishops as a body would treat the scene in which Lord Wharton figured as an ebullition of youthful spirits. Pope, with poetic truth, termed the Bible-loving lord "the shame and wonder of his age." The immorality of the time had its first representative in the King. His low tastes, the utterly vulgar manner in which he flaunted his vices in the face of the public, in which he suffered Church livings and bishoprics to be sold by vicious mistresses to vicious priests, were sufficient to infect all society. The King was on his way to Hanover, after his favourite custom of holiday-making, when there were unmistakable signs that his end was at hand. He was hurried, as fast as possible, along with his mistress, the Duchess of Kendal, to the palace of his brother the Bishop of Osnaburg; but he died on the way, and, it is greatly to be feared, without having taken the Sacrament. "His heart," Mr. Thackeray says, "was in Hanover to the last"; but he adds, after weighing all misdeeds rigidly, "I for one would have been on his side in those days. Cynical and selfish as he was, he was better than a king out of St. Germains, with the French king's orders in his pocket, and a swarm of Jesuits in his train." Mr. Thackeray is right. The Hanoverian king had a stupid sense of truth, which was better than a brilliant sense of falsehood. He came to rule England as a young landowner might come to rule an estate he never had seen and which he never had expected to inherit. He cared nothing for the tenants; his heart was with those other tenants, to whom he had been known as a boy. But he was no hypocrite. He had no religion to conceal, as Charles II. had; no religion to secure by secret conspiracy, as James had. He had a method of

refusing to permit hand-kissing in certain cases, as that of Ormond; and of making the kiss a very chilly one, as in that of Oxford; and of going direct at an enemy, taking him in front, as he took Forster and Mar. In much the reign was not good, not wholesome, but one "would have been on the side of King George in those days;" "he was better than a king out of St. Germains, with a French king's orders in his pocket, and a a swarm of Jesuits in his train." How different, though, from even the throne of Charles II., of James II., of William, and of Anne, was the throne of England when George I. went away on that last visit to Hanover! Perhaps the contrast does not yet appear as it will to future times, but it was a marked contrast. He was no prince among men who had been chosen for the throne of Alfred. He did not affect the least regard for England, or for English interests; and his apathy was not redeemed by kingliness of spirit and deportment, as in the case of William III. King George and his people never even pretended to like each other; but they both knew that the union all the same was compatible with great interests, and in the end, against all appearances, they made it and great interests accord.

CHAPTER V.

A CHASM OF THIRTY-FIVE YEARS.—THE EVENTS OF GEORGE THE SECOND'S REIGN; FROM THE REIGN OF GEORGE III.

A Hundred Years—National Debt—Lord Bute—Frederick Prince of Wales—William Pitt—Death of the Prince of Wales—Leicester House and the Prince—The Boy Patriots—Pitt's Brothers-in-Law, Lord Temple and Mr. George Grenville—Carteret, Lord Granville—Lord Lyttelton—Lord Holland—The Pelhams—Walpole from 1727 to 1741—His Secret Service Money—His Hireling Press—His Contempt for Nonconformist Grievances—First Prime Minister—Pitt—Dettingen—Pulteney and Carteret in Power—Henry Pelham's Government—Fontenoy—Prince Charles—Prestonpans—Advance into England—Retreat from Derby—Falkirk Moor—Culloden—Cruel Policy after Culloden—Death of Pelham—The Newcastle Government—Pitt—Lord Mansfield—Pitt's Administration—Overthrown—Lord Hardwicke's Intrigue—His Views on the Law of Libel—Henley, Lord Northington—Mr. Pratt, Lord Camden—Lord Chancellors Yorke and Bathurst—Traditions and Principles of the Bar—Political Prizes of the Bar—Morals of the Great Lawyers—Political Judges.

IT is important to observe, that from the beginning of the reign of Charles II. to the beginning of the reign of George III.—that is, from the beginning of the Glorious Restoration to the beginning of the glorious overturning of the Restoration—was very nearly a hundred years. Charles II. began to reign in May, 1660. George III. began to reign in October, 1760. We have spanned part of the chasm in the foregoing chapter. Let us endeavour to span the remainder—thirty-five among the most curious and eventful years of our history—looking back from the year 1763. George III. has now been about three years on the throne. The national debt stands at 139,000,000*l.*, with a yearly interest of nearly 5,000,000*l.* We find a new public

spirit; new impulses, to which previous times afford no counterpart. If the chasm were as real as we have made it, and the reader could be asked in fact to blot out all knowledge of the period from the end of the reign of George I. to the third year of the reign of George III., what a chasm it would be. Of politics—ministries—what is it we perceive? There is the Earl of Bute, First Lord of the Treasury, "a fine, showy man, who would make an excellent ambassador in any court where there is no business." So Frederick, Prince of Wales, said; and he was much nearer the truth than usual when he ventured on epigram. Frederick, as the reader will remember, was George II.'s son, and George III.'s father, a person possessing a great gift for rhyming, and repartee, and dinner-giving, and dicing, and all that belongs to that idle sort of life. He had found his way—say, in 1737—to form a Prince's Party, as opposed to the Party of the Sovereign in the State. He had a house of his own, and a wife who assisted him to attract to their saloons a portion, at least, of the wit and wild ability of the young men then looking for a part in public affairs. There was one young man in particular, named William Pitt, whom Prince Frederick attracted. He was the son of an ex-Governor of Madras who had died in 1726, the son then about eighteen years of age, and noted for cleverness amongst those who knew him. He entered the House of Commons in 1735 as a member for Old Sarum, and hence under the direct shelter of a borough system that he was destined to effectively sap and impair. Sir Robert Walpole was then at the head of the King's Government, and as the King's Government and the party of Prince Frederick were in antagonism, the friends of the Prince were the opponents of Sir Robert. Mr. Pitt was a cornet in the Blues when he began to make speeches in the spirit of the Prince's Party, and Sir Robert Walpole dismissed him from his cornetcy, a very serious pecuniary punishment at the time, for the cornet was as poor as he was aspiring. Prince Frederick, however, compensated him for the loss by an office in "the household" for which he had been martyred; and Pitt remained in the House of Commons to thunder his anathemas against Walpole. The

veteran minister found a term of opprobrium to apply to these young men of the Party of Prince Frederick. He called them "The Boys," and "The Boy Patriots," and perhaps history will decide that Sir Robert was right in many of his anathemas against the conduct and assumption of "the Boys." Happily for Pitt, at the very moment when Bolingbroke, again a courtier and a lord of fashion, was engaged in celebrating the merits of Prince Frederick as a prospective king, Prince Frederick had the one summons (1751) which can neither be disputed nor postponed. His little son, afterwards George III., was left heir to the throne.

Leicester House, where the Prince had held his great parties, was now ruled by his wife, the Princess Augusta of Saxe-Gotha, whom observant people have said her husband had really loved. Both Prince and Princess, however, had been at open feud with the King and Queen. Prince Frederick's mother, on her death-bed, had refused even to see her son, and it is on record that, to the last, the King had no great affection for Prince Frederick's wife. George, at the time of his father's death, was a lad of about twelve years of age, one of eight children, with very little right guidance. His mother's favourite was Lord Bute, and Lord Bute was simply a lay figure where character and resolution were needed. There was, so far, very little in Mr. Pitt's course to indicate the man of whom George II. afterwards said, in the bitterness of his heart, "Sir, it is you who have taught me to look beyond Parliament"—that is, to look for opinions and influences bearing on State policy. Of Leicester House, during the life of the Prince, the least that can be said is that it must have been a scene of all that is least noble in what is called Society. Prince Frederick fancied himself a wit and a poet. He was a gambler; he had mistresses without concealment. He went disguised to bull-baiting rings. He had, it is said, his fortune told three times in thirteen months. He left enormous debts, which never were paid. It is not pleasant to think of William Pitt having had any place whatever in Leicester House. Pitt, however, who was lucky in Frederick's death—for Frederick would have been King—had also been lucky a few years

previously (1744) in receiving a legacy of 10,000*l.* from the old Duchess of Marlborough, who thus rewarded the man who had been the greatest thorn in the side of her old and unrelenting enemy Walpole. The ex-cornet of horse thereupon had resigned his post in the household of the Prince—a fact that has been differently interpreted by different persons in the estimate of his probity and public spirit. Did he strike out a new path because he was at last independent? The best interpretation is the right of the foremost statesman of the age to act upon his own convictions. He had resolved to support the Government of the King. He had no longer any right to place in the household of the Prince. It can hardly be doubted—for he was William Pitt—that he was sick of the intrigue, of seeing and enduring the inanity of society rotten to the core—sick of the frippery and hollowness, even if he could have endured the wickedness of those scenes.

Among the "Boy Patriots" were also the two Grenvilles, whose sister Pitt had married—Lord Temple, a bitter, pungent speaker, hated by George II. with a great hatred; and George Grenville, destined to a short Premiership, which would be described as the most fatal England had ever known. Pitt, Lord Macaulay says, was the most uxorious of husbands, and certainly his lot was strangely intertwined with that of his wife's brothers. There were also in Parliament Lord Carteret (afterwards Lord Granville), at one time a colleague, and then a bitter rival of Walpole; a man of great eloquence, and supposed to be equal to any office in the State. There was Lord Townshend, brother-in-law of Walpole; but Lord Townshend, with great temper, retired before Sir Robert's illimitable ambition, preferring privacy to a state of chronic warfare. There was Lord Chesterfield, the wit, the leader of fashion, the patron, in the offensive sense, of literature, an effective debater, and also an enemy of the all-powerful minister. There was Lord Lyttelton, brilliant enough to be to the Opposition what Sheridan was to an Opposition later in history, and fortunate enough in due time to become Chancellor of the Exchequer, with the reputation of a great skill in verse-writing, and, like Sheridan, an inability to do

a rule-of-three sum. There was Mr. Henry Fox (Lord Holland), father of the leader of another generation of Whigs, and grandfather of another Lord Holland, who would also speak with great effect against arbitrary laws and arbitrary government. Mr. Fox was known as an ungraceful speaker; ungraceful alike in style and gesture, but possessing in debate skill of the highest order, and with the advantage of having learned under Walpole the whole art of statecraft. He was reputed a little loose in conduct, and inexact in money affairs; but when he spoke on great principles, he spoke as Charles Fox spoke in later years, with no regard for anything but the simple right. The picture as a whole might almost serve for that of the greater leader of another generation of Whigs, Lord Holland's famous son. There were also the Pelhams—the Duke of Newcastle, and his brother, Mr. Henry Pelham—the latter the favourite minister of George II., an adroit and safe man, and till his death, in 1754, a man of great influence in the strife of parties. Of the Duke of Newcastle, a volume might be written. He was everywhere pronounced, in his absence, the clumsiest, awkwardest, most blundering, most ignorant, and, it was added, in many respects, the most successful man of his time. He was the one man who would sacrifice most for the power of conferring patronage, as Pitt was the one man who would most readily sacrifice all power of patronage to that of imperial rule. He tasted all the sweets and all the sours of office; he has still the reputation of having been the best-abused and most unmercifully caricatured man of the age. There was Mr. Pulteney, whose sting Walpole had yet to feel. These are perhaps the chief characters upon which we look backward over the chasm of years, from 1763 to 1727.

In the end Sir Robert Walpole stood almost alone, or alone with the Pelhams, learning from experience the bitterness of the cup he had forced upon Harley. He stands pictured before us from 1727 to the end of 1741 like a piece of adamant. To the "Boys,"—the "Patriots"—it is difficult to say into which word he threw the greater contempt—he replied by proving what he had formerly asserted, that he knew how to manage the Commons, and, by a cynical adaptation of the axiom, justly or

unjustly marked against his name, that all men have their price. In ten years he had spent a million-and-a-half of secret service money. 30,000*l.* are set down to an earl and 7,000*l.* to a duke for services not specified; and these are but specimens of many like facts. 170,000*l.* are entered as payments to a hireling Press, and a portion of the amount assuredly went to writers whose names have not come down to us as those of hirelings. For literature in itself Sir Robert had the heartiest contempt—curious when one thinks of him as the father of such a son. For opposition literature he had a hearty hatred. "Scruples of conscience" he laughed to scorn. A "deputation" waited upon him one day to represent a Nonconformist grievance; and Sir Robert, as was his wont, took refuge in an entrenchment. "The time was not come," he said. An obnoxious person replied, "You say, sir, that the time has not come; and as you have said so before, will you excuse me asking when the time will come?" Certainly, Sir Robert had no objection to such a question so courteously put. He could even be jocular in such a case, and barb his arrow at the same time. He replied, in effect, that since the question had been put to him, he was bound to say that the time would never come. We must remember here that the man of whom all this was said, and will be said, was the representative Whig in Parliament. When the servility of the Press has been spoken of, however, it has been replied, and not unjustly, on his behalf, that he merely did what Bolingbroke and Pulteney did in opposition to him, and that, unlike them, he did it on a kind of sardonic method and with contempt. Yet he boasted, and not without some ground of reason, that he was the only man of his time who really tried to make the Press free. He was more disposed to buy writers than to hang them in chains or set them in the pillory. He had a Puritan's love for intellectual victory, where the victory carried with it, or represented, power. All else,—of style, or grace, or even thought,—was only so much rubbish. He believed himself practical, and he was practical. If he had been the owner of stage-coaches he would have had the best coaches in England, and his accounts would have been the clearest in England—to himself. He

would have had no sympathy with the Marquis of Worcester's wild notions of a new power to supersede coaches. He hated debts as he hated inefficiency. In his expenditure of money and life he was extremely careful to adjust means to ends. In his use of the human will he was lavish and inexorable. A man might have a conscience, and welcome; but if he used it carelessly, Sir Robert knew how to stop the supplies. It was related, truly or untruly, as a proof at once of his tact and effrontery, that on a certain occasion when a measure, to which the bishops generally were opposed, was to come before the Lords, he wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury (who had owed to him the archbishopric, and had frequently expressed his gratitude), asking him to keep close to his room for a day, and ask no questions. The Archbishop, it is said, did as he was required, and Walpole caused a report to reach all the bishops that his grace of Canterbury was ill, and on the point of death. Meanwhile the measure was carried, the bishops as a body having also been suddenly taken ill with the disease of ambition for the archiepiscopal palace. This, if true, would show a very coarse, sardonic waggery in the old minister, but, true or not, it is certain that he despised those whom he was able to buy.

In 1741 Mr. Sandys, reputed a Republican, moved that Sir Robert Walpole be dismissed from His Majesty's councils. Sir Robert, in the course of an able reply, complained that he had, with a kind of mock dignity, been styled "Prime Minister," and now he had imputed to him the unpardonable abuse of power which that spurious dignity conferred. In fact, like Whig and Tory, Quaker and Methodist, John Bull and Brother Jonathan, the term "Prime Minister" was at first a nickname. Sir Robert Peel, Lord Palmerston, Mr. Gladstone, and others have taken quite a different view of their distinction as Prime Minister. Walpole was victorious in both the Lords and Commons, but the latter House had run to very nearly its seven years of existence, and when a new Parliament met, the astute minister found his hitherto invariable majorities coming to an end, and perhaps he had reason to doubt whether, if it was true that every man had his price, the purchase was not becoming

too costly. He resigned his post in 1742, after fully twenty years of almost unrestricted power. He tried hard, before vacating office, to induce his own colleague, Pulteney, to promise that there should be no impeachment, but Pulteney is said to have coldly repulsed the advance, while Pitt thundered out charges terrific and irresistible. A Secret Committee was appointed to examine accounts, but from the material supplied nothing was discovered against the fallen minister. When the Committee asked for an indemnification of witnesses as the only means of procuring trustworthy evidence, the motion, in spite of Pitt's eloquence to the contrary, was rejected. Meanwhile Walpole, now Lord Orford, retired into privacy, and there found a solace for his misfortunes in a collection of fine paintings, as his rival, Harley, had found a like solace in his collection of rare or precious manuscripts. Few more instructive pictures of the mutability of political power have come down to us from any time. No picture from this particular time represents more fully the humiliation of ambitious men. Let us remember that the men were not earnest politicians. No number of defeats ever humbled some statesmen whose names rise to one's pen. Walpole died in March, 1745, leaving a character which, in spite of a very clever son to defend it, will always remain a type of that kind of intellectual and moral power by which nations are often ruined, and only very rarely saved.

On the break up of this famous ministry there was a complete disintegration of parties. The Whigs had lost their distinctive characteristics and power. Pitt and Fox, Carteret and Pulteney, the Pelhams, and others, were intermingled, and the question of who should take office with whom, was decided, not by principles, but by personal attachment. The one figure that rises above all others is that of Pitt. He alone cannot be reckoned upon with a view to pecuniary interest, as neither, however, can he be slighted when the King chooses his advisers. His influence on his time must not be estimated by errors such as were involved in his relation to the Prince's party, or his leaning to one sort of politicians at one period, and to a different order of men at another. It is not fair even to remember, with Lord Macaulay,

in connection with the Duchess of Marlborough's legacy, that the young orator, immediately after that happy event, became a courtier. We can only take the broad characteristics of a great life; and taken for this one period alone, when as yet the faculties were but half developed, it presents an aspect of statesmanship with which no other life of the period can compare. It may or may not be true that the daring statesman intended to teach George II. to look beyond even Parliament for the greater opinion of the nation; but whether he meant it or not that assuredly is the lesson of his life and statesmanship. One feature of Walpole's administration is worth notice. He strongly and persistently adhered to the Septennial Act, which the Tories very resolutely attempted to repeal; a curious fact when judged by the political relations and action of the Tories in later years. To Sir Robert Walpole we owe the first of our much-talked-of sinking funds for the reduction of the National Debt. The idea was mooted by Lord Stanhope, and came into operation in 1718; but it was unsuccessful, and the principle of a sinking fund was not recurred to again till 1786. It was then brought forward on the authority of the younger Pitt, and established as a sound principle of finance; but it was finally, after a long series of adjustments, discarded in 1829, and the principle of payment of debt from surplus revenue adopted as the only sound principle of political economy. Still, to Sir Robert Walpole is accorded the honour of the only attempt made for a long period of years to lessen the ever-increasing debt.

Take again the picture from another point of view, still standing on the eminence of 1763. When Walpole died in 1745, George II. had been on the throne nearly nineteen years. He had made peace with Spain in 1729; had declared war against Spain in 1739; had secured, as he thought, the Austrian Succession by finding fresh guarantees for the Pragmatic Sanction; had taken part in the subsequent wars of the Austrian Succession, with men and money set down by Pitt and the nation to the debit of Hanover; had shown great personal bravery at Dettingen; and, finally, had been called home by news of the Pretender. With part of this Walpole had been

intimately concerned; part he had heard of in his retirement. He heard also that England was in a state of chronic disaffection, almost amounting to rebellion, and he knew that if disaster befel the royal arms on the continent, another effort would be made to win back the crown for the exiled line. Nothing perhaps was more fortunate for the King than his behaviour on that notable day at Dettingen. His horse, people told all over England, had inclined to run away, when George leaped to the ground, and led his men to victory—quite certain, Mr. Thackeray says, that there would be no running away now. Walpole had seen also the scramble for power that followed his retirement. There were Pitt, Fox, Pulteney, the Pelhams, the Grenvilles, all ready to take the helm of affairs. He had seen Carteret and Pulteney try their skill, and fall under the public opprobium. He had seen Pelham Prime Minister in 1743; the Broad-Bottomed Ministry, still under Pelham, in 1744. Then he saw little more, save that Pitt, who had denounced both Carteret and Pulteney, agreed at last to support Pelham. It was a curiously shifting scene on which the ex-minister must have looked at that time. He did not see the grandeur of Pitt's character; he did see much of its littleness. He did not see that in that one man there was a spark that might set Europe aflame. He did see that there was a power sufficient to overturn ministries and to render the safe government of the nation doubtful.

On the 11th of May, 1745, the battle of Fontenoy was fought. The Duke of Cumberland was defeated. On the 25th of July Prince Charles Edward landed at Inverness, with seven officers, a few hundred muskets, and a private purse, not over large, in place of the treasure-chest which usually accompanies the heroes of great wars. In September he defeated Sir John Cope at Prestonpans — a wonderful battle of ten minutes' duration, and almost identically of the same character as Dundee's famous victory of Killiecrankie. On the 1st of November Charles began that romantic march into England which ever since has been the theme of story and song. He had six thousand men, very imperfectly armed. Marshal Wade

had ten thousand at Derby, and the Duke of Cumberland was fast organising a much larger army. Worst of all, England showed no sign of adopting the Stuart cause. A few hundreds of Lancashire men, who afterwards paid bitterly for their folly, were all, south of the Tweed, who took up arms for King James and the Pope. The retreat from Derby began on December the 6th; and there are yet records in many a Cumberland and Westmoreland farmhouse of the scenes that occurred during that famous raid home. On the 17th of January, 1746, the Prince gallantly defeated General Hawley at Falkirk Moor. On the 16th of April he was himself entirely defeated at Culloden Moor, and the power of the Stuarts was for ever broken. It has been questioned whether the policy adopted after Culloden—the policy that added to the titles of the Duke of Cumberland that of "Butcher"—or a policy of mercy would have been more statesmanlike. On the one hand it was necessary that rebellion should be distinctly marked dangerous; that men who played, or assisted others to play, for the highest of earthly stakes should be warned in advance that they played with double-edged tools. Human instinct never has failed to recognise the fact that rebellion, just or unjust, indicates an intention, at great cost of life, to force and destroy existing law; and as human life and all the interests of society depend upon law, rebellion never can be counted a light offence. On the other hand the circumstances were peculiar. The expulsion of the male Stuart line was so recent, and, considering the reign of Anne, there had been so little of expulsion at all, so far as the family generally was concerned, while in the case of the Hanoverian line the title was so far removed, that mercy might, as we now see, have been far the truer policy. Indeed this seems to have been, subsequently, the opinion even of the royal family itself, if it be true, as there seems no reason to doubt it is, that the so-called "Young Pretender" was present in London, as he thought in secrecy, at a very eventful time, and that his presence there was known to the King. A strangely romantic fiction may some day be woven on the foundation of that visit.

Pelham was at the head of affairs, but Pitt was in the

government, when the cruel policy after Culloden was adopted. Pitt had evinced his public spirit by refusing, as Paymaster-General, to accept from foreign powers a percentage on subsidies; a disgraceful practice of his predecessors. We do not find, however, that when these cruelties were ordered his voice was heard on the side of mercy. Seventeen executions on Kennington Common, with tortures "prescribed by law in cases of treason;" nine at Carlisle; six at Brampton; seven at Penrith; eleven at York; fifty in Scotland for desertion, and eighty-one more for treason are among the many fearful pictures of the time. The general atrocities of the army could not be chronicled. Transportation to the plantations was on such a scale that many a village in Scotland must have been well-nigh depopulated. The distress was terrible. The law and the military went hand in hand. But the people, with the truer instinct, called the one most notable man "Butcher," and revolted against the inhuman deeds of many concerned in what was called a righteous retribution.

We look again at the period of Mr. Pelham's death in 1754, and the succession of his brother, the Duke of Newcastle, to the premiership. We see Pitt and Fox both insulted in the new arrangements. Then we see Fox appeased and appointed to high office, and Pitt and he separated for ever. We see Pitt once more in the front of the Opposition, his fiery eloquence bearing down all before it, rousing the country as no speeches in Parliament ever had roused it before since the history of Parliament began. We see the city of London and the provincial large towns compensating the disgraced minister for the dislike of the King; voting him addresses such as no subject ever before had received; calling him the "Great Commoner" and the Nation's Friend. We see the royal dislike at length to all appearance overcome, and Pitt Secretary of State. Then we hear rumours that the Duke of Cumberland is dissatisfied, that the King is dissatisfied; and finally we find Pitt, after five months of office, driven from the councils of the King. During those five months, however, his fine spirit had not been idle; a Militia Bill had been carried, and two regiments of Highlanders

had been enrolled for the service of the crown On his dismissal from office we find the city of London readier than ever to accept him as its chief; to make his name a household word in a sense altogether new in English politics. Addresses came to him as in a shower; pamphlets, fly-sheets, newspapers, street criers—all proclaimed the glory of his name, of his disinterestedness, of his lofty grandeur. No king or court could disregard this contagious enthusiasm. A great lawyer, William Murray (Lord Mansfield), now appeared on the scene—a man in his time credited with great wisdom and calm address; a man, moreover, of proved and rare eloquence, and whose name has remained the pride of two generations of lawyers and politicians. The biographer of Lord Shelburne, however, has recently given publicity to some strange views of Lord Mansfield in an autobiographic sketch, for which, in the first instance, Lord Shelburne must be held responsible. "Like the generality of the Scotch," he says, "Lord Mansfield had no regard to truth whatever. Sir Thomas Clark, Master of the Rolls, said to Sir Eardly Wilmot, 'You and I have lived long in the world, and of course have met with a great many liars; but did you ever know such a liar as Will Murray, whom we have seen capable of lying before twelve people, every one of whom, he knows, knows also that he lies?'" That any honest writer would care to publish this so long after Lord Mansfield's death, can only be explained on the ground that there was a conscientious purpose to serve—that is, a purpose which unserved would to that extent be a public loss; but, conscientious or not, one may well cling to the belief that Lord Shelburne was wrong, as his autobiographic sketch shows him to have been bitter and vindictive, and that Lord Mansfield was a little higher in character than the picture given of him by this unsparing critic.

Lord Mansfield was the person appointed to negotiate with Mr. Pitt for a Pitt-Newcastle government, and he succeeded in smoothing away difficulties. Now began Pitt's wonderful administration, one of the most marvellous instances ever given of the power of one individual to transform great disaster into

great success. It has been said that the time had come when the strength of the nation could in any case have been put forth successfully; but look at the picture as we may, as it stands in the unfaded colours of the time, and we find evidence that on sea and land, in Europe, in Asia, and in America, every soldier and sailor and administrator felt that confidence which genius at the head of affairs inspires. Never before in human memory had there been a feeling so distinct that it was a proud thing to be an Englishman, because never before since the Commonwealth had great victories and great administration resulted from the pushing aside, as it were, of throne and court and all little cliques and coteries by the kingship of a Great Commoner. It was this that gave to Pitt the peculiarity of his position. He was at the helm of affairs, not because the King wished him to be so, but because the national instinct pointed to his virtual kingship as the only means of preserving the nation from ruin. We see all this wonderful vigour and energy cut short in its work by the death of the King. The person in favour at Leicester House was not Pitt, but the Marquis of Bute. The Great Commoner gave place to the showy gentleman who would have made an excellent ambassador in a court where there was nothing to do. It is recorded, and the fact is too charming to be overlooked, that old Lord Hardwicke (Sir Philip Yorke), who had been Walpole's Lord Chancellor in 1737, hurried away to Carlton House as quickly as carriage and horses could go when he heard of the King's death. Up to that time he had been an almost unnoticed member of Pitt's government. He was seventy years old, and supposed to be preparing his last will and testament, and putting his affairs in order, so that his mind, when there was no longer any mistake as to the approach of the last enemy, might be free for the proper solemnities. See him now, hastening away to catch the first rays of the rising sun, and to help to write the young King's royal speech. George was at that time twenty-three years of age, and much guided by his mother—the wise lady who is reported to have afterwards said almost with her last breath, "George, be a King." What the Princess meant then was that

her son should determine to retain the power in his own hands. She meant the same thing now, when a decision had to be made between her favourite, Bute, and Pitt. While the latter was minister, it was clear he must also be, in some essential particulars, king. Lord Bute would be gentleman usher simply, and George would be king. So Lord Hardwicke was successful in bringing about a much happier state of things, and after a few shifting political scenes, in which Bute is seen pressing himself, or is being pressed more and more into power, and Pitt is seen as gradually giving place, the great object was attained. So much we perceive of the statesmanship of the period on which we look back from 1763 to 1727.

There is something very suggestive and instructive in the lives of certain lawyers of high position at this time. There is Lord Hardwicke, whom we have seen able to run away, at seventy years of age, in his anxiety for a new career in the new reign. He was the judge who condemned the rebel lords in 1746, and the terms in which he performed his sad duty were considered unnecessarily harsh and severe. He was notable also for having enunciated the law that juries, in cases of libel, were merely to consider questions of fact, as to the writing, or publication, or the inferences (the inuendoes—that is, whether K—g meant King, and so on) while the judge alone was to declare the law. Happily, juries never accepted Lord Hardwicke's reading of the law, and Mr. Pulteney wittily wrote of the ruling:—

> "For Sir Philip well knows,
> That his inuendoes
> Will serve him no longer,
> In verse or in prose,
> For twelve honest men have decided the cause,
> Who are judges alike of the facts and the laws."

The two last lines Lord Campbell says were afterwards misquoted by Lord Mansfield, as:—

> "Who are judges of fact, though not judges of laws."

There was also Mr. Henley, Lord Northington, of whom Lord Campbell says, that "he held the great seal for nine years, in

two reigns, and during the whole of four administrations, the last of which he overturned." He was born in the reign of Anne (1708), in the midst of Marlborough's victories, and received the "Great Seal," in Mr. Pitt's administration, in 1757. Mr. Pratt (Lord Camden), Attorney-General, was in the same administration, and lived to see greater events than any recorded here in connection with his name. There was Lord Chancellor Yorke, son of Lord Hardwicke, born while his father, then Attorney-General, was engaged in Press and other prosecutions. He received the Great Seal in 1770, but a few days later died. There was Lord Bathurst, very active in his efforts to climb to place and power, though he did not receive the Great Seal till 1771. Then there was Lord Thurlow, who lived from 1732 to 1806, and who was, till Eldon, the type Tory of the age; a man, it is said, affectionate in the relations of family life, a great friend of men of letters, a most devout Churchman, and one of the most accomplished profane swearers ever known on the Bench.

It will probably have occurred to the reader that the traditions of the Bar are in most respects different from those of the Church, the Army, the Navy, or even the House of Commons. The barrister, far more clearly than the clergyman, has his professional epochs identified with particular lives, and the separation of the Chancery from the Common Law Courts is more a fiction than a fact. Lord Mansfield was a boy when Lord Somers died, but the traditions of Lord Somers were as fresh in the Courts over which Lord Mansfield presided as if the stories had related to events of yesterday. There is another peculiarity in the legal chain of tradition. The arena of battle, wide as it may appear, is really brought within a very small compass. The fight for the semi-political office of Solicitor-General or Attorney-General, and for the Chief-Justiceship or the Great Seal—really also semi-political offices, though probably no lawyer would admit as much—are fought within a very small area in London, and under circumstances altogether favourable to legal tradition. Dr. Hook, in telling the story of the Archbishops, had to follow his heroes into far-away benefices, quiet professor-

ships, erudite works written in country rectories, sermons preached in country churches. There is nothing in the Church corresponding to the Bar mess, to the bands of brotherhood on the circuits, to the narrowing of political effort in London. Lord Campbell had, for all essential purposes, the arena of his *Lives* in London, and in a very confined area of London; the circuits are only Westminster extended. Then the gentlemen of the Bar have their prizes narrowed to a few distinct features, and in most cases there is no attempt to hide the ambition. If a clergyman avowed his determination to make every effort bend to his becoming a bishop, the best men among the clergy would disown his ambition as an unholy thing. But when such a man as Mr. Wedderburn, for instance, came up from Scotland to London, determined to be Lord Chancellor—bent by bitter tongue, and an unswerving line of conduct, to be that if possible, he simply did what was strictly professional and what his brethren would allow to be within the line of the right traditions of the Bar. The great lawyers were rarely great in Parliament, perhaps because they rarely ever were earnest politicians. No class of men so thoroughly imbibed that characteristic policy of the times from Anne to Victoria, that the first and last duty is personal success, and that the one right party is the party in power. There was always a suspicion—a suspicion not yet by any means removed—that the speech of a lawyer was a bid for place, and was at best mere special pleading, which only chance had directed to the one side, and which some other chance might have directed to quite the contrary side. It was this that enabled Burke to turn his back upon Ellenborough at the conclusion of the trial of Warren Hastings, and that enabled Pitt to insult Erskine—a much higher kind of man than Lord Ellenborough. Then the morals, in another sense, of many of the great lawyers, were far from unexceptionable even as compared with those of other men in the same station in life. Lord Thurlow, entreating the Lords to put down adultery, was himself living in open adultery. Such a fact could hardly have been recorded against any other profession. To the words of such a man no weight could

possibly attach, nor indeed could he attach any weight to his own words. It is recorded also that on one memorable occasion the same distinguished Lord Chancellor ventured to say in what another great lawyer pronounced "abominable cant," "When I forget my King may my God forget me;" and that Wilkes, who was "sitting on the steps of the throne, and eyeing the speaker with his demoniacal squint, said in a whisper which was distinctly heard, 'Forget you? He'll see you damned first.'" Wilkes was by no means a favourable specimen of humanity, in those particulars in which Lord Thurlow was an unfavourable one; but then he did not call himself Keeper of the King's Conscience, and did not give an air of unearnestness to a profession which some men have made very noble. In contradistinction to these there were men at that time, in the practice of the law, giving up large professional emoluments, that they might devote themselves to objects of pure philanthropy; and no one who has noticed the conduct of really great lawyers in cases where life or liberty have been in question, can have failed to admire the patient tact, high courage, and generous devotion often manifested. These, however, are not men whose names can, as a rule, be associated with those qualities which for generations gave character to the Bar. The truth is, deny it who may, and support the denial by what argument people may, the high offices of the law had not, since far beyond Walpole's time, been the reward of high judicial character so much as of political service, and at times of political service which meant political subserviency. Nor has the rule changed even yet. That there were high judicial qualities together with the political characteristics does not alter the question. It may perhaps be said that the appointments have no very prejudicial effect in ordinary cases. The pride of profession, the more honourable traditions of the Bar, and the spirit of a gentleman, are generally sufficient to prevent a judge from doing injustice, as between any two men in ordinary life. It is not denied, however, that in such a case as that of Lord Hardwicke and the rebel Lords; or in that of Lord Mansfield, on the one side, and Lord Camden on the other, in the

prosecution of John Wilkes, or in the cases of Lords Thurlow, Eldon, and Ellenborough, in prosecutions to which we shall subsequently refer, the course of the judge was decided by political considerations. It is next to impossible for a Prime Minister, however distinguished, to disregard the services of an able man, who is trained and skilled in the art of making the worse appear the better side. Yet while it remains possible for a man to be raised to the Bench as a reward for mere political party services, the high office of judge must stand lower than it ought in the estimation of the nation. It may be said, and very justly, that when a great lawyer acts consistently with one party, as in the instances of Lord Camden, Lord Erskine, and Lord Eldon, his preferment to the Bench is a security for the better carrying out of those principles upon which his party supposes the good government of the nation to depend. But the instances of this consistency are so rare, as compared with instances to the contrary, that they only establish the rule. To make the law lofty and respected, the high office of judge, above all, should be beyond dispute, and should not, if English public virtue ever can reach so far, be in any sense political. These remarks will not be found needless when we pass down to times nearer our own, and see, as we shall see, how the decisions of judges took their complexion from the exigencies or policy of the party to which the judge had belonged. We shall see, too, with Burke, how the study of the law may be made one of "the first and noblest of human sciences," invigorating the understanding, and in some cases liberalising the mind.

CHAPTER VI.

THE SAME CHASM OF YEARS; FROM ANOTHER SIDE.

Men of Another Kind—The *Gentleman's Magazine*—First Execution for Forgery—Dr. Johnson—Dr. Goldsmith—A Remaining Direct Link with Cromwell—Charity Schools—General Education—Law Against Combination of Workmen—Absurd Conventional Views of such Combinations—Publication of Parliamentary Debates—State of the Nation—Labour—Wages and Price of Food—Public Morals of Rich and Poor—Bishop Porteus—John Wesley's Great Work.

WE have referred to certain rough outlines of one side of a picture of this period of history. Let us look again, by the light of the facts already recorded, to another and equally important side; to some political events little noticed then or since; to some men of great eminence and high character, who had worked for enduring history, and passed away; to some who remained doing such work as came to them. Newton had died a little before the period at which we rest. Defoe, Swift, Steele, Addison, were by this time—before 1763—memories of the past. Fielding and Tobias Smollett, Philip Doddridge, Isaac Watts, Dr. Adam Clarke, the first really great scholar of Wesleyanism, are all gone; men representing whole shelves in the British Museum had lived and laboured and passed into history. On the 1st of January, 1731, Mr. Edward Cave, who years earlier had made his way, with great credit, from the provinces to London, published the first number of the *Gentleman's Magazine*, and, in course of time, Mr. Cave had as a contributor Mr. Samuel Johnson, to whom Mr. Thackeray thinks, and not unreasonably, that Toryism, as understood, owed more than to all the law lords, all

the priests, and all other persons whatever. In the year in which Mr. Cave began his magazine a man was executed in front of the Old Bailey for forgery, the first execution for that crime, and hence a notable landmark event.

On the 2nd March, 1737, a letter was written by a gentleman in Lichfield, to one in London, stating that Mr. David Garrick would set out that morning for London, "together with another neighbour of mine, Mr. Samuel Johnson." Mr. Garrick was to learn law; Mr. Johnson's head was busy with a tragedy, "Irene." Mr. Johnson was then in the twenty-seventh year of his age; the son of a bookseller who had died in poor circumstances in Lichfield. The facts altogether were such as, taken in connection with what followed, to suggest the idea of one of the grandest of all life dramas. When three years old the bookseller's son had been perched on the shoulder of his father, and not only had gazed at Dr. Sacheverell, but had proved himself, his father said—in what way is not clear—a real Sacheverellite. So that if the father was right, the son was early enough in life a Tory, and he never, to the day of his death, could be reproached with political inconsistency. When thirty months old he had been carried to London to be touched by Queen Anne for the "King's Evil," from which he had suffered almost to death. "Taken from his nurse," Boswell writes, "at the end of ten weeks from his birth, he was a poor diseased infant almost blind." He began to learn at the Free School at Lichfield; then made his way to Oxford; then was driven away from Oxford by poverty and his father's death, without taking a degree. Thrown on his resources he tried the post of usher in a school in Leicestershire, but was not successful. Then, removing to Birmingham, he "won" and married Mrs. Porter, a mercer's widow, who possessed 800*l.*, on the strength of which Mr. Johnson opened a school in Lichfield, and was fortunate enough to procure three scholars, of whom David Garrick was one. Of the poor teacher's courtship Mrs. Porter's daughter gave a rather curious account. "He was," she said, "lean and lank, so that the immense structure of his bones was hideous to the eye, and the scars of scrofula were distinctly visible. He

also wore his hair (not even a wig), and it was straight and stiff, and separated behind. He had convulsive starts and odd gesticulations, which excited both surprise and ridicule." There is no doubt that he had suffered, and was at the time suffering greatly. Strange to say Mrs. Porter came to the conclusion that the ugly, uncouth man was very beautiful. "He is," she said, "the most sensible man that I ever saw in my life," which proves that she, too, was sensible. So one day Mrs. Porter and Mr. Johnson rode together side by side on horseback from Birmingham to Derby, and returned married—quarrelling and making it up again more than once on the way, but affectionate towards each other to the end of their lives. Johnson went to London alone, but in a few months returned for his "Tetsy"; and a year and a few months after the date of the letter from Lichfield, the Tory poem "London" had made the young writer a name in literature. He had thrown himself into the battle against Walpole; had, in fact, given to Toryism something, that neither Swift nor Bolingbroke could have given to it, of a manliness which no rank or wealth ever could have prostituted.

While Johnson was beginning his struggle in London in 1737, Goldsmith was learning to read in Paddy Byrne's school, in the village of Lissoy, in Westmeath. Thus far were the two apart when the battles of Walpole and Chatham and others were being waged. Before 1763, Goldsmith had made a great fame in literature. A year later he had published *The Traveller*, and sold *The Vicar of Wakefield*. The old house in which he was released from his landlady by Johnson is still pointed out in Islington, and though it now stands in a densely populated part of London, there are all the marks about it of what it then was as a rural retreat. In Goldsmith, as in Johnson, there was a healthy influence brought into literature; an influence, in Goldsmith's case, as of a fragrance of newly-mown hay, in a bitter party time. Turning from the vile pamphlets, piles of which exist in the British Museum, to *The Traveller*, *The Deserted Village*, *The Vicar of Wakefield*, the essays and plays of Goldsmith, is as if one turned from a city sewer to the green

fields that the Lord hath blessed. Here was one more man of whom it could not be said—

> "Who born for the Universe narrowed his mind,
> And to party gave up what was meant for mankind."

What sermons have come to us with the purity and holiness of *The Vicar of Wakefield!* What preacher has reached the hearts of rich and poor alike as Oliver Goldsmith has? Yet when he died there were people who questioned whether he had "saving faith," and indeed hinted very broadly that he had doubted it himself. It is very mournful, for it is very true. In charity of sentiment and of life, he may be said to stand alone in his time. As far as history has discovered, he never, as a workman in literature, wrote a felon line, or uttered a felon thought. It is not too much, therefore, to say that among the healthy influences of a time which needed every true word and every honest life to redeem it from tyranny, servility, and an immorality that had become fashionable, the life of Goldsmith, like that of Johnson, and perhaps more than that even of Johnson, had an influence the value of which can hardly be over-estimated. The author of *The Vicar of Wakefield* was lying in his chambers in Brick-court, when a doctor, who owes immortality to that one patient, felt his pulse, and fancying that his illness did not sufficiently account for the wildness of the pulse, asked him if his mind was at ease, and he said it was not. On that the suggestion of his want of saving faith was founded. Of course his mind was not at ease. He knew not what hour the bailiffs might enter and take him to prison. But it pleased "society" —the society that would have called Charles II., or George I., a religious as well as a gracious king—to wonder whether those three words, "It is not," did not signify an uncertainty as to the future. It was a trifle, but it mirrors "society" in its self-righteousness and meanness. Burke wept, Reynolds put away his work, Johnson spoke as in the tone of a muffled drum; the lessons of the great writer remained far above anything that King or Court or Minister could buy. Nobody ever had dreamt of proposing to make the author of *The Vicar of Wakefield*

Sir Oliver Goldsmith, as they had made a brilliant essayist Sir Richard Steele. Kind to its kind. Steele, by all the fitness of things, had his title; Goldsmith, by all the fitness of things, died poor.

We may usefully note, also, that in April, 1731, Elizabeth, daughter of Richard Cromwell, died, in Bedford-row, London, in the eighty-second year of her age. Here was one person who, while Mr. Cave was beginning his *Gentleman's Magazine*, could have given him direct reminiscences of the then far-off time of the Commonwealth. Far beyond the wars of Chatham and Marlborough, and of William III., that one old woman whom Samuel Johnson might easily have known, had unbroken traditions, from the time when England asserted the liberties which had since been wrested from her, and which she was fighting even then to regain. This event may remind us that the Cromwellian and the Puritan fibre still ran into the warp and woof of English life, and would be handed safely down to later times. We may observe also that in the year 1735 there were in London about 132 charity schools—a fact in English life the birth of which dates from about the year 1697, towards the end of William's reign. There were taught in these schools more than 3,000 boys and nearly 2,000 girls, and it was calculated that in the course of thirty-seven or thirty-eight years, more than 20,000 children had been educated, and 16,000 of them put out to trades or service of some kind. In all England more than 23,000 children were being educated; in Scotland about 4,000, and in Ireland about 3,000, in charity schools. The number is very small, but it must be remembered in favour of Scotland that there a system of national education existed which was not termed charity. The figures show us how the leaven of education was beginning to work.

Another educational fact worthy of notice is that in 1749 Parliament made a Law to Prevent Workmen from Combining to Raise the Price of Labour. It is significant that while the Church, which had really all the available funds for the purpose, was, as a Church, very nearly idle as to education, Parliament should not have been in the least idle as to the action of

workmen to preserve a high or reasonable price of labour. Lord Chatham was in office at the time this law was made, which may be taken as one more proof of how little he was interested in social questions. Lord Macaulay tells us, indeed, that England was to Pitt what Athens was to the Athenian, but Lord Macaulay is not accurate here. The Athenians, unless all history is at fault, were very greatly interested in the social condition of their poorer people. Of Lord Chatham, it may be said that he left most legal and domestic questions to the lawyers, and most Church questions to the clergy, while he handled England as a unit,—a sharp and irresistible bolt of war—as against foreign foes. Another notable fact is, that in the year 1747 Parliament began to be much troubled with respect to the publication of its debates. Mr. Cave, for whom Samuel Johnson wrote reports, partly from memory and partly from intuition, had made himself especially offensive by telling the public what was said, and at times, while professedly reporting, a little more than was said, in Parliament. Mr. Cave was compelled to give an undertaking not to offend again—a promise, however, which he was unable to keep, and which both Houses were glad eventually to let him break. The offence for which Mr. Cave was literally and figuratively brought to his knees was a report of the trial of Lord Lovat, a case in which, if Mr. Johnson was the reporter, impartiality could hardly be expected, though the strict truth would not be one tittle departed from intentionally. It is placed beyond question that in after years Dr. Johnson lamented his connection with this method of reporting; mourned over it, indeed, as only a true man—a man true intellectually and morally—can mourn an error or a sin.

It would be hard, however, on Parliament if history forgot or ignored the fact that Lords and Commons, in refusing to permit the publication of their debates, were merely a fair representation of English public bodies generally. Town Councils, Trust Boards, and Boards of Guardians, among others, down to a very recent time, took high ground with respect to the publication of what was said by their members. A number of cases, within the writer's own knowledge, might easily be adduced of editors

or proprietors of newspapers having been elected to public boards for the sole purpose of breaking the secresy of the transactions, and often the battles were much more exciting to a small community than that of Mr. Cave was to London. One instance will show the nature of many. A quarter of a century ago the local parliament of a north country town was held, as it had been held from time immemorial, with closed doors. In the great excitement of the agitation for reform, reporters, after each fresh election, had presented themselves at the door of the board-room, and in the orthodox reporting way had asked for admission, but after each occasion the words had appeared in large print in the journals of the time, "We again asked for permission to report the proceedings, and were politely refused." At length, to the horror of society, an editor was elected to the board, and the floodgates of revolution were opened. At the first meeting the obnoxious gentleman spread out his note-book, perhaps ostentatiously. It was perceived that a grave crisis had come in public affairs. Would the gentleman—who, perhaps, as a young member, did not know the rules of the Board—put away that book? No, indeed, the gentleman replied, he absolutely required his book. To leave the book untouched was to sanction reporting. To take it away by force would have been assault and battery. To adjourn the meeting would have stopped all public business in the town (questions of piggeries, and other great matters), and possibly might have overturned the constitution in Church and State. A happy compromise was thought of and adopted. The obnoxious editor must have his way, but it was remembered that the town had two editors, and that their feeling to each other was anything but fraternal. The one was there by the *vox populi;* why not have the other by the *vox*—they did not exactly say *Dei,* but something equivalent to it, and, at all events, the compromise was made. The rival editor was sent for, probably not to a great distance, and from henceforth what a man spoke privately in that one Board-room was proclaimed on the housetops. In the evening of the battle-day the victory was celebrated in bumpers of party wine. Yet the sun rose all the same next day, and the Constitution in

Church and State remained. History takes little note of these local struggles; yet the fact stated here occurred a generation and a half later than Mr. Cave's great venture, which has historical fame. In principle the two were essentially the same, and the municipal victory perhaps was even more clearly indicative of the prevailing instinct of the nation, and of the action and re-action in political and social affairs. It should be noted also that the subsequent prominence and the long life of the *Gentleman's Magazine* has pushed to the background, and often out of sight, the names of other persons who offended as greatly as Mr. Cave. Thomas Astley, for instance, who printed the *London Magazine,* shared at the same time Mr. Cave's fault and punishment; but while every one interested in the early struggles of the press knows the name of Mr. Cave, only a very few know anything of Mr. Astley.

The state of the country during the latter years of George II.'s reign may be surmised from the advertisements of rewards for political publications; from trade riots, food riots, turnpike riots, and the host of similar disagreeable items which one meets at every step of the chronicles of those years. As suggestive comments on Lord Chatham's glorious wars, we have such entries as:—"Order for 2,000 seamen to be impressed on the Thames to proceed to the West Indies;" warrants for dealing summarily with riotous sailors in Staffordshire, and with people in Manchester, Bristol, Birmingham, and elsewhere, who have declared themselves, bludgeon in hand, against various evils, as they seem to think, connected with the lot of the poor. It is not difficult to perceive that, to this day the views of rich and poor, as to the condition of the latter, and the laws that govern that condition, differed very materially. Persons who governed or represented public opinion generally appeared to speak or write as if when a workman earned sufficient to provide himself with food and some little raiment he ought to be content. There rarely seems to have been the slightest thought of any need for the education of children, or for surplus wages for any purpose. It may safely be asserted that in the times with which we are now dealing, the rich did not wish the

78824

poor to be taught beyond the catechism, and rarely troubled themselves even about that, though a little later they did. If we look to the wages of workmen in 1762 we shall find that the pay of a carpenter or bricklayer was 2s. 6d. a day, a mason 2s. 8d., a plumber 3s. in London. The wages of agricultural labourers ranged from 5s. 4d. a week in 1751 to 7s. 4d. in 1770. A list of items, showing the needful expenditure, and allowing for "clothes, repairs, bedding, and shoes, 1s.;" "bread, flour, and oatmeal, 2s. 6d."; "roots, greens, peas, beans, 5d.;" "flesh, 6d," brings the total items necessary for the food and clothing of a labourer's family to 7s. 4¼d. a week. So that at best the labourer earned one farthing less than he was compelled to spend even on the showing of an "economist." The contract list of prices of food and clothes at Greenwich Hospital in 1760 shows that the cost ("wholesale," it will be remembered) of a coat was 1*l.* 1*s.*; of shoes, 4s. a pair. Omitting, therefore, all other items, the cost of bedding, one coat and one pair of shoes must have required the savings of six months at a shilling a week; and the shilling a week allowed in the list is not merely for bedding, but also for all clothes. Of course labourers were not supposed to require, and rarely wore, coats even on Sundays. There is no doubt that when poor people began to read, they came to the conclusion that a state of society in which these views prevailed must, in spite of all learning and eloquence, all glories on sea and land, have been in an unhealthy state.

In morals the nation seemed going from bad to worse. The Court was corrupt; the aristocracy was corrupt; the middle class had run into wild speculation; the Church—well, read that Lady Yarmouth, the King's mistress, made a wager with a clergyman that he would be made a bishop, and that he was. She had sold him the bishopric. Lady Yarmouth was, it is said, the last of her class who received a title of nobility in England. The Church was dumb. Not a bishop, or clergyman, or peer, or minister of state had a word to say when the King's mistress was raised to the nobility, or when she sold a bishopric. The bishops and clergy, in common with the lawyers, were very busy indeed as to speculative opinion. They took great care of the

doctrine of the Trinity and of the Royal Supremacy. They hunted with avidity for blasphemy, heresy, schism. They were very fierce, too, against forgers, foot-pads, housebreakers, and all persons of that kind—against the use of profane language too, when it was used by the common folk. If a collier swore an oath, it was brutality. If a Lord, and especially a Law Lord, swore such an oath, it was wit, and in the case of the Law Lord, "the proverbial humour of the Bar." Can it be supposed again that all this was unnoticed, or the records of it not laid up in public memory? It would be a strain on probability to suppose so. The Press, busy with its beautiful poems and essays, and its satire that cut like a sharp sword, would in the end also send abroad facts which would outweigh military glories among the masses of the people. Of George II. Mr. Thackeray says:—

"Here are some artless verses in which an English divine deplored the famous departing hero, and over which you may laugh or cry, as your humour suits:—

'While at his feet expiring faction lay,
No contest left but who should best obey,
Saw in his offspring all himself renewed,
The same fair path of glory still pursued.
Saw to young George Augusta's care impart,
Whate'er could raise and humanise the heart;
Blend all his grandsire's virtues with his own,
And form their mingled radiance for the throne—
No farther blessing could on earth be given—
The next degree of happiness was—heaven!'

"If he had been good, if he had been just, if he had been pure in life, and wise in council, could the poet have said much more? It was a parson who came and wept over this grave, with Walmoden, the mistress, sitting on it, and claimed heaven for the poor old man slumbering below. Here was one who had neither dignity, learning, morals, nor wit—who tainted a great society by a bad example; who in youth, manhood, old age, was gross, low, and sensual; and Mr. Porteus, afterwards my Lord Bishop Porteus, says the earth was not good enough for him, and that his only place was heaven! Bravo, Mr. Porteus! The divine who wept these tears over George II's. memory wore George III's. lawn."

Fortunately for England and mankind, the history of the period does not end with the clergy, or the politicians, or the lawyers. There remains of this reign one of the loftiest facts

of English history, the preaching of John Wesley. Lady Yarmouth might sell her bishoprics and welcome, so far as the permanent interests of England were concerned, for the faith of Christ was once more being carried to the poor. Once again there was vital meaning in the words "Not many wise, not many learned are called." There was no human being too low, too bad, too ignorant for John Wesley. He had an all-powerful word for the untaught labourer, the butt of polished satire, for the rough sailors of the great naval and mercantile ports, for the heathen miners of Cornwall, for the "back slums" of London, for the poorest and wretchedest of all God's creatures. Men whose every word was blasphemy, whose every thought was of immorality; men who had been on the Spanish main and on the middle passage, who had been pirates under the name of privateers; men who went into the mine after a daily or nightly debauch and came out again to begin another, into whose haunts, on a Sunday especially, it was dangerous to venture—to these John Wesley proclaimed the Gospel that is for the lost. Seventeen centuries there had been proclaimed in the ears of Christendom, "I came not to call the righteous but sinners to repentance," but only a few men, and those in many cases ascetics, ever had caught the divine afflatus, and followed as the Master had led. Here was the truth again stated as in the first age of Christianity, and carried out as it had been by the first followers of the Lord. It were puerile to doubt that it was an epoch in English history. Clergymen and publicans, in many cases, joined hands that the theology and even the moral character of the meetings of Wesley might be overthrown. Persons of a secular turn of mind ridiculed the belief in the interposition of a Divine Providence in the ordinary affairs of men. People of high culture were shocked that persons without any culture, so far as schools were concerned, should be sent out to teach and preach. But there was amid it all an uneasy feeling that the Church of England had now an ordeal to face such as it never had faced before. It is true the Methodists, unlike the Congregationalists or the Baptists, were essentially non-political; but it is doubtful, all the same, whether the followers of Baxter

and Calamy did more than the followers of John Wesley to create that public opinion which has led to so many political victories since the end of the French war, or did more to prevent England from rotting and festering in the corruption of that war. There is still a dispute as to who, at a later period than this, originated Sunday schools, but there can be no dispute as to the people who first made Sunday schools things of life. Mr. Raikes did his duty in one town, the Wesleyans did theirs in many towns, and from the fact that most of their teachers were poor people they had immense influence. They had more to communicate than mere dogma—they gave instruction in reading and writing, and with a great effect, as we shall see. In every Wesleyan chapel, "class-room," Sunday school, it was proclaimed and reiterated that he who was "saved" must save others. There were abuses in all this, of course. It would have been marvellous if there had not been hypocrisy, vanity, and abundance of idle talk; but let us not doubt there was a public opinion created that went to the marrow of the national life and helped to save the nation. The poor saw men going about without stipends to preach and teach. They saw, on the other hand, immense revenues appropriated by men of high character and good conduct in many cases, it is true, but still of men who rarely reached the lowest people. Dr. Johnson was greatly disturbed in mind because Wesley had a bad habit, whenever a man had put out his feet for a long talk, of finding that there was an engagement which must have preference over the talk. Dr. Johnson also discovered, and perhaps correctly, that Mr. Wesley wrote and preached more than he read, and so ran out of ideas. Long afterwards the Rev. Sydney Smith, in an article in the *Edinburgh Review*, satirised certain accounts sent home by Wesleyan missionaries, and succeeded in making the writers and some others connected with them to appear ridiculous. It was by no means a difficult task to ridicule the Wesleyan phrases, as it was never a difficult task to ridicule the phrases of the Quakers; but ridicule never yet destroyed a fact, any more than the sharpest pen ever "wrote down a man who did not write down himself."

As a political fact the teachings of Wesley stand high and bright in this dismal time, pointing the poor to a high ideal of life and duty, and shaming idlers into work. If there had been nothing else involved but the creation of meetings for purposes for which men were ready to suffer, and if need be die, the organization that Wesley called into being would have been a living fact even in politics, not to speak of social life and character. In a time of great political corruption, when untaught people were counted mobs, and that in a peculiar sense; when the cost of great wars was computed in money, and when lives were little thought of apart from the loss they entailed upon the available fighting material of the nation, the Wesleyans upheld the manhood and womanhood which Christianity always upheld. John Wesley was far more important to England than all the Georges, and all the little men called great, who plotted and intrigued for place in the State. It is not necessary to this statement that it should carry with it approval of all that Methodist preachers and class-leaders might say, or of illiterate in preference to educated teachers of religion. That would be an exceedingly foolish position, opposed to all lessons of experience. Doubtless there are to this day, as there have been through all the years since Wesley, preachers from whose sermons persons of culture would run away in horror. This, however, does not in the least affect the fact, that these poor, and often untaught men, came, and still come, to other poor men, to point to purity of life, and to an unseen but an ever-living and ever-present God. The loud "Amen," and "Glory be to God," that often grate so much on the ear in a Methodist chapel were no light matter—and assuredly were no laughing matter—when the person glorifying God had been saved from vileness and pollution, and raised to the higher life. It might be entertaining to Sydney Smith to cut to the quick these Methodists, as he cut to the quick all sorts and conditions of men who came under his critical lash; but his shafts of ridicule fell harmless upon John Wesley, who made of the poorest and vilest of humanity his brothers and sisters, and whose satire was reserved, not for the sinner, but for sin. Assuredly the age produced no other social

fact more powerful, no social fact to which future generations of Englishmen are more likely to pay homage, than the life of John Wesley. The whole circumstances of the birth of Methodism seemed to conspire to give it an exceptional position, and an exceptional power and influence. As a clergyman Mr. Wesley stood on the same footing with Baxter and Howe; but then he was more than a clergyman; he was a conforming clergyman. His aim was to lead people to the Church, not from the Church; and if he failed, it was because the failure was in the nature of things; not because his will went with the circumstances which involved the failure. This was a great difficulty to those who opposed his teachings. His sermons possibly were not in any sense great sermons. He left nothing that has been accepted by all Christian churches as they have accepted the *Imitation of Christ*, or that appeals to all men, from the most defiant strongholds of heterodoxy like some of the beautiful conceptions of Theodore Parker, or that has made a way from a stronghold of orthodoxy to the national heart like the *Pilgrim's Progress*. But he organized a living Church, and very rare qualities were needed for such an organization at such a time. Where Luther would certainly have failed from his impetuosity, and Bunyan from his dogmatism; where some great teachers would have found their efforts wrecked from sloth, some from over-refinement or sensitiveness, and others from lack of persistence, or sympathy with wretched and uncared-for people, or of that courage which, trusting in God, knows not what is meant by despair, John Wesley succeeded, and, more glorious than all, knew not that what he had done was success. Whitfield was the greater orator, but Whitfield without Wesley would have been to future times but as Robert Hall, whose name is by no means a national possession. When, therefore, cultivated people talk of illiterate preachers, let them make what they can of the fact, while the instinct of mankind recurs to the deeper fact, that this man tried to reach, and did reach, poor people, when to most other persons to be poor was to be of the "common herd." Burke, at a later period, and with a much more cultivated mind, and Brougham, in a time very near to our own, talked very complacently indeed

of the common herd, of whom John Wesley knew nothing. It was Christian communism in the first instance, tempered by the ideas with respect to property of the English Church, and by the general instincts of English life. That is, there was the fullest latitude for a communism of ideas, and a distinct line drawn at that communism which was represented on balance sheets. When the system of Wesley grew "respectable" in the eyes of the world, when its "Amens" grew less fervid and more restrained, then the old order of its society passed away. It looked to chapels in watering-places instead of missions to Cornwall. In earlier times it was a mighty power for good, a veritable revival of the earlier faith, a real reminder of the ancient promises which never failed, and which we may well believe never will fail while the poor remain upon the earth.

CHAPTER VII.

FROM 1763 *TO* 1789—*NEW TIMES.*

A Retrospect—Right to Tax the Colonies—The Bute Government, 1762-63—The Grenville Government, 1763-65—Lord Holland—John Wilkes—The *North Briton*—Arrest of Wilkes on a General Warrant—Released on Writ of Habeas Corpus, by Lord Camden—Parliament Opened—"Number 45" of the *North Briton* and Essay on Woman condemned by the House of Commons—Wilkes Expelled from Parliament, November, 1763—Lord Sandwich—Strong Position of Wilkes—Damages to a Printer for False Imprisonment—Wilkes's Claim—Verdict for 1,000*l.*—Character of Wilkes—Lord Camden—Wilkes Elected for Middlesex—His Outlawry Reversed—Sentenced for Libel—Four Times Elected for Middlesex—Anomalous Position of the House of Commons—Verdict, with 4,000*l.*—Wilkes, High Sheriff—Lord Mayor—Fifth Election for Middlesex—Taxation of the Colonies—Resolutions of the House of Commons, March 1764—General Conway—Pitt's Position with Respect to the Stamp Act—Franklin—Opening of the Session, 1765—Passing of the Stamp Act—Estimated Revenue from the Act—Fall of the Grenville Government—Grenville's Vexatious Conduct—The Rockingham Government, 1765—Pitt, Burke, and Camden—General Warrants Declared Illegal—Sinister Influences against Lord Rockingham—"The King's Friends"—Treachery of Lord Northington—Burke—The Duke of Grafton—Lord Chatham—Position of the Ministry—Lord North—Colonial Secretaryship instituted—Mr. Jenkinson, Lord Liverpool—Retirement of Chatham—Fresh Proposals for Taxing the Colonies, 1767—*Life of Lord Shelburne*—Character of Public Men—New Taxes, to Take Effect Nov. 20, 1768—Fierce Spirit of the Colonies—Lord Chatham—Retirement of the Duke of Grafton, Jan. 1770—Chatham's Motion for Parliamentary Reform—Maiden Speech of Charles James Fox—Beginning of Lord North's Twelve Years of Administration—Jenkinson and Fox, Thurlow Attorney-General—Lord North's Colonial Policy—American Revolution—Arbitrary Measures of the Government—Refusal of the Massachusetts Petition—Counsel for the Petition—Wedderburn, Lord Loughborough—The Council Chamber—Character of Mr. Wedderburn—His Attack on Franklin and America—The *Olive Branch* Rejected—1776—Declaration of Independence, July 4th—Convention of Saratoga—Recognition of the States by France, February 1778—The Duke of Richmond's Motion for Peace—Opposed by Lord Chatham—Death of

Chatham—Surrender of Cornwallis, 1781—Resignation of Lord North—Second Government, and Death of Lord Rockingham, 1782—The Shelburne Government—Peace with America—Peace with France, Spain, and Holland—National Debt—The Coalition Ministry—Presentation of the "First Gentleman in Europe" to Parliament—Breaking up of the Coalition Ministry, November 1783—Administration of William Pitt—Determination and Strength of Pitt.

IF we stand at the year 1789—that is, a century farther down on the stream of time than the Whig Revolution of 1688, we shall find that from 1763 to 1789 the nation has passed through a series of events to the right understanding of which former years and events afford no guide, and wherein the whole chain of tradition has been rudely broken. Shall King George the Third and his ministers or Parliament, needing money, tax the American Colonies? is the first and central question of these memorable years. Canada, won from the French during Lord Chatham's wars, had little to say on the subject, and apparently little concern in the great issue, and none whatever in the general principle involved. The New England States—English—talked of taxation and representation going together by old English law; an assertion which did not, of course, admit of too precise a reading on the part of King George and his ministers, or indeed of any one else; for if the doctrine applied to New England as a state it applied to Boston as a community; and applied to Boston west, there could be no sound reason why it should not apply to Boston east of the Atlantic; an idea which would have deranged all accepted notions of social and political affairs, and did derange them far later than even 1832. First of all, moreover, the King must rule, and the colonists obey. The Grenvilles, Lord North, Lord Rockingham, Lord Holland, nay, Lord Chatham and Mr. Burke also, were puzzled. The difficulty had long been foreseen and avoided by cautious statesmen, who had no precedent to guide them to a right conclusion. If the difficulty were to be dealt with at all, it could not be by any reference to past history, but must become a law unto itself. The stumbles or falls would guide future times, but could not be avoided by any reference to the past. On one point there were no differences. It was not to

be thought of for a moment that a number of raw colonists, colonial in spirit and aim, and imitative of England in all the habits of life, could withstand the power of King George. It would be advisable, people thought, not to put forth the royal strength if it could be avoided, but once put forth the difficulty would be settled.

Pitt was virtually disgraced in 1762, after having brought the Seven Years' War to an end. The peace that succeeded was not his work. The Marquis of Bute took office in May 1762, and held it till April 1763, when he was glad to retire. Among his ministry was Mr. George Grenville, who at a very critical time gave way, as if bending before the storm which Pitt's dismissal had caused. Then the Premier gave way too, and it only remained for the King to send for Mr. Grenville, who, unluckily for his own fame, undertook to form a government. He held office from April 1763 till May 1765, and succeeded, according to the general opinion of intelligent contemporary persons, confirmed by all subsequent writers, in working more mischief than any other minister had done in the same number of months in almost any time. In this readjustment of parties, Mr. Henry Fox was raised to the peerage as Lord Holland. Mr. Grenville's first act was to prosecute John Wilkes, and his newspaper, the *North Briton*, for a libel on the King. Mr. Wilkes, the son of a distiller, was born in 1727 in Clerkenwell, and at the time of the accession of Mr. Grenville to office was a member of the House of Commons and Colonel of the Buckingham Militia, owing the latter, it is said, to his wife, who was a Buckinghamshire heiress. The birth of the *North Briton* was owing to Lord Bute, who, in May 1762, set on foot indiscreetly, as afterwards appeared, a paper of the kind since called "an organ." It was termed the *Briton*. Dr. Tobias Smollett was appointed editor. Eight days later the *North Briton* appeared, with humour in its very name, as an opponent—nay, a deadly foe—of the most distinguished North Briton at that time in London. The fun of the name was caught from the first, and John Wilkes and his colleague, Mr. Churchill, began on good terms with the public. The *Briton* lived six months of respectable inanity. The *North*

Briton ran through 217 numbers, and every number carried a sting. It had reached its forty-fourth number, when the King closed the session of Parliament in a speech warmly eulogistic of the peace, then concluded, but, for certain reasons, concluded without popular approval. The peace might in itself be very good, but it was associated in the minds of the people with Pitt's disgrace and Bute's ascendency—a state of affairs unendurable to English flesh and blood. The obnoxious minister had been everywhere stigmatized, but nowhere more so than by Wilkes in his *North Briton.* His name, John Bute, was transformed into Boot-Jack. He was burned in effigy, and a boot-jack and a petticoat thrown into the fire, in reference to his presumed position as the favourite of the King's mother. All this of course was most vexatious to both the court and to ministers. Down to the forty-fourth number of the *North Briton,* however, there had not it was supposed been any clear ground on which the obnoxious paper could be legally proceeded against. "Number 45" appeared on April the 23rd, and contained an insinuation that the royal speech conveyed an untruth. Naturally the speech, as the work of the ministers, was open to the same criticism as one of the Prime Minister's speeches, but this consideration was pushed out of sight. Here was an opportunity not to be disregarded for putting an end to the journalism of John Wilkes. He had, it was said, charged the King with falsehood. Lord Halifax, one of the Secretaries of State, ordered a General Warrant for the arrest of the authors, printers, and publishers of the *North Briton.* Wilkes was also at once removed from his colonelcy. On the 30th of April he was arrested and sent to prison, where he obtained a writ of *habeas corpus.* On the 3rd of May Sir Charles Pratt (afterwards Lord Camden, a trusted friend of Pitt) decided that Mr. Wilkes had done nothing to forfeit his privilege as Member of Parliament, and ordered his immediate release, evading altogether the question of libel or no libel, and resting the order for release on the simple ground of "privilege." This question of apprehension on a general warrant is well worth a little attention. The

subject will be found interesting through many eventful years from this period to the end of the volume; the instance before us certainly was the "precedent" which "broadened down" till the principle of general warrants overspread the whole land in a reign of terror, and was the gage of stern constitutional fight before it fell beneath the national indignation and scorn sixty years ago. In November Parliament was again opened by the King, and Mr. Grenville presented a royal message on the subject of Mr. Wilkes. On the motion of Lord North, 273 members against 111 declared "No. 45" to be a false and seditious libel, and ordered it to be burned by the common hangman. Lord Sandwich at the same time called attention to a publication entitled the *Essay on Woman*, a parody on Pope's essay, and written by Wilkes. This production had not even been published, but Lord Sandwich, against whom it was directed, had procured a copy surreptitiously. The House of Commons took the same view of this as it had taken of the *North Briton*, and it was further declared that the privilege of the House did not cover libel. Wilkes was then formally expelled.

"The conduct of Lord Sandwich," Lord Macaulay says, "excited universal disgust. His own vices were notorious; and, only a fortnight before he laid the *Essay on Woman* before the House of Lords, he had been drinking and singing loose catches with Wilkes at one of the most dissolute clubs in London. Shortly after the meeting of Parliament, the *Beggar's Opera* was acted at Covent Garden Theatre. When Macheath uttered these words—'That Jemmy Twitcher should peach me, I own surprised me,' pit, boxes, and galleries burst into a roar which seemed likely to bring the roof down. From that day Sandwich was universally known by the nickname of Jemmy Twitcher." The worst feature of the case was, that neither the *North Briton* nor the *Essay on Woman* had been declared libellous by any court of law. Meanwhile a journeyman printer engaged on the paper had sued for damages for unlawful arrest, and had obtained 300*l*. This case also was heard before Chief Justice Pratt. On the 30th December, Mr. Wilkes also appealed to the

Lord Chief Justice, who, in summing up, said, that the defendants claimed a right, "under a general warrant and bad precedents to force open persons' houses, break open escritoires, seize papers where no inventory is made of the things taken, and no persons' names specified in the warrant, so that messengers are to be vested with a discretionary power to search wherever their suspicions or their malice may lead them." As to the damages, he said the jury were not limited by the injury received, but might "likewise consider the damages, not only as a satisfaction to the injured person, but as a proof of the detestation in which the wrongful act is held by the jury." The trial lasted fifteen hours; the jury returned a verdict for the plaintiff with 1,000*l.* damages. Again, when a new trial was moved for on the ground of misdirection, the Lord Chief Justice said:—"To enter a man's house, by virtue of a nameless warrant, in order to procure evidence, is worse than the Spanish Inquisition—a law under which no Englishman would wish to live an hour. It is a daring public attack upon the liberty of the subject, and in violation of the twenty-ninth chapter of Magna Charta, which is directly pointed against that arbitrary power."

Popular feeling was excited to the utmost. Wilkes became a hero and a patriot. Lord Chief Justice Pratt was identified with his great friend Pitt, and applauded even more than Grenville and his Government were scorned and condemned. It ought to be remembered to Lord Camden's credit as a judge, that his opinion against general warrants had been previously, though not judicially, expressed, and hence did not rest merely on the political bias which some have alleged against it, in consequence of the leaning of the *North Briton* to Pitt. In the following year Sir C. Pratt received the freedom of the city of London, and the commendation of the citizens. Still the main question remained virtually undecided, and the riots which succeeded the decision of the Commons were so fierce, that Wilkes decided to withdraw to the Continent. He was then outlawed. The popular feeling, however, seemed only to increase, in the absence of the man whom no one questioned had been wronged, and neither the House nor the ministry

gained anything by the outlawry. Of the capacity of Wilkes there have been various accounts. Of his morals there has never been any difference of opinion, unless in the case of persons who took an extreme view for or against him. Of his great tact in the new and difficult position in which he found himself there could be no question. Lord Brougham, while giving proof of the wit and vigorous powers of the now distinguished outlaw, terms him a man of only moderate though ornamental abilities. Lord Macaulay describes him as possessing taste and engaging manners, but as being pert and feeble in speech, hideous in appearance, and known as one of the most profane and agreeable wits about town. Long afterwards Brougham made a still more bitter attack upon him, and has recorded that on the following day he was reproved for it by Sir Philip Francis, who objected to an attack upon a man whom the Court disliked. Wilberforce, however, Lord Brougham adds, expressed his approval, on the ground of the immoral life Wilkes had led. The favourable impression he made upon one of his great enemies, Dr. Johnson, is well known to the readers of Boswell. There can be no possible doubt that the opinions of both friends and enemies with respect to Wilkes had a substantial foundation in fact. On the formation of the Rockingham ministry in 1765, Sir Charles Pratt was raised to the peerage as Baron Camden, one of the first affronts of that noble ministry to the Court. Of Lord Camden himself, Lord Campbell, a very different man, says:—"A fine portrait of him by Sir Joshua Reynolds, with a flattering inscription, 'In honour of the zealous assertor of English liberty by law,' was placed in the Guildhall. Addresses poured in to him from all quarters . . . . English journals and travellers carried his fame over Europe, and one of the chief sights of London which foreigners went to see was the great Lord Chief Justice Pratt." Lord Brougham, referring to a later period when the Government had fallen, said:—"It may be easily imagined that he was no sooner freed from the trammels of office than a spirit so congenial to that which animated Lord Chatham would burst forth. He accordingly joined him in denouncing, as a violent outrage on the constitution, the vote of

the Commons incapacitating Wilkes from sitting in Parliament because he had been expelled after his election. This celebrated vote, the soundness of which Charles Fox, such is the force of early prejudices, maintained to his dying day, appears to have staggered even Lord Mansfield, who, when Lord Chatham moved an address in the Lords declaring it unconstitutional, seemed through almost his whole speech to be arguing against it, and in favour of the motion. He said that he should regard himself as the greatest of tyrants and of traitors were he to be moved by it in his judicial capacity, though he added, mysteriously, 'that he had never given his opinion upon it, and should probably carry it with him to the grave.'"

In 1765, a man who had republished "No. 45" was condemned to stand in the pillory, and when the sentence was carried out the people kept the culprit company, and subscribed two hundred guineas for him on the spot. Yet still, the Ministry could not see the warning hand that might have preserved for them power, even when all chance of popularity had gone. Ministers knew nothing practically of the fine appeal of Burke on another subject: "Let the Commons in Parliament be one and the same thing with the Commons at large. Let us identify, let us incorporate ourselves with the people. . . . War with the world; peace with our constituents. Let this be our motto and principle." Save at two brief intervals, many—very many—years had to pass before England had a Ministry that comprehended or attempted to comprehend this truth.

In the elections of 1768, Wilkes returned from the Continent and was elected Member for Middlesex. He now appealed to the Court of Queen's Bench for a reversal of his outlawry, and Lord Mansfield, upon a technicality, pronounced the outlawry void. On the original question of the libels the same astute judge allowed a charge to be made, and gave a decision against Wilkes, with a fine in each of the cases of libel of 500*l.*, and provision of sureties for the future. The decision led to a serious riot. Wilkes's carriage was rescued from the officers and dragged in triumph to a tavern in Cornhill, from whence, however, he escaped and wisely surrendered. Twice again he

appealed to the House of Commons, and was heard at the bar; but his petition was pronounced frivolous, and discharged with contumely. In February, 1769, he was expelled from the House by a vote of 219 to 137. He was immediately re-elected. On the following day the House again declared his election void. Another expulsion led to another election, and finally, on the 13th April, he was elected for the fourth time by 1143 votes against 296 for his opponent, Colonel Luttrell, whom the House, however, now declared duly elected. Lord Mansfield's decision, following upon that of Sir Charles Pratt, had placed the two foremost lawyers of the age in direct antagonism. The decision of the House of Commons involved a still more serious difficulty, for the House had undertaken to say that a man who had been four times elected for a great constituency, should not be permitted to take his seat. In the autumn Wilkes obtained a verdict, with 4000*l.* damages, for the seizure of his papers. Petitions against his imprisonment and for the dissolution of Parliament were presented from all quarters. His debts, amounting to 17,000*l.*, were paid by public subscription,—Mr. Horne Tooke heading the committee to whom the money was paid. Released from prison in 1770, Wilkes was made High Sheriff in 1771, Lord Mayor of London in 1774, and a few days later was elected, for the fifth time, member for Middlesex. In 1782 he had the great victory of his life. The House of Commons ordered the minutes for his expulsion to be erased from its records as "subversive of the rights of the electors of the United Kingdom." The importance of these facts lies in their relation to the first great constitutional victory won by the people of England against all the power of King, Ministry, and Parliament. It needed a stubborn man, a courageous man, perhaps also, a man somewhat unscrupulous as to ways and means to grapple with and throw down the despotic ogre created by Mr. Grenville and Lord North. Wilkes has been termed demagogue, and perhaps was all that he has been termed. He has been depicted for the young in such a manner that, in many essential particulars, his name has been very nearly placed in the same category with that of Guy Fawkes. It is necessary to challenge

this decision; to remember that John Wilkes, with all his faults—and they were not few—was one of the very first men to fight despotism by the aid and strength of the popular will. At first he was an idol. Then he became a demon. We shall find the truth in beholding him as a man of strength and of weakness, of right and of wrong impulses, whom despotic ministers persecuted, but did not eventually defeat. Mr. George Grenville has, ever since that unlucky time, been censured severely, as if the terrible satire and censure of the time in which he lived had not been sufficient punishment for his undoubtedly foolish prosecution of Wilkes. It may be alleged in his defence, that general warrants had been acted upon by former ministries, that the questions with which he was dealing were in many respects new, and that he was not a man of original gifts. Perhaps the same excuse may in some measure be found for him with respect to that other question of vastly greater importance—the taxation of the American colonies.

The reader has observed that not only was the question of taxing the colonies not new, but that the right to tax them never had been disputed in England. The general question of taxation may be said to have been prominently before the country from the time of Walpole; and if Mr. Grenville's overbearing temper precipitated the struggle, he certainly did not create the difficulty, though it was reserved for him to take the step, which the King afterwards admitted had lost him "the brightest jewel in his crown." In March, 1764, Mr. Grenville introduced his financial resolution: "That towards defraying the expense of protecting and securing the colonies, it may be proper to charge certain stamp duties to the colonists." It is pretty certain that Pitt was not present when the action to which this resolution led was submitted to the House. It is equally certain that he must have been perfectly acquainted with what was transpiring. The only noteworthy speech in opposition to the proposal was made by General Conway, whose course was beyond all praise. He denied the right of Parliament to tax the Americans; in fact he expressed precisely the view which twenty years later every man of sense knew was the truth, with

respect to this fatal legislation. The defenders of Pitt, in relation to America, always forget or ignore the fact that Grenville's notice of the Stamp Act was given in 1764, and that it was a notice of a year. The Act was not pushed into law till 1765. Lord Macaulay, in referring to the actual enactment, says that "we cannot find that during the Session which began in January, 1765, Pitt once appeared in Parliament." This statement, when taken in connection with the subject referred to, conveys a very incorrect impression of the fact. It is quite certain that Pitt not only was fully acquainted with what was transpiring, but that he had had a full year in which to consider the subject in its relations both to England and America. The colonists all that time had been in a state of wild excitement; had appealed almost frantically from the ministry to the nation. Franklin was in England as colonial agent with special reference to this Act. He had been examined with respect to it at the bar of the House of Commons, and had expressed opinions which lacked neither in strength nor clearness. It is, therefore, puerile to refer to the Stamp Act as a new idea evolved from Mr. George Grenville's inner consciousness. The truth was, Pitt, who had recently received another large legacy, an income of 3,000*l.* a year, from Sir William Pynsent, a man of whom he had previously known nothing, was busy with his estate, and was not anxious for the responsibility of the new measure; a fact which detracts from the value of his later impetuous appeals.

Benjamin Franklin, who at this time represented the colonies, was well known to the politicians of the time, or at least to such of them as condescended to think of colonial affairs. How calm, how resolute he could be under great difficulties and provocations, had yet to be shown. He was the son of a Boston soap-boiler, and as early in life as ten years of age, had been a worker at his father's trade. In due time he became a printer, and being industrious and intelligent, was advised by Governor Sir William Keith to begin business on his own account. In view of that important step, he arrived in London to purchase the necessary materials; then, according to his own

account, he found that the representations made to him had been fictitious. Crushing down his indignation as best he could, he began to work as a journeyman, and was notable for thrift, and a resolution which nothing could break, not to join his fellow workmen in the use of intoxicating drink. Returning to America, he speedily made a more than colonial name. *Poor Richard's Almanac*, pointed by the life of a man who never lived beyond his means, the foundation of public libraries, insurance companies and much beside, attest the activity of Franklin at this time. Before the period at which we now find him, he had been Postmaster of Philadelphia, an ardent scientific student, discoverer of the lightning conductor, father of many wise laws—the Militia Act among others—had been made a Fellow of the Royal Society in England and received the degree of doctor from Oxford, Edinburgh, and St. Andrews. He was now, 1764, again in England as representative of the colonial interests. In the following year he was elected a delegate of Congress.

The Parliament of 1765 was opened by a royal speech, which referred to a slight misunderstanding with the colonists. Why was Pitt silent at this time? He was ill, it is true; but there is no proof that he was so ill that for a year he had been unable to arrest the fatal course of his brother-in-law. That he was chafing under ill-treatment is certain; but then to one "who loved England as an Athenian loved Athens," that was a trifle. In March the Stamp Act passed quietly, and received the royal assent. No one appears to have thought that that poor little Act, only estimated to produce 100,000*l.* a year, had any greater importance than a common enactment for regulating some ordinary parochial affairs. Franklin even did not see to the full extent the storm that was brewing. Ministers were thunderstruck when they heard that the Act had been reprinted, and was being hawked about with a death's head instead of the royal arms, and labelled "The folly of England and ruin of America;" that the vessels in Boston harbour on receipt of the news had hoisted their colours half-mast high; that the church bells had been muffled, and had tolled a funeral

knell; that the Virginian House of Assembly, inspired by the splendid eloquence of Patrick Henry, had adopted a petition to the King, and resolutions—addresses to the English nation—and others, denying the right of Parliament to tax the colonies, and that other assemblies had followed the stern example; that no one would sell the stamps or buy them; nay, that a Republic had been openly talked of and advocated by the descendants of the Pilgrim Fathers. The most alarming feature of the case was, that hitherto the colonists had been noted for prudence and caution, and in the wars with France had been determinedly loyal. Of the constitutional features of the dispute, Lord Campbell, referring to Lord Northington as Lord Chancellor when the Stamp Act was passed, says that "A constitutional lawyer like Lord Camden would have reprobated such a measure on principle, and a wary one like Lord Mansfield would have disapproved of it on principle." It is far from clear, however, that any reprobation or disapproval would have checked the madness of the Ministry in its headlong march to ruin.

In July the Grenville Ministry fell, detested both by the King and the nation. To the King the Prime Minister had been personally offensive. It was related that in the smallest possible matters he had refused all concession, and where the feelings and tastes of the King were concerned, had been unrelenting to the verge of indecency. In one particular his obstinacy had taken the form of veritable persecution. Very early in the reign, the first appearance of the King's afterwards more than fatal malady, had, it was supposed, led to the necessity for a Regency Bill, and his Majesty had naturally desired freedom of will, while he was able to exercise it, as to the appointment. Grenville had declined this, on the ground that the Commons would reject any bill which left an opening for Lord Bute. The choice, therefore, must be restricted to the Royal Family. This was annoying, but the minister went farther. He wished to exclude the Princess Dowager from the Regency, and would have succeeded in that too if the party of the princess in the House of Commons had not forced a debate on the subject and defeated the unpopular minister,

whose chagrin was intensified by the triumphant cheers of the House. An attempt was made to secure Pitt; but Pitt held to Lord Temple, and Temple, after long estrangement from his brother, had the misfortune to agree with him on this very Regency Bill which had broken up the Government. There remained the great Whig families, who might be willing to make an attempt to serve the King in his need, and they were forthwith appealed to with success. After a little difficulty, and some graceful concession on the part of the King, the Marquis of Rockingham formed an administration, of which the Duke of Grafton, General Conway, the Duke of Newcastle, were members, and with Sir Charles Pratt, now Lord Camden, as Lord Chancellor, and Mr. Edmund Burke as the Premier's private secretary.

As the ministry of Mr. George Grenville had been one of the most unpopular, so that of the Marquis of Rockingham has been accounted one of the most judicious known, not merely up to that time, but for long afterwards. But there was little time for the Government to become popular; it lived only twenty days more than a year, and even during that time was fettered by Court intrigue and the suspicions of the King, whose policy with respect to America it had cancelled. During this period, Lord Macaulay says, "the House of Commons heard Pitt for the last time, and Burke for the first time, and was in doubt to which of them the palm of eloquence should be assigned. It was indeed a splendid sunset, and a splendid dawn." Both the great orators spoke against the Stamp Act, which was repealed. At the same time, however, the absolute power of Parliament over the colonies was confirmed, a vote which simply destroyed the effect of the former resolution, since it affirmed the whole principle involved. The ministry had yet to learn that it was not the mere amount of the tax to which the colonists objected, but the right to tax them to any extent. An Act in the interests of the Spitalfields weavers was passed to prevent the importation of foreign silk. That is, the French who fled from France in 1685 were now to be protected from the French who had remained in France with their valuable artistic power. Another

important measure was the declaration of the Illegality of General Warrants, and of the seizure of papers to discover the authorship of libels. Sinister influences, however, were afoot. The two Grenvilles who were at length united even in their enmity to Pitt, in such vital measures as the repeal of the Stamp Act, the Regency Bill, and the stultification of George Grenville's policy with respect to Wilkes were active movers in one set of agencies; and with respect to the Stamp Act, the King himself also was an enemy of the Administration; a fatal fact which may be ascribed to his malady rather than to his obstinate resolution to "be a King." Then there were a number of men who called themselves the "King's Friends," and of whom Lord Macaulay says, in language that can never die:—"There sprang into existence and into note a reptile species of politicians never before and never since known in our history. These men disclaimed all political ties except those which bound them to the throne. They were willing to coalesce with any party, to abandon any party, to undermine any party, at a moment's notice. . . . . They were the King's friends." The most sinister political influence of all, was that of Lord Northington, whom the ministry had mistakenly allowed to retain the Great Seal. A spark of gratitude would have silenced the intrigue of this by no means highly distinguished lawyer. But that spark Lord Northington did not possess. He saw that the King was dissatisfied with the repeal of the Stamp Act. Pitt, too, had not hesitated to declare that the ministry did not possess his confidence. Lord Northington's course, therefore, was quite clear. He contrived secretly to inform the King that the ministry were hopelessly divided, and could not carry on the government. All this time ministers had been under the impression that their Lord Chancellor was ill, and had ascribed to his illness a certain peevishness of conduct which they afterwards traced to his treachery. On the 6th of July there had been a cabinet meeting, and, if Lord Campbell is correct, when Lord Northington heard of it, he swore that the ministry should never meet again. Next morning he drove to the King, resigned the Great Seal, and advised His Majesty

to send for Pitt. Of Lord Northington, the only other fact necessary to be recorded here is, that in the debate for the repeal of the Stamp Act, in replying to Lord Camden, he spoke in the presence of Franklin with what Lord Campbell characterizes as extreme violence and coarseness, the effect of which Lord Mansfield strove in vain, with patience and calmness, to destroy.

It would be impossible to pass over here one great name that came into note at this time—the name of Edmund Burke, whose genius has given a lustre, which no treachery or intrigue could impair, to the Rockingham administration. When the ministry was first formed, the Duke of Newcastle, who had a gift for discovering mares' nests, solemnly warned Lord Rockingham that his private secretary was an Irishman, and, there was good reason for believing, a Jacobite; but Mr. Burke remained one of the main props of the administration during its short existence, and its unanswerable defender when its existence had come to an end. He was the son of an Irish attorney, and at the time he entered parliament, in the thirty-fifth year of his age, was known to the foremost literary men of London, as author of an *Essay on the Sublime and Beautiful*, for certain pungent remarks on Bolingbroke, and as the originator of the *Annual Register*, to which he largely contributed. Educated, in the first instance, by a Quaker schoolmaster in a Catholic country, Mr. Burke came to London open to all generous impressions, and whatever subject he touched he in some measure adorned. There were many vicissitudes in store for him; and some would be bitter. He would live to have it said, and said truly, by the friendliest and most generous though most clear-sighted of critics, that "he thought of convincing while they thought of dining." He would see tricks of policy from which he would turn with disgust—the tricks of policy of little men in high position. He would be passed over in favour of titled mediocrity. He would be wrong in much, as he would be right in much; but in the one case or the other, in prosperity or adversity, he would extort from his enemies the admission of a sincerity greater even than his eloquence—an eloquence that would in some respects stand almost alone in its grandeur.

The "best-read man" of the time would say of him that you could not take shelter with Burke from a shower of rain without learning something that it would be well not to forget. This was the man of whom the Duke of Newcastle whispered warning to the Marquis of Rockingham. The age that produced George Grenville had no more beautiful fact than the friendship of Johnson and Burke and Goldsmith and Reynolds, and no greater glory among politicians than the loyalty to Burke of the Marquis of Rockingham, and Burke's loyalty in return both to the Whig leader and the party at the head of which he stood. There is, it must be granted, more than one fact which admits of question in the career of Edmund Burke. There came a time when the old Whigs—the party of Lord Althorp and Lord Fitzwilliam—and the Tories agreed that he deserved pecuniary reward for public services, and when the young Whigs—the party of Fox—were silent. It must not be forgotten, however, that Mr. Burke had devoted himself to politics to the entire abandonment of his own profession, and that when he received money from the nation, as Mr. Cobden in our own time, received money from his friends for past losses, and as a means of future usefulness, no one whose name has come down with distinction from that time to this objected. At a later time the subject was revived, as we shall see; but at that time friends and enemies alike agreed that the character of Mr. Burke might safely be trusted to Mr. Burke's own sense of honour.

With the fall of the Rockingham ministry Pitt again rose to power (July 1760); but was not this time *de facto* Prime Minister, and not, this time either, the vital spirit of the ministry. The Duke of Grafton was First Lord of the Treasury, Mr. Charles Townshend Chancellor of the Exchequer, General Conway and Lord Shelburne Secretaries of State, and Lord Camden again Lord Chancellor. Pitt reserved for himself the Privy Seal, with the nominal Premiership, and was raised to the House of Lords as Earl of Chatham. The intensity of the popular feeling on the announcement of Pitt's retirement to the Upper House may be partly, but perhaps only partly, conceived

from a perusal of the ephemeral literature of the time. People were utterly astounded that the nation should from any cause but death have lost its Great Commoner. At Hayes, even when he was silent, he was the power in the background—in reserve. In the House of Lords his whole identity was gone. His voice, it is true, was heard again, and with effect, for those interests and principles with which his name was identified; but it was no longer the voice of William Pitt. Something of the same popular feeling was manifested nearer to our own time in the case of Lord Brougham, but that only gives a faint conception of the feeling evoked when the news went abroad that Pitt was a peer. Brougham at his greatest never had the firm hold upon the national feeling that Pitt had; his power of self-sacrifice never had been, like Pitt's, an article of the national faith. When Pitt became a peer it seemed as if a star had fallen from the firmament of England to bedizen the roof of the Court Theatre. Nothing resembling that strange promotion ever was known in England before or has been known since. Lord Northington was made President of the Council, as a token of the King's gratitude for his services in breaking up the Rockingham administration. Whether the ignominy was sufficiently well paid for one may doubt.

In the course of a few months it was clear that the ministry must either fall to pieces or be reconstructed. Chatham was nowhere to be seen. Conscious that he differed from the King on the essential point of concession to the colonies, and unquestionably in ill-health, he seems to have almost entirely abnegated his right to direct the policy of the Government. Charles Townshend died in September, and Lord North succeeded him. A little later the new office of Colonial Secretaryship was created, and filled by Lord Hilsborough, future Marquis of Downshire. Mr. Charles Jenkinson, afterwards Lord Hawksbury, and then Lord Liverpool, was also made a Secretary of State; a man able in finance, and notable for success in life in a time when caution and partizanship were among the first political virtues—notable also as the father of a Prime Minister whose policy has not yet quite passed away. Lord Chatham

retained his seals till October, but the ministry had before even that time ceased to bear his name. It must be noted, however, that in June, 1767, and while Chatham was still at the head of the Administration, the Chancellor of the Exchequer introduced fresh proposals for taxing the colonies. He invited the House to tax glass, paper, tea, and several other articles, and after his death the motion was re-introduced by Lord North. The taxes were only estimated to bring in a sum of 40,000*l.* a year, and the proposals had merely been introduced as a puerile demonstration in the face of the House of Commons, which, to the chagrin of the ministry, had rejected a land tax producing about 5,000,000*l.* a year. The absolute puerility of the proceeding is almost beyond belief, but it was successful. No reputation has suffered more by time than that of the author of this new scheme, Mr. Charles Townshend. In his own time he was counted one of the ablest, most accomplished, and most graceful of living men. Burke, even in condemning the colonial policy adopted, spoke of the reproducer of the fatal scheme, as "the delight and ornament of this House, and the charm of every private society that he honoured with his presence." "Perhaps," he added, "there never rose in this country, or any country, a man of more pointed wit and (where his passions were not concerned) of a more refined, exquisite, and penetrating judgment." Alas, for contemporary fame! The name of Charles Townshend has no more popular meaning now than if he never had lived, while the names of Chatham and Burke, and Pitt and Fox are household words—considerably better known than the names of Mr. Sydney Herbert or Sir James Graham. If the reader would see how exceedingly little the so-called great men of that time were, he would find an admirable picture in the recently published *Life of Lord Shelburne*, to which reference has previously been made. No work, if it had been written for the especial purpose, could well have presented the contemptible intrigues of the time in a more forcible light. We see here men whom we have been taught to call great reflected in characteristics of pettiness, puerility, and jealousy, of vanity greater than that which has been called feminine, of

absolute falseness, both of word and character, in a craving selfishness which seems scarcely to have had bounds. We find among the published letters such an expression as "Be sure to burn this"; and then we read the letter which was to be so surely burned; an act of which a peasant would be ashamed. We find how public men met each other, and shook hands, and then went away and wrote of the person with whom they had been so cordial, remarks which people in lowlier life would hardly think of using to an enemy, and very rarely indeed would apply to people whom they had met in any cordial relation of life. One closes the book with a conviction that at least there were some huge hypocrites at that time, and that the spirit of political men was detestable.

We arrive now at the beginning of the end of the loyalty of America. The taxes were to come into effect on the 20th of November, 1768. Up to the time of the new enactment the spirit of disaffection had gradually subsided. Now the popular feeling of the colonies threw off all restraint. It was resolved to use no article whatever of English growth or manufacture; to cut off all connection with the mother country. In January 1770, Lord Chatham denounced the policy of the Government, and Lord Camden, who had voted with his friend, was next day requested to immediately give up the Great Seal. It is here again impossible to view the course of Lord Chatham with satisfaction. The Duke of Grafton had begged for his advice and help, and had begged in vain. Then, acting on his own responsibility, with Chatham's friend and confidant in the ministry, he found his proposals denounced, as only one man could denounce them. The ministry were successful in the vote, and that by an immense majority; but the opposition was overmastering, and the Duke of Grafton, who had no love for troublous scenes, resigned. Lord Camden was "now freed from the trammels of office," and under circumstances that "were not at all likely to mitigate his wrathful eloquence." If the Premier had resolved to continue at his post, it is certain that the King would have supported him stoutly, as he afterwards supported Lord North, with something also very like gratitude towards

him for taking the helm at such a time. The Duke of Grafton, who undoubtedly had a somewhat morbid feeling with respect to public opinion, and who had been stung to the quick by the venomed pen of Junius, was not disposed, if indeed he was able, to face the vials of wrath which were about to be poured on his head in the House of Lords. He gladly retired from the premiership, and after a time from public office. Many years afterwards we find him engaged very earnestly in a course of theological studies, and he is said to have died a Unitarian. Is there not something instructive in the "retirements" and subsequent employments of these public men? The latter part of life in most cases is altogether dissimilar from the earlier part—Harley subsiding into a collector of manuscripts, Walpole into a collector of paintings, the Duke of Grafton into a student of theology. The old men, in these and many like cases, are so unlike what we have seen them at twenty-five or thirty years of age, that it is difficult to persuade oneself there is not some species of third new birth, differing from those both of the theologian and the physiologist, and that the entire being is transformed. The debates at this time were notable for two facts, with which we shall be concerned for many years to come. Lord Chatham, in the House of Lords, spoke strongly in favour of Reform of the Parliamentary Representation. In the Commons, Mr. Charles James Fox made his maiden speech.

Lord North accepted office in January 1770, as First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer; a post he held under immense difficulties for twelve years, and with a courage which his bitterest foes admitted. Mr. Thurlow, at first Solicitor-General, was a few days later made Attorney-General, and speedily found a very important duty in the prosecution of the publisher of Junius. Lord North's first effort as minister was to deal with America. He determined, as a measure of conciliation, to repeal all the duties save that of three pence a pound on tea. It is quite clear that the King was willing to concede everything but the right to tax the colonists. It has generally been believed that Lord North would have conceded that right also if he had been free. So far, however, as America was

concerned, to allow the tax on tea was to grant the whole question in dispute. In 1773, three tea ships were discharged by the colonists into Boston harbour. To punish Boston, the Custom House was removed. As a punitive measure towards Massachusetts, a "Government Bill" altered the Charter, so that the members of the government should henceforth be nominated by the Crown. It was decreed that disturbers of the public peace should be brought to England; and a little earlier (January 1774) a petition from Massachusetts for the removal of the Governor and Deputy-Governor on account of certain letters written by them, and obtained in some way by Dr. Franklin, was refused, under circumstances to the last degree exasperating. This memorable petition was, in one respect, the turning-point of the American Revolution. The subject was referred to a Committee of the Privy Council, of whom thirty-five members attended. The story is told by Lord Campbell in a graphic way. Lord Gower was President of the Council, Mr. Dunning, afterwards Lord Ashburton, a man of high character, and Mr. Lee, also of high character, were counsel for the petitioners. Mr. Wedderburn, afterwards Lord Loughborough, was Solicitor-General, and appeared for the Crown. The place of meeting was the Council Chamber at the Cockpit, Whitehall, and accommodation was provided for a number of distinguished persons, among whom were Burke, Priestley, and Bentham. The appearance of Dr. Franklin, who was there as agent for the colonists, was afterwards described by Mr. Bentham:—"The President's chair," he said, "was with the back parallel to and not far distant from the fire; the chimney-piece, projecting a foot or two, formed a recess on each side. Alone, in the recess on the left hand of the President, stood Benjamin Franklin, in such a position as not to be visible from the situation of the President, remaining the whole time, like a rock, in the same posture, his head resting on his left hand, and in that attitude abiding the pelting of the pitiless storm."

If the question had been argued moderately, the Solicitor-General represented a by no means bad case; for, although it

was a profound secret how the letters had been obtained, there could be no doubt that they had been obtained in some way by a breach of trust. But Wedderburn was noted as the possessor of the bitterest tongue of the time. Sixteen or seventeen years earlier, as a member of the Scotch bar, he had publicly insulted the Dean of Faculty, with a coarseness of vituperation for which the bar has scarcely any, if indeed it has any, parallel. Then, called upon for an apology, he had stripped off his gown, hung it on the rail before him, and immediately started for England. He became a pupil, in elocution, of Sheridan and of the noted actor Macklin. For some time he tried with great assiduity to associate his career with Lord Chatham and the party which at the time might be called the Opposition. Finding that his course in that direction was not very clear, in 1771 he began to draw to Lord North; and early in the year of this appeal he was made Solicitor-General. Lord Camden wrote of him to Lord Chatham—"I am not surprised, but grieved." This was the man in whose hands was entrusted the delicate charge of contending against the Massachusetts petition. Jeremy Bentham and Dr. Priestley, among others, afterwards declared that they were perfectly astounded at what one of them termed the "thunder and lightning" of the vituperative orator. He denounced the colonists in terms of unmeasured abuse; declared that Franklin had now an excellent claim to be called "a man of letters," since he had purloined letters; and, finally, he was so sarcastic in manner as well as words, that the Committee, not even, Dr. Priestley says, excepting the President, but excepting Lord North, laughed outright, as if they were present at a play. Lord Campbell adds—

> "The babe that was unborn might rue
> The speaking of that day,"

When the business was finished and the petition rejected, some one naturally condoled with Franklin on the abuse to which he had been subjected. He replied, that it was a matter of perfect indifference to him that a venal lawyer was hired and encouraged to abuse the petitioners and their agent, and that, if

well fee'd, Wedderburn "would have been equally loud in his praise, or in the devil's." This was in January 1774.

In September a general congress assembled at Boston, and drew up a Declaration of Rights, an address to the people of Great Britain, and other documents. Early in 1775, Lord Chatham in the Lords, and Mr. Burke in the Commons, pleaded in vain for conciliatory measures. In July the colonists, who had shown that they knew how to hold their own in arms, sent what they called an "olive branch"—a conciliatory petition. It was presented on the 1st of September by Richard Penn, Governor of Pennsylvania, who was informed that "no answer would be given." Now rushed on the fated crash of events. In the spring of 1776 the British forces had been successful in Canada, but Boston had been evacuated. On the 4th of July the Declaration of Independence, drawn up by Jefferson, Adams, and Franklin, was signed by the representatives of the thirteen colonies, which were declared free and independent states. A few days later Lord Howe arrived with reinforcements for his brother, General Howe, and, endeavouring to open negotiations, addressed General Washington as "Esquire." The letter was returned unopened. The colonists no longer knew any "George Washington, Esquire." In November that year Franklin was sent to Paris as the representative of the United States. In May 1777, Chatham made another effort for peace, and he repeated the effort later in the year, but in vain. At length Lord North, who is said to have privately striven for peace for a considerable time, succeeded in convincing the King; ministerial proposals were made to the Parliament for conceding the right to tax the colonies. The Convention of Saratoga, October 1777, by which General Burgoyne and his army of from 5,000 to 6,000 men had surrendered, had been followed by the recognition, February 1778, by France of the insurgent colonies. The treaty between the two countries was signed by Dr. Franklin, the man whom Wedderburn had denounced, and against whom he had actually filed a bill in equity as an addendum to the denunciation. It is a great historical lesson. It possessed something, too, of dramatic effect. People told that Dr. Franklin,

when he signed the treaty, the last great guarantee of American independence, wore the very coat that he had worn when he was denounced by Wedderburn in January 1774. A period of four years had very materially altered the tone of the King of England and his ministers.

On April the 7th, 1778, the Duke of Richmond moved, in the House of Lords, an address to the King, praying his Majesty, in effect, to make peace with America even by the recognition of independence. To this view Lord Chatham, Lord Camden, Lord Temple, and others, were strongly opposed. Anything short of independence Lord Chatham would concede, but to see England, as he said, humiliated before the House of Bourbon, was more than he could endure. This was the burthen of Lord Chatham's last speech. "My Lords," he said, "I rejoice that the grave has not closed upon me, that I am still alive to lift up my voice against the dismemberment of this ancient and noble monarchy." During the Duke of Richmond's reply, the great orator again attempted to rise, but fell back in the arms of his son, and was taken away from the House in a convulsive fit, the peers rising and following respectfully. Next day the Duke of Richmond's motion was rejected. On the 11th of May Lord Chatham died, in the seventieth year of his age. He was buried in Westminster Abbey, with something more of ceremonial than Court or Parliament could provide. He had been altogether forty years in public life, and from the time when he was one of the "boy patriots" of Walpole's satire, he had been associated with almost every great event in the history of England, at least in relation to foreign powers and the rise and fall of parties. It has been said that his preparations for that last speech, even to his dress of black velvet, had been made with a view to effect. It is more likely that the preparations were made with a burning ardour to prevent the House of Bourbon, the hatred of the old statesman's life, from triumphing over the English monarchy. This last speech of a man whose will had so often been law decided for the time the demands for peace with America. But those demands recurred again with irresistible force. In October 1781, Lord Cornwallis was compelled to surrender.

In February 1782, General Conway carried a motion informing the King that in the opinion of the House of Commons, those who advised him to continue the war were the enemies of the country. In March, on the eve of a proposed vote of censure, Lord North resigned. The public knew then that the question of peace was determined. Lord Rockingham was once more called to the helm of affairs, a clear indication of what those affairs in one respect were to signify. In referring to the breaking up of the Rockingham administration in 1766, Lord Macaulay says :—"Sixteen years later, in a dark and terrible day, he was again called upon to save the State, brought to the very brink of ruin by the same perfidy, and obstinacy, which had embarrassed and at length overthrown his first administration." England was now at war with France, Spain, Holland, and America, and the Americans had a shrewd suspicion, mingled perhaps with a kindly feeling towards the mother country, that they were being used for the purposes of the ancient enemies of England. Moreover, the victory of Rodney and Hood in the West Indies, and the defence and relief of Gibraltar were indications that it was not impossible to have a turn of the tide of war. From various causes better feelings were again beginning to take effect, when in July 1782, the Rockingham administration came to an end by the death of the Premier. In this administration there had been Lord Shelburne, Charles James Fox, General Conway, the Duke of Richmond, Mr. Burke, and Mr. Sheridan, with Thurlow as Lord Chancellor. Lord Shelburne succeeded to the premiership with Mr. William Pitt, now twenty-three years of age, as Chancellor of the Exchequer. Fox, Burke, Sheridan, and Cavendish, resigned. On the 30th November, 1782, a secret treaty of peace with England was signed by Franklin and the American Commissioners in Paris. In January 1783, peace was made with France and Spain; and in September 1783, with Holland. The year 1783 closed, therefore, upon England at peace with all the world. The war had been calamitous, though not inglorious, so far as the courage and endurance of the nation were concerned, but the grandest of all the national heirlooms, the colonies planted by Englishmen, were

England's no more. The national debt amounted to close upon 250,000,000*l.*; the cost of human life had been immense; of the sufferings and privations of the people no full tale can ever be told.

Early in 1783, Lord Shelburne's Government was called to account in the House of Commons for the peace then concluded. On an adverse vote Lord Shelburne resigned. In April 1783, the Coalition Ministry was formed, with the Duke of Portland as Premier, Lord John Cavendish, Chancellor of the Exchequer; Lord North, and Charles James Fox, joint Secretaries of State; Lord Loughborough (Mr. Wedderburn), Lord Chancellor; Mr. Burke, Paymaster of the Forces. This Ministry had the honour of introducing the Prince of Wales (George IV.) to the House of Lords on his coming to age. In November of the same year, Mr. Fox brought forward his famous India Bill, proposing, as one portion of the measure, to appoint seven persons who would form a Council, with full power over Indian affairs. The King was alarmed for his prerogative, the proposal being that none of the seven persons appointed should be removable by the Crown without an address from Parliament. The Bill passed the Commons, but in the Lords, a paper, given by the King to Lord Temple, was handed about stating that his Majesty would count no one his friend who voted for the India Bill. The Lords were spirited enough, in spite of this, to record seventy-six votes in favour of the Bill, but the threat was sufficiently powerful to cause several proxies entrusted to ministers to be withdrawn and given against the Bill. In consequence of the King's unconstitutional interference there were ninety-five votes against the proposed measure, which was, of course, rejected. This was on the 17th December. At midnight on the 18th, Lord North and Mr. Fox, received a message from the King requesting them to give up their seals. On the 19th December, Mr. Pitt, then in his 25th year, was appointed first Lord of the Treasury, an office he held from that time till 1801, and then with a slight interval, till his death in 1806. To the incidents of this remarkable administration we must refer in other chapters. It may be observed however, that Pitt, at even this early period overtopped

his great rival in tact, as well as in that self-restraint which was the distinguishing difference between them to the end. Once in power, the son of Lord Chatham was not easily shaken in his position; and it must be said of him also that he held his head from first to last with the loftiest in the land, courting no favour, and apparently fearing no frown.

CHAPTER VIII.

FROM 1763 *TO* 1789.—*SOCIAL AFFAIRS.*

Prosecutions for Libel—Junius, 1769—Printer of Junius Charged on an *ex officio* Information—Lord Mansfield's Direction to the Jury; Challenged by Lord Camden, and Virtually Defeated—The City of London, 1770—New Era in Parliamentary Reporting—Arrest of Two Printers by Order of the House of Commons—Discharged by the City Magistrates—Wise Concession of the Commons—Horne Tooke—Lord Brougham's Opinion of Tooke—Prosecuted July, 1777—Attorney-General Thurlow—Acquaintance of Tooke and Thurlow in Later Years—The Trial as a Test of Public Feeling with respect to America—Quarrel of Wilkes and Tooke—Difficulty of Dealing with Junius—Lord Shelburne's Statement; Improbability of its Asserted Historic Value—The Secret—Place of Junius in History—Effect of the Letters as English Classics—Burke's Economical Reform—Pitt's First and Last Efforts for Reform and Peace—Wilberforce—Sheridan—Pitt—The Elections—"Fox's Martyrs"—Character and Action of Pitt and Fox—Religious Tests, 1772—Case of the Slave Somerset—The Thirty-nine Articles—Imprisonment for Debt—Canals—Captain James Cook—Captain Phipps—James Bruce—Charles the Martyr's Day—India, 1600—First Chartered Company—Madras, 1639—Bombay, 1662—Calcutta, 1690—Arcot, 1751—Plassey, 1757—Clive—Connecting Links—Vote of the Commons, 1773—Death of Clive, 1774—Wedderburn—Clive and His Antagonists—Warren Hastings—Trial of, 1786-1795—Mr. Law, Lord Ellenborough—Lord George Gordon Riots, 1780—The Four Days—Special Commission under Lord Loughborough for Trial of the Rioters—Executions—Acquittal of Lord George Gordon—Popular View of the Acquittal—More Historical Mobs; High Church—Erskine—His First Brief—In Parliament—Case of the Dean of St. Asaph—Law of Libel—Importance of the Legal Point Maintained—The House of Commons and Mr. Stockdale, Printer—Erskine's Opposition to His Political Friends—How these Questions were Viewed by Poor Men—A Political Error of Workmen—Natural Causes for It—Cottage Literature—Middle Class Tracts—Popular Contempt for Them—Legh Richmond—Value of True Literature—A New Epoch; Robert Burns—"A Man's a Man for a' That"—Distinctive Position of Burns.

IN the foregoing chapter the two leading subjects before the reader have been the trial of John Wilkes and the War of

American Independence. We have seen Chatham for years overawing friends and foes; Mr. George Grenville introducing measures which eventually lost us America; Lord Rockingham endeavouring to retrace the false steps; and finally the Duke of Grafton and Lord North, by administering to the erroneous views of the King, completing the separation of England and those important colonies which became the United States of America. Let us look at another side of the picture. For a year before the final resignation of the Duke of Grafton, his administration had been attacked in the *Letters of Junius* with a pungent bitterness which threw even the satire of Swift into the shade. In June, 1770, Mr. Woodfall, publisher of the *Public Advertiser*, was prosecuted for a libel which consisted in his having printed, December 19th, 1769, the *Address of Junius to the King*. The prosecution, as in the case of Wilkes, was on an *ex officio* information. Lord Mansfield directed the jury that they had nothing to do with the intention of the writer, but simply with the question of publishing, and as to whether the blanks in the letter meant what the prosecution maintained they were intended to mean. The question of the truth or falsehood of the assumed libel was one with which they need not concern themselves. The jury, disregarding the direction, found Mr. Woodfall guilty of publication only, which was a virtual acquittal. For printing and republication, however, other persons were punished. The direction of Lord Mansfield was at once challenged by Lord Camden in the House of Lords. Lord Mansfield evaded the discussion by desiring the Lords to give him time to prepare a paper. When again called upon for his defence, he simply stated that he had left a paper with the Clerk of the House. Lord Camden replied by disputing the whole principle of the direction, and by propounding six questions, which he challenged Lord Mansfield to discuss. These also were evaded by Lord Mansfield, and the questions really never were met. The whole case was bitterly dealt with by Junius in a logical argument, which admitted of no reply. The great point, however, had been gained, in the non-acceptance, even in law, of Lord Mansfield's direction to the jury. It may be interesting to

observe that Mr. Sampson Woodfall, the publisher of Junius, slightingly as he is often referred to by historians, was a highly respectable man, son of a well-known printer, and brother of another, Mr. William Woodfall, of considerable note as a publisher, and—for his great gift in reporting, as people were only allowed to report in those days—known as "Memory Woodfall." Both brothers were well educated, and were the friends of many distinguished men.

In the same year, the City of London took some steps which were afterwards cited as an example in even more dangerous times. In March, Lord Mayor Beckford and the Common Council went to St. James's to present a petition and remonstrance to the King, demanding in particular a "full, free, and unmutilated parliament," and that Mr. Wilkes should be allowed to take the seat to which he had been elected. The King, it was thought, was less displeased than contemptuous. In May, the same year, the form of petitioning was repeated by the Lord Mayor and Council. The King this time was somewhat sharp in his remarks, and Lord Mayor Beckford demanded permission to reply to His Majesty, a permission which was inadvertently granted. The Lord Mayor then, in words unusual to royal ears, and perhaps more numerous than the occasion warranted, stated that whoever strove to alienate the feelings of the King from the people, was an enemy to both. The King, it is said, grew very red and angry, and left the room. On a subsequent occasion he found very gentle means of informing the Lord Mayor that he was not again to come there making speeches. Another account given of this famous episode is that the Lord Mayor went in great state to the King; but in his confusion in the royal presence talked utter nonsense, not a word of which he could afterwards remember, and that Horne Tooke wrote for him and published in the morning journals the speech to which the Lord Mayor owes his fame. At any rate, however, if the reader is curious in such matters, he will find in the Guildhall ample proof that London credited its Lord Mayor in the year 1770 with having said what he is reported to have said, and honoured him for having performed a public duty. A

fine statue represents him, in an attitude at once firm and deferential, speaking the words, which are given below on the pedestal of the statue in letters of gold. Opposite to him, on the one hand, is a statue of Chatham; on the other hand are statues of Nelson and Wellington, and confronting Chatham, and by the side of Mr. Beckford, is a statue of the younger Pitt, with the well-known long inscription which enumerates his virtues and high qualities. The group shows how the freedom of Englishmen and loyalty to the Crown may accord.

The second case in which the city was concerned was still more important. In 1771, the daily papers began to follow the example of the monthlies and others, and report the proceedings of Parliament. A member of the House, who had been so reported, complained, and the House ordered two printers to attend at the Bar. The printers refused, and were arrested on the Speaker's warrant, and carried before Alderman Wilkes, who declared the arrest illegal, and discharged the prisoners. Two more were arrested and were similarly discharged. In their place the messenger of the House was arrested by the City for false imprisonment. This latter daring act was at the instance of Lord Mayor Crosby and Aldermen Oliver and Wilkes. The two first of the delinquents, being members of the House, were at once committed to the Tower, but not without a riot, in which Lord North's carriage was broken to pieces, and the Premier himself badly hurt. The case now appearing serious, a committee of the Commons was appointed to consider what should be done. The investigation was long and tedious; the final recommendation was, that one of the printers should be taken into the custody of the Sergeant-at-arms, a conclusion so inadequate to the apparent magnitude of the offence, that the House burst into a laugh, and there the case ended. The two members remained in the Tower till the end of the session, and then walked out without any demur on the part of any one. The freedom of Parliamentary reporting had been secured. It has been said that the House of Commons in this particular showed its impotence in allowing its power to be defied. In reality it showed both its power and its good sense. If the

power had not been so real that nothing could withstand it in a right cause, there would have been the utmost fastidiousness for the form of power. The laugh and the concession were not the marks of weakness, but of strength. Verdicts against the Press were very common at this time. Men like Burke and Fox, as well as men like Lord Sandwich, were applicants for protection under the law of libel, and were generally successful. In fact neither Whigs nor Tories knew rightly then or for long afterwards what to make of the Press, or what position to take with respect to it in the government of the nation.

Among the men who were beginning, apart from political ruts, to grapple with political affairs, was Mr. Horne Tooke, who was destined to prove a torment both to ministers and judges. Mr. Tooke's original name was Horne. He was the son of a poulterer in Newmarket-street, Westminster, but had received a university education, and having been admitted to Holy Orders, had been settled at New Brentford in a quiet living, purchased for him by his father, and worth from 200*l.* to 300*l.* a-year. In 1773 he was consulted with respect to a law case by a man named Tooke, who, in gratitude for some vigorous help given to him, bequeathed to Mr. Horne—some say, a name and a fortune, some say a name merely, the fortune having somehow slipped out of sight. In any case, Mr. Horne became Mr. Horne Tooke. Lord Brougham says of him: "He suffered, and suffered much for his principles. A bold and just denunciation of the attacks made upon our American brethren, which in our days would rank among the very mildest and tamest effusions of the periodical press, condemned him to a prison for twelve months, destined to be the most active of his life." The remarks extend to a greater length, but their point is in their reference to affairs which will come later in these pages. Mr. Horne Tooke's offence was that on the receipt of news from the seat of war in America, he proposed a public subscription for "the widows and children of the men inhumanly butchered by the King's troops at Lexington and Concord." For this an *ex officio* information was filed against him, and the charge was heard in July, 1777, at the Guildhall,

before Lord Mansfield and a special jury. Attorney-General Thurlow prosecuted with unusual vindictiveness, and even went so far as to suggest that the delinquent should be set in the pillory. Mr. Tooke was his own advocate, and Lord Campbell says, was not generally accounted so successful as he was at a later period in his legal encounters. He must, however, have greatly vexed the Attorney-General by the cool liberties he took with both the Bar and the Bench. He was fined 200*l.*, and sentenced to be imprisoned for twelve months. This was neither his first nor last meeting with Lord Mansfield. Lord Thurlow and he never met again till 1801, when a meeting was arranged, Lord Campbell says, by Lord Thurlow's desire, or with his acquiescence, at the house of Lady Oxford, at Ealing. The account of the meeting is from "the diary of a distinguished political character," who gives Lord Thurlow the palm of victory in the conversation that ensued, and even says that Tooke was scared by his legal competitor for the poor honour of talk, and drank deeply, but in vain, to keep up his courage. This has the look, at all events, of a distinguished political person's nonsense, or of a little of Lord Campbell's allowable romance. Mr. Tooke was a far better scholar, a far better read man, and a better talker, unless history is altogether at fault, than Lord Thurlow, and his cool courage was remarkable. The most curious fact, however, is that the old antagonists some years later became intimate acquaintances, if not friends, and that Thurlow strongly defended Tooke's election for Old Sarum, which was disputed and eventually overruled on the ground of his Holy Orders. As lately as this year (1876), another clergyman, Mr. Goring, a candidate for the representation of Shoreham, protested in strong and telling terms against the absurd act by which Mr. Tooke was unseated. Mr. Goring wrote:—"I cannot put out of sight the Bishops in the House of Lords, and other reasons why persons whose circumstances and calling otherwise are suitable, should not be debarred from sitting in a Legislature simply because they are in Orders, especially when, as in my own case, they have not gone beyond those of Deacon. Further, I consider the old Act, known as

Horne Tooke's Act, as little, if at all, short of tyranny. It was really directed against an individual and his political opinions; and his clergy afforded only the opportunity of enforcing exclusion against him by *ex post facto* legislation. Previously, I believe, clergy had often sat unobserved and unobjected to, other circumstances favouring their doing so." The real truth probably is, that although the Act in the first instance was directed simply against Mr. Tooke, by the despotically inclined part of Parliament, it became in time a settled conviction that clergymen have enough to do for the public good, and scope to do it, without entering the House of Commons. The absurdity, perhaps, is that on a Dissenting minister there is no such check, but then a Dissenting minister does not claim to have received the gifts of priesthood by Apostolical Succession. When extraordinarily high claims are made there must be a penalty somewhere.

In the decline of life there appears to have been a genial intercourse between the fierce old ex-Lord Chancellor and the imperturbable and public-spirited ex-parson of Brentford, a man to whom we owe more than some people are willing to allow. They visited each other for the interchange of views on passing events, and it is not too much to say that at a critical time in the life of the ex-parson he owed a great deal to the keen acumen of the ex-judge. At the house of Mr. Tooke, Lord Thurlow, according to his biographer, frequently met men, not merely like Sir Francis Burdett, but also like Mr. Hardy the shoemaker with whose trial for high treason we are somewhat concerned. Many years, however, had to pass before these relations prevailed. At present we are only at the year 1777, when Tooke was sent to Newgate for twelve months, and when Thurlow declared that he ought to have been set in the pillory. There is one circumstance in connection with this trial worth a passing notice, as bearing upon the general public feeling. That a man should have dared, in the midst of a terrible war, to use such words as those for which Mr. Horne Tooke was charged, is in itself proof that the popular feeling was not with the court and the ministers in their coercion of the colonists.

There have since been times when, to speak of the King's troops as having inhumanly butchered any one, would have been to risk lynch law. Even during the Crimean war, when it was quite allowable to speak of the Emperor of Russia as "Old Nick," it would have been dangerous to say a word in his favour. Nay, it was hazardous even to say that the army was perishing from mismanagement in the trenches before Sebastopol, and some penalties had to be paid by persons who dared the risk and won the honour of saving gallant lives. Released from prison, Mr. Tooke applied for admission to the Bar, but was refused. He was a priest, they said, and must die so. He devoted himself to political and other literature, and produced several works of real value, and among them, *The Diversions of Purley*, a philological work, for which even his opponents had high praise. Of his political principles it may safely be said that, although he may be termed in the strictest sense a philosophical Radical, he was not in any way a practical one. His intercourse with persons whom he met in the political societies which he assisted to form was often characterised by biting satire, of which his associates felt the sting. A violent quarrel with Wilkes in 1771 brought him under the lash of Junius, and naturally Mr. Tooke, fighting against a concealed adversary, had the worst of the encounter. He was a redoubtable antagonist, however, in all cases; a very Friar Tuck at political quarter-staff.

It was much easier to deal with the open speeches and writings of the ex-parson of Brentford than with the covert and terrible attacks of Junius. We have noticed how the charge against Mr. Woodfall, the printer failed. Every one knows how completely the secret of Junius has been kept, and if a statement made in the *Life of Lord Shelburne* is to be relied upon, among all the guesses as to authorship, not one has been correct. The writer, Lord Edward Fitzmaurice, says:—

"Had his (Lord Shelburne's) life been prolonged the secret of Junius would now be known. Only a week before he died he was appealed to by Sir Richard Phillips on the subject, who communicated the result of the conversation to the *Monthly Magazine*. Sir Richard Phillips said to Lord

Shelburne—then Lord Lansdowne—that many persons had ascribed those letters to him, and that the world at large conceived that at least he was not unacquainted with the author. Lord Lansdowne replied, 'No, no, I am not equal to Junius; I could not be the author; but the grounds of secrecy are now so far removed *by death* and changes of circumstances, that it is unnecessary the author of Junius should much longer be unknown. The world are curious about him, and I could make a very interesting publication on the subject; I knew Junius, and I knew all about the writing and production of those letters. But look,' said he, 'at my condition; I don't think I can live a week—my legs, my strength, tell me so; but the doctors, who always flatter sick men, assure me I am in no immediate danger. They order me into the country and I am going there. If I live over the summer, which, however, I don't expect, I promise you a very interesting pamphlet about Junius. I will put my name to it; I will set that question at rest for ever.' He subsequently added: 'I'll tell you this for your guide generally—Junius has *never yet* been publicly named. None of the parties ever guessed at as Junius was the true Junius. Nobody has ever suspected him. I knew him; and knew all about it, and I pledge myself, if these legs will permit me, to give you a pamphlet on the subject, as soon as I feel myself equal to the labour.' It appears from a letter written by my grandfather, Lord Lansdowne, in July, 1813, to the same periodical, that his father had not confided the secret to him or to any one else."

The perplexing part of this statement is that Lord Shelburne's failing strength should have prevented him from speaking ten words, when he spoke more than ten, in giving the reason for not making the statement that would have set at rest for ever the authorship of *Junius*. If the secret had been one of mere idle curiosity, the case would have been different. But it is not that. Say what men even like Lord Macaulay and Lord Brougham might—and both of them made somewhat light of the long-preserved secret—it has an importance that would not be diminished, but increased by the secret being divulged. It was concluded at a very early period after the letters had appeared, and on unanswerable evidence, that the writer, whoever he might be, was intimately acquainted with the official routine of several departments of State; that there were certain subjects with which he was not acquainted, and upon which he had not the means of obtaining information, while there were other subjects on which he seemed to have accurate intelligence from day to day. All manner of men were fixed

upon as the writer, and one by one cast aside as not answering to some test which was deemed indispensable. It appears to the present writer, that if Lord Shelburne's secret had been divulged, it would have only proved to be a well-reasoned supposition, and that when Junius said, "I am the sole depositary of my secret, and it shall die with me," he affirmed what he substantiated. The one reason for supposing that he was not a highly distinguished person is, that such men are not prone to stabbing in the dark. The one reason for supposing that he was a distinguished man, is the preservation of the secret. There were few men at that time whose reputation in any single case, would not, after death, have gained by his identification with the authorship of *Junius*. Chatham would have gained nothing, Burke would have gained nothing, and several like instances might be named. To a half known man, to be known as Junius would have been to secure lasting fame.

The place of Junius in history cannot be decided on any literary rule, and probably will remain undecided—each student of history forming his own opinion—as long as English history endures. The dedication of the letters by Junius himself "To the English nation," contains these words:—"When kings and ministers are forgotten, when the force and direction of personal satire is no longer understood, and when measures are only felt in their remotest consequences, this book will, I believe, be found to contain principles worthy to be transmitted to posterity." What is most of all worthy to be transmitted to posterity is, that in a time of corruption and imbecility in high places, a man arose with a pen which made that corruption shake—a pen more dreaded than an adverse vote in Parliament; a man who unravelled the tangled skein of State policy with a cunning and irresistible hand. Mr. Forster has said:—"It was the startling manifestation of power and courage; it was the sense that unscrupulous ministers had now an enemy as unscrupulous; that here was knowledge of even the worst chicaneries of office which not the most sneering official could make light of; that no minister in either House, no courtier at St. James's, no obsequious judge at Westminster,

no supercilious secretary in any of the departments, could hereafter feel himself free from treachery and betrayal; and what hitherto had only been a vulgar, half articulate cry from the Brentford hustings, or at best a faint whisper imperfectly echoed from St. Stephen's, was now made the property and enjoyment of every section of the people—of the educated by its exquisite polish, of the vulgar by its relish of malice, of the great middle class by its animated plainness, vigorous shrewdness, and dogged perseverance."

To estimate rightly the value of Junius, we must remember that the principle of trial by jury had at the time been rudely assailed; that even a man like Lord Mansfield, whose wariness was a proverb, had joined in the assault. This—and it was but one feature in a wide-spread corruption—would have justified Junius in striking hard and deeply. With Horne Tooke ministers could very easily deal, for he fought them with one kind of weapons, while they fought with another which for the purpose were far more effective. The case was now altered; they had to meet weapons more finely tempered than their own, and an antagonist who wore an invisible cloak. The letters cover a period from the middle of 1767 to that of 1772. We have seen that with the accession of George III. in 1760, the first and chief aim had been to find, not the best and ablest ministers, but those who would most readily accommodate themselves to the Royal wishes; a position all the more dangerous from the fact that the King's wishes did not, like those of Charles II., or subsequently those of George IV., tend to immorality. The King was a man of right aims; he sought for no connivance with illicit pleasures, while he did seek for connivance with arbitrary power. In the most difficult times of his reign, when all national interests seemed on the eve of being wrecked, George III. had the sympathy of some of the most moral people in the nation. Under the shelter of this real morality and sincerity of purpose, the nation was on a fair way to ruin, when the venomed pen of Junius was first used. From that time, as Mr. Forster pointedly states, there was no department of State intrigue that did not feel insecure. If the author's

name had been divulged, there is no doubt that his life, as he himself said, would not have been worth an hour's purchase. If there had been no legal means of reaching him, illegal means would have been found. Nor can we wonder, when we read his remarks on, for instance, the Duke of Grafton, on the peculations in this quarter, on the imbecility in that, on the mismanagement of affairs upon which individual fortune and position, as well as human life and the honour and safety of the nation, depended. It is idle to say, as some distinguished men of late years have maintained, that the *Letters of Junius* are of only secondary political importance, and that apart from the secret they would long ago have been consigned to oblivion. The truth is, that they stand almost alone amongst satirical and logical productions in the possession of characteristics which belong to enduring literature. They can be read as history. Nay, more; the history of the time cannot be understood without them. Stripping from a host of public characters the fictitious qualities ascribed to them by flattery and adulation, Junius reduced the history of the time to fact. That the letters were frequently unjust and cruel cannot be disputed; but the time required a scalping-knife, and a sharp scalping-knife was used by a hand that intended to cut to the bone. The style was so terse, so simple, so telling, and so little indicative of anger, even when it was most vituperative, that every letter published was like a fresh power in politics. It is not too much to say, therefore, that the "English nation" to which Junius made his "Dedication," will not readily suffer the letters to die. Lord Brougham, who condemned Junius, has also left sketches illustrative of his time; but Lord Brougham's sketches will pass away as of merely ephemeral interest, while Junius will remain for very late times. Lord Macaulay, with all the truth of genius characterizing his writings generally, cannot by any means be supposed guiltless of unacknowledged bias and favouritism. Junius admitted that he had bias, both for and against persons in power. He admitted that his intention was to cut deeply in cases of public vice and weakness, and to do his best to uphold public virtue and

efficiency — the strength necessary to public affairs. The letters, therefore, made a large and deep mark in political and social history. That they should have been written under a mask was a question for the author's own conscience, and one in which the less he is imitated in the future the better it will be for public morals. To dispute his decision in that respect, however, we ought to know more of the circumstances of the case than we are ever likely to know.

We have seen also that in the years 1782 and 1783, peace was made with America, France, Spain, and Holland; that when the latter year ended one of our most trying war-times had closed. We have seen the Rockingham administration fall, from the death of its chief, and the Shelburne Ministry under the odium of the peace with France and Spain. There are a few notable circumstances in connection with the former of these two ministries. Mr. Burke in office carried a bill for Economical Reform, abolishing sinecures to the extent of about 72,000*l.* a year. Mr. Pitt, out of office, moving in his father's footsteps for a committee to inquire into the state of the parliamentary representation was defeated by twenty votes. Pitt also, in connection with his friend Mr. Wilberforce, took an active part in the efforts for peace. These motions are curious when viewed by the light of Pitt's subsequent position and policy. Mr. Wilberforce, who came into prominence at this time, had previously been known as an active and useful member of the House of Commons. He was the son of a merchant in Hull, and sat for the borough for a short period till 1774, when he was returned for Yorkshire, which he represented till 1812. His labours, his charities, his sublime faith and conscientiousness, will not readily pass away. He was one of those men who by calmness and purity of life, give prestige and power in Parliament to views which coarser men had held and advocated, and perhaps to some extent vulgarised. His motives were above dispute; his sympathy with the English poor was akin to that of Legh Richmond, and was quite as real. The religious societies of the Established Church looked to him as their representative in more than one way. The Quaker followed

him for very much more than the mere freedom of the slave, and for that followed him with that enthusiasm which was all the deeper that it was so little like any other enthusiasm known to men. He was a connecting link between the Church and Dissent; the one man who at that time was able to unite conflicting creeds on the broader basis of nationality and philanthropy. His power of sarcasm was very rarely shown; but there was one occasion when a man ventured to speak of him as "the honourable and religious member" that his flow of satire amazed all who listened to it. Pitt afterwards said to Sir Samuel Romilly—"It is the most striking thing I ever heard, but I look on it as the more singular proof of the virtue of Wilberforce, for who but he ever possessed such a power and never used it?" This is not exactly a quotation, but it is very nearly one; it is made from memory, and may not be in the exact words. It was to the honour of Wilberforce that, although no sting could rouse him with reference to himself personally, his satire was used when he thought that a stigma was cast upon religion. His belief in Pitt was one of the remarkable facts in his history, and has often been referred to as a curiosity, considering how much more nearly his views might have been supposed to coincide with those of Fox. The solution of the difficulty is in the difference between the lives of Pitt and Fox. Wilberforce knowing, as everybody knew, under what circumstances Fox prepared for the debates in which, when freedom was concerned, he had no rival, and how proper and decorous Pitt was in every way, had little doubt as to which chief his allegiance was owing. He was not by any means a great statesman; he was a man of few ideas, but those ideas were directed to great aims. In several important instances, when the liberties of the people were in question in the law courts and elsewhere, Wilberforce was not by any means active on the popular side. He was termed lukewarm by men who were very ardent, while perhaps he was painfully endeavouring to arrive at a conviction which would satisfy his own mind. In affairs which required quick decision and prompt action Mr. Wilberforce was not a statesman.

Of Sheridan's character, also, much has been written, from very different points of view. He has been condemned by some as a mere playwright and actor; the son of a player, shallow in thought, and only gifted in expression; always in debt, and careless about being so. By others he has been eulogised as almost the greatest genius of the age. The truth, as usual, is between the two extremes. He was the son of a player, but of a player who had first been a lexicographer, and who had taken to the stage when more serious studies had failed to procure him bread; and he was the grandson of an eminent Irish divine. The great orator himself began life with an elopement and a secret marriage in 1773. In 1775 he began to write for bread, and *The Rivals*, *St. Patrick's Day*, *The Duenna*, *The School for Scandal*, and other light and charming productions, came fast from his pen. He entered Parliament by the interest of Fox.

We left Pitt, at the end of the last chapter, entering upon his long term of office, and convincing the King, by action more than by words, that the premiership was once more in the hands of a man, like Walpole or North, who would not easily be removed by any foolish sentiment on his own part, or by any opposition on that of his opponents. In 1784 he proposed an India Bill, and was defeated. Altogether during the session, which ended on March the 24th, there had been no fewer than fourteen motions carried against him. Parliament was then dissolved. In the elections that followed, the young minister was everywhere victorious. Of the adherents of the coalition ministry no fewer than 160 were rejected, and went by the name of Fox's Martyrs. The King was overjoyed. The people were not sorry. Nothing is clearer in the history of England than the popular antipathy to coalitions, unless it is the love for indomitable pluck against great odds, and the capacity to give and take hard blows, such as were given and taken by the first Pitt and the first Fox, and again at this later period by their sons. Pitt and Fox, at this period, may be said to have differed less in principles than in pride, and the same may be said of their fathers before them. Lord Holland suffered

his head to sink beneath pecuniary difficulty, and his son followed his example. Neither of the Pitts ever did that. Lord Chatham was at one time poor enough, and perhaps hardly knew whether he was poor or rich, but the poverty came from causes that did not affect his high spirit. Of his son it was said that his whole affairs were left in the hands of stewards and servants; that he knew little and cared little of what was going on in his household. But nobody ever dared to dun Pitt as Fox was dunned daily. Nearly all that Charles Fox strove for has been gained. There is scarcely a record of a vote given by him against human rights or progress. He was the greatest opposition leader ever known; he was also a great creative statesman; but he was lazy and inert in speech and in motion, and only when roused to some extraordinary effort was his voice heard in that irresistible strain of logic and denunciation which never were equalled in the House of Commons, or equalled on one or two occasions by John Bright alone. Of Pitt his friends have always said, that if his lot had been cast in peaceful times he would have been the greatest peace minister ever known. His independence could not be touched with impunity even by the King. Personally he scorned corruption, and eschewed borough-mongering, in the same spirit which made the Duke of Wellington long afterwards say, "I would not dirty my fingers" with the loathsome work. For Pitt, however, there were no peaceful times. He was not a great war minister in the sense in which his father had been one. His coalitions, almost as fast as he made them, were wrecked by the genius of Buonaparte. His finance schemes were anything but successful. He trusted to repression in cases of popular tumult where Fox would have removed the evils which rendered the repression necessary. There is scarcely anything in legislation that can be said to bear the impress of Pitt's mind. Yet he stamped his mind upon his time so effectually that the impression may be seen to this day. Such were the two men upon whom the attention of civilized nations will always rest in connection with this period.

We enter now upon a new series of efforts for social and political reform. In 1772 a Bill passed the Commons for the relief of Protestant Dissenters, chiefly to enable them to teach in schools without subscribing to offensive tests, but it was rejected by the Lords. In the same year Lord Mansfield gave the famous decision of the twelve judges in the case of the negro Somerset. The decision was elicited by Mr. Granville Sharp and his brother. The negro had been brought to England with his master under circumstances common at the time, and was led either at the instance of Mr. Sharp, or his own motion, to claim his freedom. He was seized, however, and retained in spite of a decision against the claim by the Lord Mayor of London. Mr. Sharp stood by the otherwise friendless man till it was declared by the highest authority that when a slave set foot on English ground, he was free. In the same year two hundred and fifty persons, including clergymen of the Established Church, petitioned Parliament to be relieved from the necessity of subscribing to the Thirty-nine Articles. A little earlier a barrister who had written against imprisonment for debt was expelled by his brother benchers from the Temple; the Bridgewater Canal was opened about this time. James Cook returned from his first great voyage of discovery; Captain Phipps from the Polar Seas; and James Bruce from what for a long time to come were believed to be the sources of the Nile. It was also of more than merely ephemeral importance that the Lord Mayor of London in 1773 refused to attend church on King Charles the Martyr's day. Dr. Priestley received the Copley medal in the same year for a valuable work on the properties of air. In the same year Clive was censured by the House of Commons, and in the following year died in a dreadful way by his own hand. The above facts are notable enough for a chapter to themselves. One of them, the voyage of James Cook, is well worth more than a passing notice; England has few historic facts more notable. Captain Cook was the son of a Yorkshire farm labourer, who had many children and small means. The famous son learned seamanship in a

coasting collier vessel, and in due time, without influence, made his way to the high honour of commanding a scientific expedition, and to the higher honour still of being our first and greatest peaceful sailor. He went among savage nations with a civilization to which they had been altogether unused, and he taught them what they had rarely been taught before by civilized men, that Christianity, when reduced to practical life, is worth infinitely more than that which merely is preached. A grandly modest, unselfish, firm, merciful man, able on all sides, capable in the old sense, there are few better lessons in English literature than those of the modest, sterling, manly life of James Cook.

We cannot pass from this period without noticing that early in the reign of George III. James Watt, an intelligent young Scotchman of Greenock, began those wonderful improvements in steam-power which have given him so great a fame; and that, about the same time, James Hargraves, an intelligent young Englishman of Blackburn, invented the spinning-jenny. The spinning-frame, the mule-jenny, the power-loom, and other ingenious work of Wyatt, Arkwright, Crompton, and Cartwright, followed. Within a period of about a quarter of a century all the laws and habits of English social life were slowly but surely revolutionized, with immense suffering to many, as the first result of what was to be for the benefit—the great and lasting good—of all. It is amusing now to find that about the same time (1774), in one of the most popular books of those years, the *Essays* of Lord Kaims, a solemn protest was made by that great philosopher against the further growth of large towns. One of the essays is entitled "A Great City considered in Physical, Moral, and Political Views," and there is no doubt that the manner in which the subject is treated reflects the opinion of a great part of the most intelligent people of the time. Queen Elizabeth, the learned writer says, made an error in 1602, after the example of several French kings, when she issued an edict against increasing the size of London. She ought merely to have restricted the number of inhabitants. James I., in 1624, and Charles I., in 1625 and again in 1630, issued edicts

to the same effect, and of course deepened the error. The order was that no houses should be built in London on new foundations,—first, in the language of the edict of Elizabeth, because "such multitudes can hardly be governed to serve God and obey Her Majesty" without great expense, &c.; secondly, because a larger London could not possibly be fed; thirdly, because of disease, and so on; to which reasons Lord Kaims adds—"The populace (of a town) are ductile and easily misled by ambitious and designing magistrates. Nor are there wanting critical times in which such magistrates acquiring artificial influence may have power to disturb the public peace. . . . . My plan would be to confine the inhabitants of London to 100,000, composed of the King and his household, Supreme Courts of Justice, Government Boards, prime nobility and gentry, with necessary shopkeepers, artists and other dependants." "Artists and other dependants!" it will be observed. Here is feudalism, with a vengeance, in 1774. The rest of the inhabitants he would have distributed among nine other towns "properly situated, some for internal commerce, some for foreign;" and so he would have diffused "life and vigour into every corner of the island."

Fifty years after Lord Kaims published these sage reflections, London and the suburbs had a population of nearly a million, comprising all manner of trades and professions, and fermenting with all manner of new and daring impulses. Lord Kaims, and the mass of the learned people who held his faith as to large towns, never seem to have reflected that the great enemy and the great bait to the predatory highlanders of Scotland was Glasgow; and that the same rule existed with respect to the borderers—the moss-troopers and kindred robbers—and Carlisle, Penrith, and Berwick. Wherever large towns grew, there grew with settled habits a regard for property; but there grew also, as by a law of nature, a perception of human rights, and a knowledge of what was involved in union and organization. Lord Kaims would have had a capital in England like Benares, composed of the palaces of chiefs, and the huts of dependents, "artists and others," with Inns of Court, great churches, beautiful parks, and an army ever ready for review. Alas, for

the idea! Benares has its palaces still, its beauty and its poverty; but the capital of India is on the low land on the Hooghly. There Commerce sat down, and there the Royalty of India was compelled also to sit down.

Lord Kaims overlooked the undoubted fact that Commerce is the most capricious of jilts when despotically wooed. Alexander was not at all wrong in his selection of the site of Alexandria as the grand commercial connecting link of an Empire in both East and West. He allowed for everything but the unaccountable caprices of Nature and of Commerce; and though to this day Alexandria stands almost unapproached as a site for commercial enterprise, it is distanced by many a little town in England which has grown up to commercial greatness since the time of Lord Kaims. Machinery and the growth of towns at the time Lord Kaims wrote, were effecting that mighty revolution which he thought he perceived, only which did not transpire exactly in his way.

It is necessary here, to the right understanding of many events, that the affairs with which we are dealing should in some slight way be connected with the circumstances of the rise and progress of British power in India; circumstances which, by this time, affected all politics and indeed all social life. The first East India Company was formed in the reign of Elizabeth, with the simple mercantile aim of employing vessels, or forming small settlements for trading purposes. The capital was only about 30,000*l.*, which was deemed a magnificent sum for the purposes in view. Five vessels, in all, were sent out with general cargoes, iron, tin, &c. A struggle of nearly eighty years for renewal of charters, and against encroachments of unchartered traders, as well as against the rival companies of other nations, and worst of all, against, or rather in connection with, corruption at home, brought the Company's affairs down to the time of the fourth charter in the reign of Charles II. Another charter was granted in 1683, in the same reign, to stop "interlopers"—a very notable act—and to enable the Company to proclaim martial law. A sixth charter, in the reign of James II., empowered the Company to make war

on princes, a step which seemed like the foreshadowing of Empire, as indeed it was. The exclusion of interlopers virtually rendered all India a preserve of the Company; the right as to martial law and the war on princes gave the traders an almost regal position. These, and all subsequent charters, it should be observed, had to be paid for, bribed for, directly or indirectly. The consequent demoralization was at last felt to be an evil so great as to portend national ruin. The Factory at Madras was founded in 1639; we acquired Bombay as a marriage dowry from Portugal with the wife of Charles II. in 1662. War was declared against the Moguls in 1685. In 1690 Job Charnock founded Calcutta, and made a name which, after the lapse of nearly two centuries, is as fresh to native India as that of Lord Northbrook or of Lord Mayo. From this time to 1772, the government of British India was of a purely mercantile character in name, though Charnock and others had had their dreams, and had given effect to them. We had beaten three brilliant and ambitious Frenchmen—Dupleix, Bussy, and Lally. Clive had captured Arcot; had recaptured Calcutta after the tragedy of the Black Hole, had won Plassey; indeed had fought his way to empire. The Mahratta power had been broken. Dating from the first foundation of the mercantile companies, we had been in India more than 100 years, never really at peace, contending against France, Portugal and Holland, and a host of native powers; now in abject despair, now in the flush of victory, now resting on the principle of factories, now talking of imperial rule. Down to the time of Clive, however, in 1744, or rather to his capture of Arcot in 1751, the mercantile Company had offered no sign of anything like the possession of Empire. Twenty-three years after the conquest of Arcot, Clive died in the melancholy way to which reference has been made. For years and years he had been one of the great heroes of England, had ruled over immense territories, and over princes of great name; and all with the hand of a master among men. He had given to the service of the country energy and genius of the highest order; the quick eye, the indomitable will, that decide not only great battles, but great

policies. He had pointed Englishmen to a vast, wealthy, and renowned empire. Arcot was won in the year in which Frederick Prince of Wales, father of George III., died, while Chatham was laying the foundations of a great fame. The year (1757) in which Calcutta was re-taken, Chandernagore captured, and Plassey fought, was that of Admiral Byng's execution, and of the formation of Chatham's ministry. In May, 1773, the House of Commons resolved that Lord Clive had possessed himself of 234,000*l.* by unlawful means, and though the resolution was accompanied by the remark that he had also done great services to his country, he never recovered the blow. He was defended by Mr. Wedderburn, Lord Loughborough, who, in the following year, as the reader has already seen, made the memorable attack on Franklin. In the defence of Clive the acute lawyer appears to much greater advantage. The brief was an excellent one for the display of eloquence; and in this case the advocate was credited with real earnestness of purpose. General Burgoyne, who had introduced to the House of Commons the charges against Clive, had really, as stated forcibly in the defence, referred to matters extending over a period of sixteen years, and doubtless Wedderburn's were the memorable words uttered by Clive himself:—"Before I sit down I have one request to make to the House; that when they come to decide upon my honour, they will not forget their own." The prosecution originated beyond all question in the jealousies—a chronic complaint—of the East India Company. That Clive had committed great faults of the kind indicated was proved. But very soon it was placed beyond dispute, and remains in history for all time, that it was not for his faults, but because he checked the huge faults of others, and put an end to a very nest of corruption, that the accusations were levelled against him. His fate was scarcely made a "great question" of the time; the whole proceedings were like a vestry dispute, the minister assenting indeed to the prosecution, but in such a way as to evince his opinion of its unimportance. And so, very nearly twenty years after the glorious day at Plassey, Clive died, and even then England made no sign of any profound conception

that one of her mightiest sons had gone. Standing, some little time ago, on the spot where Clive's memorable resolution to fight his great battle of Plassey was taken—fancying, as one easily may, the very mango-grove into which he retired for that almost awful hour of self-communion on the eve of a decision which would affect the destinies of the world, a decision, too, in the face of such odds as only races destined to empire ever challenge—watching afterwards the streams of wild life drifting, as in a current, to and from the ancient city of Moorshedabad—the present writer, at all events, found it very hard to think of the faults of Clive. He was very wrong in much, but he was no petty tyrant. He had no pleasure in torturing those with whom he came in contact as protector or as foe. His policy with respect to the treaty with Omichund was a false policy, the consequences of which are felt yet in India. But Clive was too proud to be essentially false, and too reckless to be capable of the petty meannesses laid to his charge. He simply represented a corrupt system, and he paid the penalty for more than his own sins, and for some splendid virtues.

Ten years later Warren Hastings was impeached in the name of the House of Commons by Burke, Fox, and Sheridan, with certain general support from Pitt, and an arsenal of facts and arguments in the background in Sir Philip Francis. Years before, Francis and Hastings had quarrelled and fought a duel in India, and the former, badly wounded, had retired from the service. He had now an ample revenge. The date of the governor-generalship of Hastings is reckoned from 1772 to 1785. The charges against him were stated in 1786. The impeachment rested over him from that time till 1795, when he was acquitted—a decision which led to Burke's retirement from Parliament. These two trials have a double significance. Originating at first in the dislike of little men to men of undoubted genius, they nevertheless tended to convince the servants of the East India Company in India that there was a reserve power in England if injustice were committed. The impeachment of Hastings was assuredly much more earnest and sincere in its character than the trial of Clive, and the impeachment

was in clean hands and honourable. It is impossible to avoid sympathy with two such men placed in such a position; but we may remember that English power in India had become so great a fact that the restraint of Parliament was a necessity, and that restraint could not have been better represented than by Burke and Fox. Many circumstances in connection with the great Company had, as already stated, tended to the demoralization of England, as well as the injury of India. The renewal of the charters was a constant source of extortion on the part of influential political men, behind whom were a number of families who held a vested interest in the Company; many families whose names may be found in relation to the same affairs to this day, in some cases representing principles of a right nature, in others representing principles not right nor wholesome. The great struggle in the trial was between the "Managers" of the Commons on the one hand, and Mr. Law (Lord Ellenborough), the principal counsel for the accused, on the other. The able lawyer, however, was a poor antagonist for men like Burke and Fox, who set mere quibbles and technicalities at defiance. In one case recorded, Mr. Law made some remark about the common character of the two sides. "Common character," said Mr. Burke, "I can never suffer the dignity of the House of Commons to be implicated in the common character of the Bar. The learned counsel may take care of his own dignity—ours is in no danger except from his sympathy." When the proceedings were finished Mr. Law seemed to think that the time had come for the managers and the counsel to shake hands and be friends. Burke, who understood no such rule of life, turned, it is said, haughtily on his heel, and left the proffered hand untouched. He would have no record in history that he had stooped to any practice of a mere special pleader.

Another marked feature of the time were the riots in connection with the name and speeches of Lord George Gordon. In 1778 Sir George Saville, a man of liberal views, had procured the repeal of that severe law of William III., which punished Roman Catholic priests as felons and traitors, caused the forfeiture of estates by Roman Catholic heirs educated abroad, and

gave to a Protestant son or nearest relative a Catholic's property. The law had in most cases been inoperative; but when it was repealed there arose a Protestant outcry such as had not been heard before since the reign of Queen Anne. On June 2nd, 1780, a mass meeting was held in St. George's Fields, London, and a petition, said to be signed or marked by 120,000 people, was adopted for presentation to the House of Commons by Lord George Gordon, brother to the Duke of that name. The House refused to receive the petition, supported as it was by a visible mob. Then the riots began. Members were insulted and abused. The lobby of the House was broken into, Lord George Gordon standing on the stairs of the gallery and inciting his followers to greater violence, and Lord North quietly sending for the Guards, who speedily arrived and cleared the lobbies. This was on Friday. On Sunday several Roman Catholic chapels were destroyed. On Monday several more chapels, Sir G. Saville's house in Leicester Fields, and other buildings fared in the same way. On Tuesday Newgate was broken open, 300 prisoners released, and the prison left in ruin. Clerkenwell prison, the magistrates' houses, and other buildings were similarly wrecked. Then the cry arose, "For Lord Mansfield's," and in a short time the house of the Lord Chief Justice was utterly destroyed, with all his valuable books and manuscripts, the collection of many years. The Lord Chief Justice and his household barely escaped. On the 7th the shops were closed. London had the appearance of a captured city. The man most active in the city at this time in support of the law was Alderman Wilkes, who did stern service, while the Lord Mayor was utterly paralysed with fear or indecision. The troops were at last ordered into the streets, and before the morning of the 8th, 458 persons had been killed or wounded, exclusive of those who died from excitement and drink.

In July a special commission sat under Lord Loughborough to try the rioters. The proceedings were short, sharp, and arbitrary. Twenty-one persons were executed. Mr. Burke, and long afterwards, Lord Brougham, strongly condemned what Lord Campbell calls Lord Loughborough's "opening harangue," as tending to create the excitement against which it was directed.

Lord George Gordon escaped the commission, on the ground that he had done no treasonable act in the county of Surrey—nothing which could be construed into an overt act of treason. He was tried in February the following year before Lord Mansfield, was defended by Erskine and Mr. Kenyon, and in spite of a strong adverse summing up on the part of the judge, was acquitted. The question of whether a man should or should not suffer for constructive treason is one that may be left to the gentlemen of the law, so far as the case of Lord George Gordon is concerned; but it is quite certain that his acquittal produced a strange feeling in the country. He had been the chief cause of the death of nearly 500 persons during the riots, and of the execution of twenty-one more after the riots; and he escaped upon a pure technicality. It will be observed that our second, like our first great historical mobs, were incited by a religious cry; in this case against Catholics, as in that against Dissenters.

Whatever might be the popular view, however, of the acquittal of Lord George Gordon, there never was any difference among intelligent persons, educated or otherwise, as to the illustrious advocate to whom the acquittal was owing. Mr. Erskine, who had previously been a midshipman in the navy, and then an ensign and a lieutenant in the army, was a very young member of the Bar when the riots in connection with Lord George Gordon took place. His first brief is worthy of notice for even more than its relation to a great life; it exhibits in a striking manner a form of abuse in the public service against which many an energetic effort had been directed, in vain. Mr. Erskine was called to the Bar in July, 1778, and the year was fast drawing to a close without any appearance of a brief for him. He had married, and people said "imprudently," when one day he chanced to be at a dinner-party where a conversation arose as to a cause then pending in connection with Captain Bailey, a veteran sailor who had been made lieutenant-governor of Greenwich Hospital, and had fallen into difficulty there. Mr. Erskine, who had good manners and a pleasing address, expressed a strong opinion as to the conduct in reference to this case of Lord Sandwich, then First Lord of the Admiralty. The facts were very simple, but

the Admiralty was very powerful. Captain Bailey, on his appointment to the lieutenant-governorship, had found gross abuses arising from the benefaction of the hospital being made subservient to electioneering purposes. With the directness of a sailor, he petitioned, without effect, the governors, the Admiralty, and in particular the First Lord. Thereupon he boldly, though perhaps indiscreetly, for his own comfort, printed a statement containing certain accusations. He was immediately suspended, and some subordinate persons who were involved in the accusation were instructed to proceed against him for libel. If the trial had come on a year earlier it is all but certain that Captain Bailey would have been helpless. Fortunately for his cause he was present at the dinner at which Erskine spoke so indignantly, and sat opposite to him at the table. Next day Erskine received a guinea retainer, but found on his brief, "With you Mr. Beaucroft, Mr. Peckham, Mr. Murphy, and Mr. Hargrave." At a consultation three of the counsel advised a compromise, the defendant paying his own costs, and of course apologising. The "junior," never yet heard in a court of law, said a few modest words against consenting to this, and Captain Bailey, hugging the young man in his arms, swore a huge oath to the same effect. On the 23rd November the case was heard before Lord Mansfield. It was quite dark before the senior counsel had read all the documents, and made the dry remarks that were thought necessary in the case. Next morning the Solicitor-General was about to reply, "when," Lord Campbell says, "there rose from the back row a young gentleman, whose name, as well as whose face, was unknown to almost all present, and who in a collected, firm, but sweet, modest, and conciliating tone, began, 'My Lord, I am likewise of counsel for the author of this supposed libel.'" With the very first words attention was attracted, and Lord Mansfield, who knew the young advocate, was more than ordinarily deferential. Hitherto there had been dry parrying; now there was enthusiasm:—"Who is my client? What was his duty? What has he written? To whom has he written? And what motive induced him to write?" rang through the court. To these questions, of course, Mr. Erskine gave his own replies.

Once when Lord Mansfield, thinking he was treading on dangerous ground, interposed the reminder that Lord Sandwich was not before the court, Erskine replied, "No, but I will bring him before the court . . . I will drag him to light who is the dark mover in this scene of iniquity." Lord Campbell pronounces it "the most wonderful forensic effort in our annals." Captain Bailey was honourably acquitted; Erskine was raised at once to a foremost position at the Bar. Early in the following year he was advocate for Admiral Keppel, against charges made by Sir Hugh Palliser. The trial lasted thirteen days. Mr. Dunning and Mr. Lee were both for the defence, but they had recommended Erskine, from his knowledge of maritime affairs, and for other reasons which they were generous enough to state. Admiral Keppel was exculpated of all blame, and the impression produced by the charge and the defence was so great that London and Westminster were illuminated for two nights, and Sir Hugh Palliser's house was wrecked. Lord Keppel sent Erskine a present of 1,000*l.*

In 1783 Mr. Erskine was returned to Parliament for Portsmouth. There is a curious account of how Pitt prepared to meet him, and then threw away his pen and paper under the conviction, as Erskine's speech went on, that the House was merely listening to a special pleader where it had expected to find a great debater. It was one proof that success at the Bar does not imply success in the House of Commons; but Erskine lived to prove that he would have been successful in the House of Commons too, if his pathway had been smoothed to that House as Pitt's had been, or if he had been compelled to fight his way to it by means of any other studies and habits than those which, broad as they are, have nearly always impaired a man's efficiency as a member of the House of Commons. In the same year Mr. Erskine was counsel in a case of the first importance, and of very curious interest, from a public point of view. Sir William Jones, whose loyalty was beyond dispute, and who stood intellectually foremost among the first men of the time, had written a tract entitled *A Dialogue between a Gentleman and a Farmer*, a plea in very mild terms for Parliamentary

reform, and his brother-in-law, Dr. Shipley, Dean of St. Asaph, had recommended it to a Welsh Reform Society, and caused it to be reprinted. "Thereupon," Lord Campbell says, "the Hon. Mr. Fitzmaurice, brother of the first Marquis of Lansdowne, preferred an indictment against the dean, at the great sessions for Denbighshire, for a seditious libel." The trial eventually came on at the summer assizes at Salop. The leading counsel for the prosecution expressed a belief privately that no English jury would find the tract a libel; but he maintained, resting on Lord Mansfield's ruling, that the question of libel or no libel was not for the jury, but for the court, and that the only question for the jury was as to the publication, and whether the inuendoes were correctly rendered. We have in the course of these chapters seen this point argued in a great variety of ways. We have seen also that it is a point upon which depended the whole principle of trial by jury. It would have been mere child's play to submit to twelve jurymen the question of whether the Dean of St. Asaph did or did not publish this tract, and whether the blanks did or did not mean what everybody knew they meant. The whole question was as to whether the tract was or was not a libel. Mr. Erskine has left it on record that from this point he was determined, on no consideration, to flinch. He said afterwards, referring to a motion for a rule to set the verdict aside: "I made the motion from no hope of success, but from a fixed resolution to expose to public contempt the doctrines fastened on the public as law by Lord Chief Justice Mansfield, and to excite, if possible, the attention of Parliament to so great an object of national freedom." Mr. Justice Buller presided at the assizes at Salop, and concluded his summing-up by saying to the jury:—"Therefore I can only say that if you are satisfied that the defendant did publish this pamphlet, and are satisfied as to the truth of the inuendoes, you ought, in point of law, to find him guilty." The jury withdrew, and in about half an hour returned into court. When their names had been called over, the following ensued:—

"*Clerk.* 'Gentlemen of the jury, do you find the defendant guilty or not guilty?' *Foreman.* 'Guilty of publishing only.' *Erskine.* 'You find him

guilty of publishing only?' *A Juror.* 'Guilty only of publishing.' *Buller, J.* 'I believe that is a verdict not quite correct. You must explain that one way or the other. The indictment has stated that *G* means "gentleman;" *F* "farmer;" *the King*, "the King of Great Britain." *Juror.* 'We have no doubt about that.' *Buller, J.* 'If you find him guilty of publishing, you must not say the word "only."' *Erskine.* 'By that they mean to find there was no sedition.' *Juror.* 'We only find him guilty of publishing. We do not find anything else.' *Erskine.* 'I beg your Lordship's pardon, with great submission, I am sure I mean nothing that is irregular. I understand they say, "We only find him guilty of publishing."' *Juror.* 'Certainly, that is all we do find.' *Buller, J.* 'If you only attend to what is said, there is no question or doubt.' *Erskine.* 'Gentlemen, I desire to know whether you mean the word "only" to stand in your verdict?' *Jurymen.* 'Certainly.' *Buller, J.* 'Gentlemen, if you add the word "only" it will be negativing the innuendoes.' *Erskine.* 'I desire your Lordship sitting here as judge to record the verdict as given by the jury.' *Buller, J.* 'You say he is guilty of publishing the pamphlet, and that the meaning of the innuendoes is as stated in the indictment.' *Juror.* 'Certainly.' *Erskine.* 'Is the word "only" to stand part of the verdict?' *Juror.* 'Certainly.' *Erskine.* 'Then I insist it shall be recorded.' *Buller, J.* 'Then the verdict must be misunderstood; let me understand the jury.' *Erskine.* 'The jury do understand their verdict.' *Buller, J.*, 'Sir, I will not be interrupted.' *Erskine.* 'I stand here as an advocate for a brother citizen, and I desire that the word "only" may be recorded.' *Buller, J.* 'Sit down, sir; remember your duty, or I shall be obliged to proceed in another manner.' *Erskine.* 'Your Lordship may proceed in what manner you think fit; I know my duty as well as your Lordship knows yours. I shall not alter my conduct.'"

The jury again retired, and returned a verdict of "Guilty of publishing, but whether libel or not we do not find." In the following term Mr. Erskine moved the Court of Queen's Bench for a new trial, and his speech was declared by Mr. Fox, who had merely read it, "to be the finest piece of reasoning in the English language." In the end judgment was arrested, in consequence of the prosecutors having been called upon to point out any part of the dialogue that they considered criminal, and of their inability to do so. In December, 1789, Mr. Erskine was counsel for the defence in the memorable prosecution by the House of Commons of Mr. Stockdale; one of the greatest mistakes ever made by the men who, above all others,

had interested themselves to defend and protect the free expression of opinion. During the trial of Warren Hastings Mr. Logan, a minister of the Church of Scotland, wrote a vigorous pamphlet for the defence, and in particular reflected on the conduct of the managers appointed by the Commons for the prosecution. The pamphlet was published in the ordinary course of business by Mr. Stockdale, a respectable bookseller in Piccadilly, and on the complaint of Fox and Burke, the House prosecuted Mr. Stockdale. The case was heard before Lord Kenyon. Mr. Erskine appeared for the defence, and made a speech of masterly ability, an admitted model of manly pleading. It possessed another quality of greater value still; it was in direct opposition to the advocate's political friends, and on a point upon which they had by this very action proved themselves exceedingly sensitive. Mr. Stockdale was triumphantly acquitted, and his acquittal, for which he was probably altogether indebted to Mr. Erskine, was the defeat of Fox, Burke, and Sheridan—men not like the friends of Wedderburn, and some others who might be named, to be used in fair weather and cast off in storm, but who represented the political principles of the brave advocate —principles, moreover, which he had no intention of compromising, and which he never compromised. The principle that juries ought to "judge alike of the fact and the law" was soon after affirmed in Mr. Fox's Libel Bill. Passing over Mr. Erskine's conduct in the House of Commons, and at the Bar of the House, as well as the non-political cases in which he appeared, we shall see him again at a later period, standing, and again in certain cases against his interest, resolutely for constitutional principles, with the same high eloquence and the same irresistible logic.

In 1788 Mr. Wilberforce presented to the House of Commons his motion against the slave trade. He was supported, history will always record with pleasure, by Fox, Pitt, and Burke. There were points on which these distinguished men were neither rivals nor opponents. At the end of the year the King's malady, as it was generally called, having increased, Fox proposed the Regency as a "right of the Prince of

Wales; one of the great mistakes of Fox as a politician. Pitt haughtily admitted the claim, but denied the "right" of the Prince of Wales. The country approved this position, which was long remembered against the Whigs. It may be worth while to ask how these questions were viewed by the poorer classes—the large masses of the people. One of the errors made at this time, as in earlier times, by workmen was the nominal, if not virtual, separation of themselves from the great traditions of the nation, allowing a mere moiety of the people to call themselves England; an error ever since repeated at intervals. It seemed at times as if the instinct of the people was not unlike that of the children of Israel, when they said, "What portion have we in David? neither have we inheritance in the son of Jesse: to your tents, O Israel." There has again and again been a general tendency to inquire, What have we to do with the honour of the nation? What is it to us that Charles II. was a pensioner of the King of France; that Camden contended against Mansfield; or even that Erskine spoke those glowing words which convinced juries and asserted human rights? What are the great universities?—what the literature, which, we are told, is so great a glory to the nation?—what that increase of trade which people say represents the national progress? This is not even an extreme representation of the feeling that has often crept over the masses of workmen in view of incorrect and foolish expressions on the part of persons not workmen. We have seen in a former chapter how the general course of reasoning on the part of wealthier persons had been to the effect that if a poor man had food and clothing, however bare and poor, it was his duty to be content—a sentiment which really is the burthen of catechisms and homilies and sermons and tracts, the one lesson ever on the lips of the "great middle class." If, with this in view, the lines of classes were irremovable, workmen would be justified in rising—nay, it would be their duty to rise—with all the majesty of suffering and wrong, and sweep the upper and middle classes away. The lines of class, however, are not irremovable. There is no more reason why a workman should remain in that

state of life to which he has been called than that James Cook or George Stephenson should have remained in such a station. Nor —and this fact ought to teach the upper class a lesson which never really is taught—is there any security that the grandson of a Duke shall not be compelled to earn his bread by the sweat of his brow, or perhaps to drivel in abject poverty and die in want, while men once poor are living in comfort or climbing to fortune. In these facts lie an inducement to the wealthy to help to better the condition of the nation as a nation, as the only means of securing the future of their own children. In these facts lie also the inducement to the poor to consider the present unity, grandeur and well-being of the nation the safeguard even for individual advancement as well as for the social progress which no privilege or prescription can ever again effectually retard.

The feeling referred to here, however, is not an unnatural one. All English literature proves that the cottage, apart from itself, hardly ever elicited even a vigorous song, as an expression of its views and needs. The poets, like the politicians, were attracted by refinement and education. They sang of beauty, of elegance, of intellect. Where the Diary of Pepys, or of Evelyn, deals at all with common folk, the references are of such a kind as to convince one that the diarist has no idea in his mind but of a vast and undistinguishable sea of life. Dr. Johnson, with all his great forbearance for his old pensioners, his manly treatment of his servant, and indeed of every poor person with whom he came in contact as an individual, has scarcely left a line evincing his sense of that larger sympathy which, when workmen began to read and inquire, they in many cases concluded, mistakenly, had never existed in England. The so-called middle class made greater errors in this respect than the so-called "upper ten." They met the new and craving demand for reading by inundating the land with a species of tract literature, the foolishness of which was its least fault, for there ran through it a baneful sectarian spirit, a spirit altogether opposed to that of Christianity, and to that of nationality. When men began to read really high literature, they found a complete repository—a very mine—of wealth and enjoyment, a new world on which

was engraven without and within that it could be closed no more. They saw with what beauty culture and refinement could invest all created things; but they saw also that, as a rule, the beautiful poems, and essays, and dramas were addressed only to those who had been hedged apart by forms of education from the lowlier lot in life. The perception was only that of a half truth, but to that extent it was difficult to meet. When the palmer told his news, or the minstrel sang in olden times, the song and story alike were means of knitting together the cottage and the hall. The lesson was in the hands of the teacher; the capacity to see and hear and comprehend was one that existed fresh from the Creator. The very education that will in the end make a nation of all classes for a time raised up between classes a partition wall. It might be quite true of many of the persons sent to college, that—"they gang in stirks and come out asses, plain truth to speak." But all the same had they the partition—often a stupid and sometimes a vulgar, but always a real, wall. Clergymen, even of the sort of Legh Richmond, truly humble as well as devout men, were met by startling difficulties when they spoke to cottage people of the Christian grace of humility. "See what is wanted," they said; "we are to be humble, submissive; and therein lies what we are taught to believe is the Christian religion." A man like Mr. Richmond might have pleaded—"Do you not see that I am asking you for no effort that I am not myself, on my own part, endeavouring to make day by day?" The answer would certainly have been, "Yes, we see that in your case; but you are only one, and we have so much of the fact of enforced humility, that we cannot endure the idea of voluntary humility being inculcated as a Christian grace." In fact it would have been much easier to teach this great lesson to the same men, wealthy, than to teach it to them poor. Looking back at this time and beyond it, we can see that every line of force or beauty, for truth and justice had its value, and that, too, to the poorest in the land. Roger Ascham and Sir Thomas More, the translators of the Bible, and the writers of plays; Shakespeare and Latimer, Spenser and Milton, Bacon and Marvell, George

Herbert and Ben Jonson, De Foe and Swift, all tended, so far as what they wrote was genuine, not merely to the improvement of manners, but to the purification of life, even in those who read not a line of what was written. Nevertheless there had not as yet any great poet arisen who, in addition to taking his themes from cottage life, and aiming first of all to give expression to the feelings of the poor, would be able, by intellect of the first order, to maintain, in the face of any rank, the dignity of poor men.

There did, however, arise, just when the night seemed darkest, a poet for poor men; a man who, in a sense higher than ever before had been attained, possessed the power to represent in song the feelings and wishes, the joys and sorrows, of those who laboured day by day for their bread. There arose a master alike in song and philosophy in Robert Burns. The production of the one song, "A Man's a Man for a' That," was an epoch in literature and in history. Hatred to oppression, to class assumption, to imbecility in high places; an utter contempt for the supercilious ignorance that, time after time, had brought the nation to the very brink of ruin; a clear perception of the character, ability, and stern manhood that were frequently found without the means of procuring the necessaries of life, created an entirely new species of literature. There had been heretofore plenty of patronage of poor people. Here was a man who spurned the patronage. There had been people to depict the cottage from the outside. Here was a man who gave it a voice from the inside, and a voice that would live for ever. It is not unusual to hear people say that Burns, with a classical education, might have become so and so. Well, he might have become a prime minister. If he had, he certainly would have escaped many of the blunders into which prime ministers with very pretentious names have fallen. The classical education, however, would have had not the slightest influence, one way or the other, on his power of original conception or production; it would simply have been the ladder by which he might have scaled the partition wall of classes. The "Cotter's Saturday Night," the exquisite "Vision," the "Address to the Unco Guid"—worth a

whole generation of treatises—the defiance to orthodoxy, and the upholding of individual manhood, stand alone, one need scarcely hesitate to say, in all literature. Then no poet ever sang more sweetly of true humility than Burns sang in "The Daisy," or priest preached with greater force of the quality and grace of mercy than Burns preached from the text of "The Wounded Hare," and "The Tim'rous Cow'rin' Mousie;" or teacher of any sort or name enshrined friendship in nobler words than those addressed to "Davie," or showed more clearly how bright and beautiful the love of cottage folk could be. It became fashionable to imitate the songs of Burns, and especially the fashion with bitter politicians for electioneering and like purposes. But nothing of this has the least relation to Burns or his work. That he has survived the often foolish speeches of nearly a hundred anniversaries is sufficient to prove that his fame will not readily pass away. He was, in one sense, to England what John Wesley was—a great preacher, with themes of incalculable importance and of everlasting duration, and he sang, as Wesley preached, in as dark and dismal a night as England ever knew. It was a time of rank despotism when he struck the key-note that was to assist materially to strike despotism to the ground. Centuries earlier a man had been more a man than when the great song of Burns was written. When the welfare of communities depended on able heads and stout limbs it would have been dangerous to dispute the right of the man who could "do." The result might have been a defiance like that of Robin Hood or Allan-a-Dale. Very different was it now that armies had become fixed institutions, and that large towns were producing in their thousands of workers what "society" called mobs. It was time to make known once again the old world truth that "a man's a man for a' that," a truth that, once promulgated, as Burns promulgated it, was not easily set aside; nay, that never was set aside any more. Byron's wild reckless defiance, pointed by genius, against all the order of English society; Shelley's daring ridicule, at once of religion and what he deemed merely conventional morality, had a mighty influence on the time. Radicals of the most

extreme order found a brother leveller in the proud aristocrat who charmed the saloons of London with the burning words of *Childe Harold,* and the mighty enmity to the principles and the society which the saloons represented. Sceptics at the joiner's bench and on the shoemaker's stall, and refined ladies in the most brilliant drawing-rooms bowed at the same time to the music of the gentle spirit that had conjured up the vision of *Queen Mab;* that dared to deny the Great First Cause, but that couched the denial in such a magical form that all criticism was in the end overborne, till even saintly confessors acknowledged the weird spell. Byron and Shelley did a great deal to assist the general manhood of man. So was it with much of Wordsworth's; so was it with Coleridge's "He prayeth best who loveth best both man and bird and beast." So was it with at least some thoughts that flowed from Southey's facile pen. The song of Burns, however, differed from them all. It was the song from within the cottage; the song of, not merely for, the cottager. It was the poor man asserting his own manhood, maintaining, with unapproached loftiness of language and of spirit, his own birthright of independence. It was a feature of that age to stand through all ages to come.

CHAPTER IX.

FROM 1789 *TO* 1794; *THE FRENCH REVOLUTION AND ITS REACTION; REIGN OF TERROR IN ENGLAND.*

1789—Retrospection from 1815—The Revolution of 1789—The Feeling in England—News from France—The Third Estate—Englishmen to Whom the News Came—Pitt's Position—His Opponents and Supporters—Mr. Addington (Lord Sidmouth) Speaker of the House, 1789—Resolution of the Tiers État, June 1789—The National Assembly—M. Bailly—Mirabeau—Can we Supply France with Bread?—M. Necker—Declaration of Rights—Meeting of the English Revolution Society, November 1789—Burke, Fox, Sheridan, and Pitt—Defeat of Fox on the Test and Corporation Acts—Burke's *Reflections*—Paine's *Rights of Man*—*Vindicæ Gallicæ*—Quarrel of Fox and Burke—Escape and Capture of the Royal Family—National Legislative Assembly—New French Parties—Fox's Libel Bill, 1792—Lord Camden's Last Service to Freedom—Anti-Revolutionary Riots—Dr. Priestley—English Societies; "Friends of the People"; The Revolution Society; The Corresponding Society; The Society for Constitutional Information—Mr. (Earl) Grey Begins his Struggle for Parliamentary Reform—Violently Opposed by Pitt—Remarkable Petition for Reform—Royal Proclamation Against Seditious Assemblies—New Principles of Repression—Tory Principles—Death of Lord North—The September Massacres—1793—The Brunswick Manifesto—National Convention—Englishmen Enrolled as French Citizens—Information against Paine—Alien Act—M. Chauvelin—Lord Grenville—Sentence on Louis XVI.—Speech of Paine—Execution of the King—French Ambassador Ordered from England—National Convention; Declares War—Cobbett in America, for "Church and King;" Denouncing Paine, Priestley, and Franklin in *Peter Porcupine*—First Prosecution of the *Rights of Man*—Dismissal of Lord Chancellor Thurlow—Great Seal in Commission—Thurlow "a Patriot"—Loughborough Lord Chancellor—Sir John Scott (Lord Eldon) Attorney-General—Beginning of the Reign of Terror in England—Attempts to deter Erskine from defending Paine—Failure of the Attempts—Sir John Scott against Paine—Death of Lord Mansfield—Last Great Effort of Fox to Preserve Peace—Traitorous Conspiracy Bill, March 1793—France on the Frontier—Valmy and Jemappes—An English Army Sent to Holland, February 1793—Girondists and Jacobins—Robespierre—The Queen Executed—Girondists Executed—Madame Roland—Executions of Anacharsis Cloots, Danton, Camille

Desmoulins — Madame Elizabeth and Others — Dr. Guillotine — Fall of Robespierre—New Constitution—The Directory—Barras and Napoleon Buonaparte—End of the National Convention, October 27—Victories of Jervis and Howe, 1794—Mad Edict of the National Convention—Prosecution for Sedition—Punishment for a Squib—Case of John Frost the Attorney—Evidence of a Government Spy—Action against the *Morning Chronicle;* First Prosecution under Fox's Libel Act—Another Action on the Information of a Spy—Case of a "Loyal Yeoman"—Seditious Sermons—Sentences for Selling the *Rights of Man.*

IF we could pass over another chasm of years, and look backward from the end of the Great War—the year 1815—to the year 1789, we should see, as we could not by following the course of events from year to year, what vast changes were wrought in that period. We should find that what had come to be called "The Great War" had ended with the imprisonment of the most redoubtable enemy England ever had; a man more fertile of resources than Louis XIV. and Luxembourg together; of warlike genius unsurpassed; of statesmanship and administrative capacity of the highest order; implacable in hate, false and unscrupulous as to the means by which that hate was gratified, and whose dislike to England in particular was a mania. On all Europe the name and character of Napoleon had rested like a nightmare or a spell, but to England his hatred was intense. We should find that the feeling of peace was new to all but the elders of that generation of Englishmen, and partly new even to them, for they had all but outlived, if they ever really had known, what it was to have no press-gangs, no ballotings for militia, no dread of the invasion of their homes. To the generation that had grown up to manhood in 1815, the habits and laws of the Great War were the habits and laws of common life; the only life they had ever known.

Looking back now to 1789, we see the nation face to face with a new problem. Hitherto all the reminiscences had been as to English struggles for freedom.—Wat Tyler, Robin Hood, John Wickliffe, Latimer, Cromwell, Milton, Pym, De Foe; the Puritans, the Catholics, the Jacobites; the colonists in America. It had hardly entered the national mind that France, beyond its philosophical writers, had any ideas of the liberty of the people as against the prerogative of the crown. In no country had

despotism been carried out with so thorough, so refined, so all-pervading a purpose. That the French court should from time to time disturb Europe was to be expected; but that the nation should rise was an event quite beyond the range of ordinary calculation—of all calculation, save that of a very few persons, among whom, strange to record, was Oliver Goldsmith, not in any sense a politician. We see Pitt, little more than thirty years of age, standing at the head of affairs in England, and watching the clouds rising above the horizon, the portents of the coming storm. We see Fox and Burke at first welcoming together the new-born spirit of liberty, to which English poets began to address grand odes, and philosophers warm congratulations. We see courtiers utterly bewildered at the phenomena, and exchanging whispers as to the necessity of watching closely lest the flames burst out also on this side of the Dover Channel. We see also the "divine right" people talking of the reign of Satan, and the Dissenters dreaming of the millennium. Let us suppose that, instead of the tidings of 1789 coming to Pitt, Fox, and Burke, they had been conveyed to Walpole, Marlborough, or even to Chatham, and we shall form some conception of what they portended; tidings, that is, that the common people of France had at last begun to talk of human rights. Think of how Swift would have sharpened his arrows of satire, how Bolingbroke would have sneered, how Addison and Steele would have balanced their beautiful sentences, how exquisitely they would have referred, as Frenchmen did refer, with endless reiteration, to Plutarch, and to the great deeds of Greece and Rome.

First we have news of the meeting—as one of the Estates—(May 1789) of the Tiers État—the third estate of France—for the first time for 125 years. There had been "Parliaments," and Notables meeting by "authority," to which they had not always been obedient. Now there was a free election, with tremendous results, following each other with such rapidity as almost to take away English breath, and soon to outstrip newspaper records. Observe in what way, and to whom, the news from France arrived in England:—to Fox, the inheritor and greatest exponent

of Whig principles; to Pitt, the inheritor of executive ability—political principles and party undefined; to Burke, who hated oppression with the hatred of a scholar as well as a patriot; to Dr. Priestley, conning ancient philosophies and histories; to men like Dr. Price, smarting under penal laws against the expression of opinion; to George Canning, reading at Lincoln's Inn; to the boy Samuel Taylor Coleridge, dreaming at Cambridge; to the boy Southey at Westminster School; to Wordsworth, a student of two years' standing at the university; to Arthur Wellesley, two years or so in the army; to Horatio Nelson, a post-captain of twelve years; to O'Connell, a student at St. Omer's College; to Wilberforce, dreaming of the freedom of the slave; to Erskine, with his generous enthusiasm already engaged in the cause of the wronged; to Francis Burdett, a young man of eighteen, talking eloquently on all subjects, but not knowing in what course of life his future efforts will run; to Samuel Romilly, a barrister, with family reminiscences of the Edict of Nantes days, and still possessing a warm feeling for beautiful France; to John Howard, who has been the greater part of twenty years working for the relief of suffering, and who is now fast drawing towards the end; to James Mackintosh, leaving the career of ambition that he may devote himself, without money or price, to interests which will ever be connected with his name; to Gibbon, whose *Decline and Fall* has been completed ten years; to Horace Walpole, busied with elegant literature and with a defence of his father's life; to the masses of the people contending with high prices of food, with small wages at best, with short work, entailing suffering grievous to be borne; to the members of the "Revolution Society," formed in the previous year to give effect to the principles of 1688, with Earl Stanhope for president, the Duke of Portland and Mr. Sheridan among the earlier speakers, and Dr. Price (the "Political Divine" of Burke's subsequent furious attack), to preach the first sermon on "Love of Country," and so connect the England of 1688 with the France of 1789; to Mr. Walter, of the *Times*, imprisoned for a libel on three royal dukes—York, Gloucester, and Cumberland—whose sincerity in the rejoicing for the King's recovery the *Times* had been

hardy enough to doubt, and then again for a libel on the Duke of Clarence, with penalties not by any means light. And lastly, to a free encroaching Press which carried its lessons, good and bad, into every part of the land. Pitt's position at this time required nerve, and cannot be properly treated without a consideration for very broad issues. He was confronted by an entirely new fact in human history; a fact, it is true, of which he could not at the time see the magnitude, but one which a very few months sufficed to prove that, entrusted as he was with the safety of England, he must meet in a firm and resolute way, on some principles either of friendship or enmity, or of an armed or unarmed neutrality. Against him were arrayed Lord North, with his long experience and his prestige of twelve years of office; Fox with his unrivalled debating powers; Sheridan and Erskine with eloquence, wit, and an enthusiasm often contagious; Burke, the foremost orator of his time, and, perhaps it may be added, a great part of the whole body of Englishmen out of Parliament. Of supporters he had very few of a high order, apart from the lawyers, Thurlow, Kenyon, and others. His chief supporter was Dundas, afterwards Lord Melville, a man of ability, but not of the order of men who inspired public confidence. The support of Wilberforce was not by any means to be relied upon, from the fact that he only spoke when he understood his subject, rarely from the simple wish to support "a side," and his vote, of course, might be counterbalanced by the most stupid person in the House. The gentlemen of the Bar could always be relied upon, but the unfortunate circumstances in connection with them was that their speeches, however good, had not a tithe of the weight that a worse speech would have had from another kind of person. There was Mr. Addington, afterwards Lord Sidmouth, who late in the year 1789 was made Speaker of the House of Commons, and who proved especially useful to Pitt at this time. Mr. Addington was the son of a London physician who had attended Lord Chatham in his last illness, and in this way young Addington had made the acquaintance of Lord Chatham's subsequently all-powerful son, and had entered Parliament by means of that influence.

Close upon the news of the meeting of the Third Estate, elected by constituents aflame with enthusiasm, came the refusal of the members of that Estate to allow themselves to be shut up in a separate chamber while the clergy and nobles debated elsewhere. Next, that (June 17th) the members of the Third Estate, on the bold suggestion of the Abbé Sieyes, had declared themselves the National Assembly. Next, before the end of a month, that nearly the whole of the privileged members had been absorbed by the dreadful Third Estate, the clergy going first, headed by the archbishop. Next, that the King had tried a royal session, and having done what was thought proper, had ordered a separation of the members, the deputies of the Commons to go in one direction, the nobles and the clergy in another. Then, the deputies sitting still, the Master of Ceremonies had said to President Bailly, "Sir, you know the orders of the King?"—calm and courteous M. Bailly replying, "The people of France in their collective capacity, have no orders to receive;" and a lion-headed, and, as it proved, lion-hearted deputy, named M. Mirabeau, adding fiercely, "Go, tell your master that we are here by the power of the people, and that nothing shall expel us but the bayonet." Think how all this intelligence would sound on British ears. Say, for instance, on those of the bishops; of the Scotch Assembly; of the respectable Quakers in the North of England; of the Methodists, concerned with the eternal future of men; of the lawyers and politicians seeking for precedents and places; of wondering people of all kinds—in the Court, the clubs, the rectories, the manses, the workshops! While these facts were simmering in the public mind, a deputation of cornfactors asked Mr. Pitt, dubiously, if they could properly supply France with 20,000 sacks of flour which had been ordered. The "order" was only about a week's supply for London; but Mr. Pitt, shaking his head, said, "No." We may judge what this portended. Then came the dismissal of M. Necker, the great finance minister, from whom at first so much was expected, and whose genius would be perpetuated in a brilliant daughter, who would rank with the first women of any time. Then:—capture of the Bastile; recall of M. Necker;

La Fayette, who had assisted Washington to free America, appointed to command the National Guards; clergy and nobles made to pay taxes the same as other people; courtiers—Count d'Artois, Prince of Condé, Marshal Broglio, and others, in full flight to Coblentz—a mass of events crowded into the space of a fortnight's news. Then: Declaration of Rights; all men affirmed to be born equal; Sovereignty to centre in the nation, none higher on earth; all Frenchmen eligible for public office; liberty to consist in the free expression of opinion, so long as other men are not injured; the right to enjoy property, freedom from oppression, eligibility for place in the government of the country. No such crowd of events ever before had been known since time began. In November the English Revolution Society, with Earl Stanhope in the chair, voted a congratulatory address to the National Assembly, other English societies following. Correspondence also was opened with the Revolutionary leaders, addresses were sent to them from all parts of England. Within six months, all that remained of old France had been swept away.

In January, 1790, the English Parliament was opened without any mention whatever, in the King's speech, of French affairs. Immediately afterwards Mr. Burke proposed that the peace establishment should be reduced. "France," he said, our great bugbear, was, in a political sense, "expunged from the map of Europe;" and there was no danger anywhere, which showed that Burke was not quite so clear-sighted as his admirers believed. Carefully, however, he pronounced the Declaration of Rights a mad declaration, and the French Revolution altogether unworthy of comparison with the English Revolution of 1688. Mr. Fox replied, respectfully but firmly, on behalf of France, and Sheridan followed in stronger terms, less regardful perhaps of Burke's friendship or sarcasm. Pitt contented himself with complimenting Burke on his constitutional principles. There the discussion ended for the time; but from this date Burke was separated, not merely from Fox, but from two generations of English Liberals and left with the Tories, and what soon became known as the "old" Whigs,

Lord Fitzwilliam, Lord Althorp, and others, as distinguished from the school represented by Fox and Grey. There came a time when Earl Grey too was spoken of as an Old Whig, a representative of old and effete principles; but that time was yet far in the future. An important feature at this time was a motion by Mr. Fox for the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts. He was defeated by 200 against 20 votes —a pretty conclusive proof of the spirit of the House of Commons. The pressgang was again put in force with vigour; everything betokened a disposition on the part of the Ministry to let the affairs of the nation, so far as France was concerned, drift into war. Late in the year, Burke's *Reflections on the French Revolution* appeared, and were replied to by the first part of Paine's *Rights of Man*, which soon outstripped Burke, so far as circulation and effect were concerned. The great orator had the praise of polished society, but Paine entered every workshop, and the *Vindicæ Gallicæ* of Sir James Mackintosh effectually disposed of Burke's *Reflections*, so far as philosophical opinion was concerned. Early in 1791 Mirabeau died. In May, in a debate on the Canada Government Bill, proposed by Pitt, Burke and Fox had that famous quarrel which separated Burke from both his friend and the Whig party in a final separation. This, it should be observed, was before the execution of the French King had given point to the bitter criticism of Burke—criticism which then began to have meaning and force. From this time Fox seems to stand alone, and in a grand sense, very different from the isolation of Walpole, with something of the semblance of a great rock in a storm.

June brought fresh and more startling news. The French King and Queen, attempting to escape, had been captured at Varennes, and carried back to Paris with gross insult, the reports of which were needlessly exaggerated in England, and of course were appalling. The Jacobin Club had been formed, and the exiled princes and nobles had appealed to Europe for help, not without the concurrence of the royal family, and had received a reply of fatal import from Austria and Prussia. That was the signal for all the wild passions of revolutionary France

to be let loose. They threaten us with war, Danton said in effect a little later, let them observe that we shall "throw them as our gage of battle the head of a king." In September the National Assembly passed away, after adopting a new constitution, and celebrating it in a *fête* at which the poor king was compelled to preside. The National Legislative Assembly met in October, and was soon divided into distinct parties. There were men, like Barnave and Damas of the club of the Feuillants, favourable to moderate reform; the party of the Girondists, democrats, led by Roland, Condorcet, Brissot, and Vergniaud; the Jacobins and Cordeliers represented by Danton, Marat, Camille Desmoulins, St. Just, and Robespierre. The first act of the New Assembly was to abolish royalty and proclaim a republic. The next step was to declare war against Austria. This was in April, 1792. The cry was at once raised, "To the Frontier!" In the same year Mr. Fox, in opposition to a powerful party, carried his famous Libel Bill, which overthrew Lord Mansfield's doctrine that a jury in case of libel was to merely judge of the fact, and not of the law. The Bill was opposed in the House of Lords by Lords Thurlow, Kenyon, and Bathurst, and was supported by Lord Camden in a fine speech, which is generally counted his last great service to freedom. In the course of the debate the Lord Chancellor (Thurlow) said he hoped the noble Lord would see that it was indispensable to justice that if the Court was dissatisfied a new trial might be ordered. Lord Camden: "What! after a verdict of acquittal?" Lord Thurlow: "Yes." Lord Camden: "No, I thank you" He never spoke again in Parliament.

On the second anniversary of the French Revolution several anti-revolutionary riots broke out in England, incited, there cannot be a doubt, by persons from whom better things might have been expected. In Birmingham Dr. Priestley's house, among others, was completely wrecked, to the cry of "Church and King!" the magistrates altogether inactive, although the riots continued for four days. These facts were afterwards brought before the House of Commons by Mr. Whitbread,

but without any result beyond exposing the conduct complained of. Dr. Priestley, however, recovered by law 2,500*l.* as compensation for the loss of his property, including his fine library. Another gentleman recovered 5,390*l.* Meanwhile addresses were being rapidly transmitted to France from English Societies, some of which began to call themselves "affiliated," with reference to France, while others, English reform societies in the simple and strict sense, confined themselves to a cautious and moderate approval of French freedom. The famous Society of "Friends of the People" was started in May, 1792, by Mr. Grey (afterwards Earl Grey), Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Whitbread, Mr. Erskine, and others—a purely English reform association. We have seen somewhat of its proceedings. The "Revolution Society" was of a kindred, and perhaps even less pronounced character, having reference not to the Revolution of 1789, but to that of 1688. It was an English reform society pure and simple, with a Whig basis. The "Corresponding Society" and the "Society for Constitutional Information," although subsequently used for objects more extreme than at first intended, were at the offset of a character which a moderate Whig could support. In April (1792) Mr. Grey began that long struggle for parliamentary reform which in after years brought such great honour to his name. He was from the first violently opposed by Pitt, but he gave firm notice which indicated that no defeat, nor any number of defeats, would deter him from pursuing the course which he had marked out as a public duty. If it is remembered that this was in 1792, and that the Reform Bill was not carried till 1832, the nature of Earl Grey's long and persistent fight will be in some measure seen. The subject of parliamentary reform was from this time committed to Mr. Grey by Mr. Fox and others of those who acted with them, few of whom lived to witness the real bitterness of the battle which ended with a great success. Mr. Grey's motion was brought forward in a very forcible way in the following year, and supported by a vast number of petitions, and among them by one of extraordinary length and ability from the "Society of the Friends of the People,"

so complete and masterly an analysis of the parliamentary system, that it became almost the text and manifesto of the future struggle. The motion, which was merely for inquiry, was unceremoniously rejected.

In the month in which the Society of the "Friends of the People" was formed, a royal proclamation was issued for suppressing seditious correspondence with foreign nations. This was the beginning of a system of repression of which England was destined to have a long experience. It is not by any means easy, at this time, to determine how far Pitt was to blame for the peculiar administrative action which set in with this proclamation, and which resulted in cutting off all political intercourse between England and France. We have seen that the position in which he stood was new and untried, and it does not require any very profound knowledge of human nature to convince one that, however good some of the principles of the French Revolution might be in themselves—and some of them were of the nature of principles which every subsequent year has only deepened and strengthened—it would not have conduced to the good of England to accept the initiative of a nation which in the end reduced to vassalage every nation that accepted or succumbed to the revolutionary principles. Probably the first English administrative action against the French Revolution was the offspring of selfishness and fear on the part of persons in high position. The contagion of that fear, however, soon spread to larger numbers, and it was seen that principles in the abstract and in action are very different things, and that in laying down correct theories allowance must be made for the application of those theories by human beings. What it is chiefly necessary to note here, is that in this year the policy of the English Government became in the strict sense, Tory, as we have known Toryism now for the greater part of a century. It must have occurred to every intelligent reader of history, that the lines of distinction between the Whig and Tory parties have often been very finely drawn, and at times indefinable. In reality the Tory principles, as we now see them are the older and more enduring. The

Whigs were a mere political accident, the development of which depended upon circumstances. The Tories were not by any means an accident, but rested on well-defined principles, which no time ever alters. It was no mere party-action that was now setting in, but action resulting from the inner part and thing signified in the principle of Toryism. If a time of danger arose at the present day it is very likely that Lord Derby would be quite as little inclined to fall back upon severe laws as Lord Granville would, and very much less likely to do so than Lord Stratford de Redcliffe or the present Lord Fitz-William. Possibly, indeed, Lord Derby, in such a case, might find that he was not a Tory at all. In peaceful times, with no great interests in question, it is impossible to apply the same test to public men that was applied from 1792, and especially from 1794, to a considerably later period than the end of the French War. But the thing Toryism never changes. It is certain that however necessary the action begun by Pitt at this time might seem, the whole strength of the country was needed to oppose it in much, and to overturn it at the right time. At the end of this year Lord North died, an event which may serve to remind us that we are passing away from the principles and issues of the American War of Independence into those of the French Revolution.

The French declaration of war against Austria led to a series of military disappointments for the young Republic, and to several reverses, such as might have been expected. The "September massacres" followed—three days of slaughter without any precedent in modern history. Danton, Robespierre, and Marat were now the central figures looked to from England. The Girondists, who had had their hour, began to tremble for their safety. The King, tried and condemned, was executed on the 21st January, 1793, owing his fate somewhat to the insolent manifesto of the Duke of Brunswick, with his insane threats to the whole French nation. Any insult, he said, offered to the King or the Royal family, would be terribly avenged. When his words were read and talked of, as Frenchmen do talk when excited, the last chance of life for the

poor King and for a vast number of innocent persons who crowded the prisons was gone. They also caused the immediate abolition of Royalty. The National Convention (elected September, 1792) took the curious step of inviting suggestions from foreigners as to the formation of a republic. It also enrolled amongst French citizens Horne Tooke, Wilberforce, Priestley, Mackintosh, Paine, and others. Dr. Priestley and Mr. Paine were also elected members of the Convention. It was becoming painfully evident, however, that this kind of intercourse between England and France could not long survive the September massacres and the trial of the King, although from first to last and throughout the whole of the war, there were Englishmen of great distinction who upheld the principle that the affairs of France were altogether a question for Frenchmen. Their work was not light. Burke had said that Paine's *Rights of Man* deserved no other reply than a criminal prosecution, and a few days before the close of the year 1792 an *ex-officio* information was filed against Paine. A little earlier in the month Parliament was opened by a Royal Speech of very serious purport. Immediately afterwards an Alien Act passed the House of Lords, and early in the following year was carried in the Commons, but not without a severe struggle on the part of Fox and his supporters. It was during this debate that Burke enacted the famous "dagger scene"; one of the follies of a man who evidently was working himself to a frenzy as fierce as that of the Septemberists. M. Chauvelin, the French Ambassador, thought it now full time to ask an explanation as to the intentions of England. He received, for reply, from Lord Granville, that if France wished to remain at peace she must renounce her schemes of aggrandisement—something almost tantamount to a declaration of war.

The year 1793 opened badly for peace. On the 19th of January sentence of death was passed on Louis XVI. by 336 against 319 votes recorded for perpetual imprisonment. There were a few *doctrinaire* votes, representing special theories. Paine, who had taken his seat in the Convention, spoke boldly for perpetual banishment, and received that famous fierce

interruption of Marat. "Quaker!" the butcher screamed. Very soon Paine was thrown into prison, and owed his escape to the fact that the English Government was engaged in prosecuting him for his adherence to France, and that he was both an American citizen and had been associated with English societies which were supposed still to be friendly to France. But for that the career of Thomas Paine had been cut short. On the 24th M. Chauvelin was ordered to leave England. On February 21st the National Convention declared war against England and Holland. At this time William Cobbett was in America, and a little later began to publish his *Peter Porcupine*. He was busy even now denouncing the Revolutionists with all his might. And what a might it was! Of all the supporters of Church and King, of all the enemies of "Tom Paine" and his *Rights of Man*, Cobbett was the fiercest and the most uncompromising; and his racy English, after Paine's escape from France, would, if the English Government had known how to use it, have been a tenfold better reply to the *Rights of Man* than anything Burke could have written, with all his eloquence and genius. A volume of *Peter Porcupine*, with the imprint, "Philadelphia: published by William Cobbett, opposite Christ Church, 1796," came into the possession of the writer while these pages were being written; a volume which might be read with real enjoyment to this day, when it can no longer sting. The denunciation of Paine, of Priestley (who was in America in 1796), of Horne Tooke, and of all like people, is amazing when it is considered what manner of teacher Mr. Cobbett was destined to become. Paine is "Mad Tom," never better, often worse. "Inhuman wretches," says Tom, "they are leagued together to rob man of his rights, and, with them, of his existence. Reader, while you live, suspect those tender-hearted fellows who shudder at the name of gallows. When you hear a man loud against the severity of the laws, set him down as a rogue." And again, "The English clergy, too, and their tithes, have been considerable objects of Thomas's outcry. . . . . What would the hypocrite have said had he been able to slip within the walls of a church? Like Dr. Priestley, Tom looks upon tithes as oppressive, merely because he is not a rector."

In like forcible language Cobbett, in number after number of his little sheet, denounces the *Age of Reason* as a blasphemous and immoral production, praises Dr. Watson's reply to it as that admirable *Apology for the Bible*, expresses the strongest possible opinion that the world has lost immensely by Tom's escape from prison, ridicules Dr. Franklin as an arrant humbug, and generally proves himself an English Tory of the deepest dye. These facts may be interesting to the reader, because when we next meet Cobbett we shall find very different sentiments—expressed, however, in the same incomparable English. Worst of all, there came a day when he landed in Liverpool with a box containing Tom Paine's bones. The transformation was then complete.

A second part of Paine's *Rights of Man* had now appeared, and as it was much fiercer than the first part, the Government no longer hesitated to take Burke's advice to prosecute the writer in his absence. On the 15th June Lord Thurlow was dismissed from the Lord Chancellorship. He had striven hard to please Pitt by an out-and-out advocacy of severe measures, but having been detected by the inexorable minister in certain acts of treachery, which he had risked in reliance on the friendship of the King, his fate was sealed. No friendship could save him; the Great Seal was almost ignominiously taken away. From 1778 he had been a power in the House of Lords. Now, he must step down in something not unlike shame. The Great Seal was put in Commission. Lord Thurlow, his friend Lord Campbell says, now began to be a patriot, and to associate with Horne Tooke and others, as the reader has already seen. It is not even certain that he did not help the opponents of the King to defeat the King's friends. In January 1793, Mr. Wedderburn was made Lord Chancellor, and in February Sir John Scott, who afterwards became Lord Eldon, was made Attorney-General. Lord Kenyon was appointed Lord Chief Justice. No better men could have been selected for the reign of terror which immediately began. Loughborough, Eldon, and Kenyon! In using the term reign of terror no histrionic idea is intended. It is the phrase soberly and advisedly adopted

by Lord Campbell and others, and it applies to the state of affairs at this time in England as correctly as the same term applies to a state of affairs, of course much crueller and more murderous, but hardly more relentless, in France. As the great fire in London was the opportunity for Sir Christopher Wren to build up a great reputation as an architect, so was the reign of terror the opportunity for Erskine to build up a reputation as the loftiest of English advocates. He was at this time Attorney-General to the Prince of Wales, and one of the first objects of the prosecution was to deter him from defending Paine, or perhaps any other person charged by the Government with libel. Paine was in Paris when the *ex-officio* information against him was issued. A retainer was sent to Erskine, and the brave advocate not only accepted it, but determined, little sympathy as he could have with some of Paine's views, to do his duty to his client. Some of his friends were appalled, and endeavoured to deter him from so hazardous a step. The Prince of Wales sent a message to the same effect, and an effort by "Lord Loughborough, who ought to have known better, but who thought that at last the Great Seal was within his grasp," is described by Lord Campbell, from whom the above two lines are quoted. Erskine, many years after, gave the following account of their interview:—"In walking home one dark November evening, across Hampstead Heath, I met Loughborough coming in an opposite direction, apparently with the intention of meeting me. He was also on foot. 'Erskine,' he said, 'I was seeking you, for I have something important to communicate to you.' There was an unusual solemnity in his manner, and a deep hollowness in his voice. We were alone. The place was solitary. The dusk was gathering around us and not a voice—not a footstep—was within hearing. I felt as Hubert felt when John half opened, half suppressed the purpose of his soul, in that awful conference which Shakespeare has so finely imagined. After a portentous pause, he began: 'Erskine, you must not take Paine's brief.' 'But I have been retained, and I will take it, by God,' was my reply." Messages to the same effect were brought to him from the Prince of Wales; but he was inexorable. On the day of the

trial Erskine to his consternation was met at the Guildhall by the Attorney-General producing a letter written by Paine acknowledging the authorship of the book, and using very opprobrious terms with respect to the King and the Prince of Wales. Still the great advocate went on to the end. The jury returned a verdict of guilty, and Mr. Erskine was immediately dismissed from the Attorney-Generalship to the Prince of Wales. Lord Kenyon, a warm friend of Erskine, was the judge; but a judge who had resolved to throw himself without reserve into the prosecutions for blasphemy and libel, and whose directions to juries during the reign of terror are among the most extreme and despotic of modern times. In afterwards defending Horne Tooke, Erskine said: —"Gentlemen, Mr. Horne Tooke had an additional and a generous motive for appearing to be the supporter of Mr. Paine —the Constitution was wounded through his sides. I blush, as a Briton, to recollect that a conspiracy was formed among the highest orders to deprive this man of a British trial. This is the clue to Mr. Tooke's conduct, and to which, if there should be no other witnesses, I will step forward to be examined. I assert that there was a conspiracy to shut out Mr. Paine from the privilege of being defended, he was to be deprived of counsel, and I, who now speak to you, was threatened with the loss of office if I appeared as his advocate. I was told in plain terms that I must not defend Mr. Paine. I did defend him, and I did lose my office." The new Attorney-General, Sir John Scott, was a man, in many respects, after Lord Loughborough's own heart, though his career had been in many respects highly honourable. He was born in 1751, the son of a Northumberland coal-fitter, and the brother of that William Scott afterwards known and celebrated as Lord Stowell. The two young men had made their way by dint of hard study from Northumberland to London, and by steady and resolute application, and their own almost unaided merit, had trampled over immense difficulties and arrived at a distinguished position at the bar. Sir John Scott was noted even at this time for his attachment to the Church—a craze, perhaps, rather than a principle—for his carelessness of

the forms and etiquette of society, for his dogged obstinacy, and for the Newcastle "burr," which he never lost. In appearance he is said to have been lithe and graceful, and his face bright and intellectual. In the year in which Sir John Scott was appointed to the Attorney-Generalship Lord Mansfield died.

On the 18th of February Fox, supported by his political friends, made a last effort to prevent war. He moved: 1. That England is not justified in going to war with France on account of her internal affairs. 2. That the complaints against France might have been obviated by further negotiation. 3. That ministers never had distinctly stated the terms on which they would preserve a system of neutrality. 4. That the rights of independent nations and the tranquillity of Europe had been supinely neglected by ministers in regard to Poland. 5. That it is the duty of England not to form any engagement which may be an obstacle to a separate peace with France, or which may imply that England is acting in concert with other Powers for the unjustifiable object of dictating a form of government to France. The resolutions were defeated by 270 against 44 votes. But to Fox remained the lasting victory. His speech was everywhere acknowledged to be one of the grandest ever known. The principles he enunciated will assuredly stand the test of any time. In March the Traitorous Conspiracy Bill was introduced and carried, with, however, the usual protest on the part of the Opposition.

Meanwhile France had not been idle. The very day (September 22nd, 1792) on which royalty was abolished, the raw troops of the Republic had gained the battle of Valmy and stopped the march of the Prussians on Paris. In November Dumouriez defeated the Austrians at Jemappes, Louis Philippe fighting with him as a soldier in the ranks. On the 1st of February, 1793, when the Republic declared war against England and Holland, France had not a single ally left in Europe. Great things were now to be done by the son of Lord Chatham. An English army, under the Duke of York, was sent to Holland, to join the Austrians under the Prince of Coburg. A great council of the allies was held at Antwerp. There were the

Duke of York, the Prince of Coburg, Lord Auckland, and the ministers of Austria and Spain, and indeed the representatives, directly or indirectly, of all Europe. Who could doubt that, with such an array, a bad day was beginning for France? Worst of all, everything was going to wreck within. The Girondists and the Jacobins were carrying on a war to the knife. By the 2nd of June, that internal business had ended in a very fearful way. Robespierre and the Mountain were supreme. The Reign of Terror began in June. In July Marat was killed by Charlotte Corday. On October the 16th the Queen was put to death; on the 31st twenty-one of the Girondists were executed. It is very important at this stage to notice dates. On the 6th of November the Duke of Orleans, on the 8th Madame Roland and others, on the 11th M. Bailly, President of the Assembly in 1789, were executed. Roland and Condorcet committed suicide in prison. The Republican forces were now poured into Royalist La Vendée, where fearful barbarities ensued. In March, Anacharsis Cloots and eighteen others of the worst of the wild club of the Cordeliers—the men who abolished Christianity—were put to death. In April, Danton and Camille Desmoulins were executed; and in May Madame Elizabeth, sister of the late King—a sweet and noble lady, thirty years of age, against whom even calumny never had breathed a whisper—was sent to death, with twenty-one others, of whom she knew not even the names. Malesherbes, the bold advocate of the King, also died by the guillotine. It is curious too to note that Dr. Guillotine, the inventor or restorer of the fatal instrument of death, died in the spring of the same fatal year, when the lilies and the primroses were budding and the grass "springing up its greenest" over the dark deeds of men. In July Robespierre, St. Just, and their fellows died on the scaffold. The Revolution may be said to have come to an end so far as its scaffold work was concerned. Two months later is usually given as the date of the completion of the tragedy of 1789, but the work was done now. The final blow is marked in the French Revolutionary Calendar as the Revolution of the 9th and 10th Thermidor—that is July, 1794. A new constitution

was framed in August. The plan was to invest the executive power in five Directors, nominated by a legislature composed of two bodies, one of 250 members, called the "Ancients," all of whom must be above forty years of age, and the other the "Five Hundred," the Directors holding power in rotation, and also retiring in rotation, and a fresh director being elected every year. This was called the Revolution of the 13th Vendémiaire. The populace resisted, and were joined by the National Guard. Barras, with Napoleon Buonaparte, who had done notable things at Toulon, headed the regular troops and fired upon the populace, slaughtered a great number, and put the rest to flight. From that day the affairs of France changed. Fiery spirits, with tendencies to revolution, were hurried away to the frontiers and elsewhere, under orders which were not to be resisted. On the 27th of October the National Convention came to an end, having sat a few days more than the legal term of its existence, three years. The whole of the dreadful events therefore which are associated with the French Revolution of 1789 were comprised within a period of less than six years—six very terrible years, hardly comparable to any other six years in the history of mankind. It is noteworthy also that the Convention, which began its existence with compliments to philosophical foreigners, signalized its latter days by an edict only worthy of madmen. The English fleet, about the middle of the year 1794, had begun that series of victories which continued to the end of the war. Sir John Jervis had been successful in the West Indies, and Lord Howe in the Bay of Biscay; victories which England had been unreasonable enough to celebrate by illuminations and other tokens of rejoicing, and the King had gone to Spithead to thank the fleet. The Convention thereupon decreed that no quarter should be given to English or Hanoverian troops—an edict which might have been made by Pitt himself, so exactly did it fit into the exigency of his policy at the time.

With these events before us a better conception will be formed of the legal proceedings of the time in England. Two prisoners confined for debt in the Fleet Prison ventured, at the end of 1792, to put upon the doors of the prison an advertisement—

"This House to Let. Peaceable possession will be given on or before the 1st January, 1793, being the commencement of the first year of liberty in Great Britain." This squib was evidently only directed against imprisonment for debt, but the men were brought before Lord Kenyon charged with sedition, and sentenced to the pillory, and more. An attorney named John Frost had been indiscreet enough, whilst slightly intoxicated, to make some remarks about the French Revolution and the monarchical form of government. For this he was charged before Lord Kenyon on the evidence of a spy. The words alleged against him were: "I am for equality; I see no reason why one man should be greater than another; I would have no king, and the constitution of the country is a bad one." For this Mr. Frost was struck from the roll of attorneys, set in the pillory, and imprisoned for six months—absolutely ruined for life. He was ably defended by Erskine. There was much to show that the words were a mere idle expression, representing no purpose whatever; yet this was Lord Kenyon's sentence. In December an information was filed against Mr. Perry and Mr. Grey, proprietors of the *Morning Chronicle*, for a libel, which consisted in their having published an address of a society formed in Derby for the purpose of amending the Parliamentary representation. Mr. Erskine again defended. The jury returned a verdict of "Guilty of publishing only," which Lord Kenyon refused to receive. They therefore, to the judge's great disgust, returned a verdict of "Not Guilty." Another case was that of Mr. Walker, a Manchester merchant, and several other persons, who were tried at the Lancashire Assizes, charged, on the evidence of a Government spy, with conspiracy, and with having purchased arms for the purpose of an outbreak. The charge seemed at first a very serious one, and Mr. Walker being well known as an advocate for reform, had little mercy to expect if found guilty. The prisoners were prosecuted by Mr. Law, afterwards Lord Ellenborough, at this time Attorney-General for the County Palatine. Mr. Erskine defended, and in his hands, and under an admirable cross-examination, the redoubtable plot was shown to have not an atom of foundation, beyond the fact that Mr.

Walker had purchased some firearms or the purpose of firing a *feu-de-joie* for the King's recovery. The spy, in this case, was committed for trial. Mr. Justice Heath, who tried the case, advised Mr. Walker to keep better company in future. Mr. Walker replied that he never had kept bad company till he fell into that of the spy. *Mr. Justice Heath.* "You have been honourably acquitted, sir, and the witness against you is committed for perjury." Another case was that of a man who is described as a loyal yeoman of Kent, and who was simply charged at quarter sessions with having, while intoxicated, and being rudely insulted by a constable, "in the King's name," saying, "Damn the King and you!" For this he was sent to prison for twelve months. Again there was abundant evidence to show that the man attached no meaning to his words beyond a saucy retort to an offensive constable, and Lord Chancellor Loughborough was appealed to for a pardon. He replied, that to save the country from revolution all legal tribunals must be supported. The man was left to his fate. Lord Campbell takes it as evidence of the violence of the times that "a mild man like Lord Loughborough" should have resorted to such extreme measures; after which he goes on, with characteristic logic, to show that Lord Loughborough, having found the course popular, "boldly advanced in it, and soon nothing less would satisfy him than having the heads of Horne Tooke and the leading reformers stuck on Temple Bar." Very mild indeed. These are but a few specimens of prosecutions extending over all England. Mr. Winterbottom, a Dissenting minister, was tried at the Devon Assizes for preaching two seditious sermons, —very mild sermons it was shown—and sentenced to two years' imprisonment, with heavy fines. The sentences for selling Paine's *Rights of Man* are too numerous to record, and many of them were very severe. In fact all over the country there were Government spies, and informers, and sentences, on charges of sedition, for the most trivial offences. We shall see this more markedly in another chapter. The action of the Government was assuredly fast succeeding in driving people into secret societies and into defensive conspiracy. When it

is wondered that England for so long a period should have done so little in arms, while threatened with invasion by France, it must be remembered that the Government had created an amount of disaffection which rendered even the embodiment of the militia a hazardous proceeding. It can scarcely be creditable to the statesmanship of Pitt that he should have made no attempt all this time, nor indeed during his term of office, to remove the causes of discontent. He made no effort to convince the people that if repressive laws were in force it was from necessity, not from choice. If this spirit had died with him, it might have been viewed simply as a phenomenon of history, but it lived long beyond his time. His authority, even in peaceful times, was quoted for similar legislation, as the authority of the "pilot that weathered the storm." He did weather the storm; though his opponents were not ready to allow this at the time. They even went so far as to say that "the storm was not weathered till the pilot was thrown overboard."

One other notable legal case must not be passed over, although it is not a Government prosecution. In the Westminster Election, in which Mr. Fox was a candidate, Mr. Horne Tooke was his bitter opponent, and after the election Mr. Tooke presented a petition against Fox's return. The case was heard, the petition pronounced frivolous, and Tooke was cast in costs, close upon 200*l.*, which he refused to pay. An action was brought, and was heard before Lord Kenyon. Mr. Erskine appeared for the plaintiff Mr. Fox, and endeavoured to prevent any discussion on the merits of the case by merely producing the statute under which the action was brought, and the amount of costs which were sought to be recovered. Lord Kenyon, at the conclusion of Erskine's few remarks, said in a sharp and contemptuous tone (for he had been told that a scene was to be enacted), "Is there any defence?" Lord Campbell gives the following:—

"*Horne Tooke* (taking a pinch of snuff, and looking round the court for a minute or two). 'There are three efficient parties engaged in this trial—you, gentlemen of the jury, Mr. Fox, and myself; and I make no doubt that

we shall bring it to a satisfactory conclusion. As for the judge and the crier, they are here to preserve order; we pay them handsomely for their attendance, and, in their proper sphere, they are of some use, but they are hired as assistants only; they are not, and never were intended to be, the controllers of our conduct. Gentlemen, I tell you there is a defence, and a very good defence, to this action, and it will be your duty to give effect to it.' He then began a long narrative of the late Westminster election, and without any interruption had come to what he called the financial part of it, stating that the Lords of the Treasury were expected to pay 200*l.* apiece, and those in higher situations more, according to their salaries. At last Lord Kenyon burst out: 'Mr. Horne Tooke, I cannot sit in this place to hear great names calumniated and vilified—persons who are not in this case—persons who are absent, and cannot defend themselves. A court of justice is not a place for calumny; it can answer no purpose; you must see the impropriety of it, and it does not become the feelings of an honourable man.' *H. T.* (again taking snuff). 'Sir, if you please, we will settle this question now, in the outset, that I may not be liable to any more interruptions.' *Chief Justice.* 'Lord Lovat brought forward offensively the names of persons of great respectability, and he was stopped by the House of Lords. The Chancellor informed him that it was indecent to do so, and that a man of his station ought to refrain from such things. You are in the wrong path, Mr. Horne Tooke.' *H. T.* 'I am persuaded that I shall be able very easily and very shortly to satisfy you that I am not in the wrong path, and it is more desirable that I should do so now, because it is the path which I most certainly mean to pursue, and will not be diverted from. You know (at least you ought to know), and I acknowledge that if, under the pretence of a defence in this cause, I shall wantonly and maliciously say or do any word or thing which would be punishable by the laws, if said or done by me wantonly and maliciously anywhere else I shall be equally liable to prosecution and punishment by the same laws, and in the same manner, for what I say here. But, sir (taking another pinch of snuff, and lowering his voice, so as effectually to fix the attention of the audience), you have made use of some words which I am willing to believe you used in a manner different from their usual acceptation. You spoke of calumniating and vilifying. Those words, sir, usually include the notion of falsehood. Now, I presume you, sir, did not mean them to be so understood. I am sure that you did not mean to tell the jury that what I said was false. By calumny you only meant something like criminatory—something injurious to the character of the person spoken of—something that he would not like to hear, whether true or false.' *C. J.* 'Certainly, Mr. Horne Tooke; certainly.' *H. T.* (with an affectation of good nature.) 'Well, I thought so; and you see, I was not desirous to take advantage of the words to impute to you any wrong meaning or intention, because had you really intended falsehood in the word calumny, your Lordship would have grossly calumniated me. I have spoken nothing

but the truth, as I believe you know, and which I am able and willing to prove. In one thing I go farther than you do, and am stricter than you are. I think it hard that any persons, whether in a cause or out of a cause, should at any time unnecessarily hear what is unpleasant to them, though true. This rule I mean to observe. At my peril I shall proceed, and I expect to meet with no further interruption from your Lordship.' Thus he ridiculed the prevailing notion of the independence of the judges: 'When anything peculiarly oppressive is nowadays to be done we have always a clatter made about the judicial independence with which we are now blessed. My own belief is that the judges are now much more dependent on the Crown, and much less dependent on the people, than in former times; and, generally speaking, they were certainly more independent in their conduct. They then sat on the Bench, knowing that they might be turned down again to plead as common advocates at the Bar; and, indeed, it was no uncommon thing in those days to see a counsel at the Bar, browbeaten and bullied by a Chief Justice on the Bench, who in a short time after was to change places with the counsel, and to receive in his own person the same treatment as the other in his turn. Character and reputation were then of consequence to the judges, for if they were not well esteemed by the public, they might be reduced to absolute destitution; whereas, if they were sure of being well employed on returning to the Bar, dismissal from their poorly-paid offices was no loss or discredit, and they might set the Crown at defiance. Now they are completely and for ever independent of the people, and from the Crown they have everything to hope for themselves and their families. Till the corrupt reign of James II., no common law judge was ennobled. Chief Justices Coke and Hale, infinitely greater lawyers and abler men than any of their successors in our time, lived and died commoners. Who was the first judicial peer? The infamous Judge Jeffreys. But in his campaign in the West, and on other occasions, he had done something to deserve and to illustrate the peerage. Nowadays the most brilliant apprenticeship to the trade of a peer is to carry a blue bag in Westminster Hall. This suddenly leads to riches, and the lawyer, suddenly rich, is made a baron; whereas, the fact of some particular individual of suspicious character being all of a sudden flush of money, who was never known to have any before, often in the good old times led to the detection of the thief.' He then, to show how badly justice was administered, told a long story of a prosecution which he had instituted against some rioters at the Westminster election, being defeated by the single circumstance of his counsel having entered the court a few minutes after nine in the morning, the Chief Justice having ordered them all to be acquitted for want of prosecution. Mr. Garrow here interposed, and by stating the true facts of the case, showed that Mr. Tooke, his counsel, attorney, and witnesses had all been guilty of gross negligence, and that the Chief Justice had shown upon that occasion great patience and indulgence. *H. T.* 'There can be no doubt at all but that your Lordship

will always find some one in your own court willing and ready to get up and recommend himself to your favour by a speech in your defence. I should have been surprised if it had not been the case now; but I must rather thank Mr. Garrow, for he has given me time to breathe a while.' *C. J.* 'I want no defence; no defence. What has been said against me rather excites my compassion than my anger. I do not carry about me any recollection of the trial alluded to, or any of its circumstances.' *H. T.* 'I cannot say I carry about me anything in consequence of it. I carry about me something less, by all the money which it took out of my pocket. Although Mr. Garrow has jumped up to contradict me, the affair happened exactly as I stated it. I heard him with much pleasure, for, as I said, I wanted to breathe.'"

Mr. Fox was victorious, but Mr. Horne Tooke did something in all this, not to bring just laws into contempt—he was incapable of that—but to show people that there is nothing after all very terrible in confronting a judge when a defendant is not arraigned for a crime, but for a principle or an opinion, or when he represents a claim which does not involve moral delinquency. It should not be forgotten that no one, even in those times of political bitterness, ever accused Mr. Horne Tooke of dealing with public questions in the spirit of an adventurer. Not only did he not grow the richer by his political action, but he grew much poorer. With his great talents, and his undoubted learning, it would be difficult to say what he might not have become in position and in purse-power. From first to last he evinced a defiant manhood, and paid for it the penalty of real sacrifice, not always apparent in the political action of the men of more peaceful times.

CHAPTER X.

FROM 1794.—*STATE TRIALS.—THE SPY SYSTEM.—SCOTLAND AND IRELAND.*

1794—Ireland—Mr. Grattan—Scotland—Sentences on Mr. Muir, Mr. Palmer, Mr. Skirving, Mr. Margarot, and Mr. Gerald—Spies and Packed Juries—Unsuccessful Appeal to the House of Commons—Trial of Hardy, Horne Tooke, and Others for High Treason—Case of Mr. Hardy—Erskine and Vicary Gibbs—Lord Redesdale Solicitor-General—Hardy Not Guilty—Appearance of Mr. Tooke—Absurdity of the Charge—Tooke's Pleading—Wit and Humour—Immediate Acquittal—A Whig Prosecution—Acquittal of Warren Hastings—Retirement of Burke—Withdrawal of Whigs from Parliament—Mutiny of the Fleets—General Privation of the Country—Poland, 1797—Retreat of the Duke of York—Napoleon—French Conquests in Italy, and Victories on the Rhine—Spain, Genoa, and Naples—Attempt of Hoche to Invade Ireland—Retirement of Washington—Battles of Cape St. Vincent, Camperdown, and Teneriffe—Napoleon in Egypt—Battle of the Pyramids, 1798—Battle of the Nile, August 1—Sidney Smith—Nelson—Russia—Consular Constitution, 1799—Seringapatam—Wellesley—Sir Ralph Abercrombie—Battle of Alexandria—Death of Abercrombie—Military Value of India—Napoleon's Proposals for Peace, 1799—Lord Grenville's Reply—Marengo, June 1800—French Prisoners in England—Ireland, Wise Rule of Lord Fitzwilliam—His Policy Disowned by the English Government—Recall of Lord Fitzwilliam—Gratton—Marriage of the Prince of Wales—Lord Camden, Lord-Lieutenant—First Lord Castlereagh and Marquis of Londonderry—Arthur O'Connor, McNevin, Oliver Bond, and Robert Emmett—Oaths of Secrecy—Wolfe Tone—The United Irishmen—Arrests—Reynolds, the Spy—Lord Edward Fitzgerald—Lord Moira's Motion for Mercy—General Rising, May 1798—Capture and Suicide of Wolfe Tone, October—Napper Tandy—1799—Union of England and Ireland—Bribery of Irish Members—Honourable Conduct of Lord Fitzwilliam—Act of Union, January 1801—Lord Castlereagh—Pitt's Promise to the Catholics—First Parliament of Great Britain and Ireland, 1801—George III.—The Addington Ministry—Peace of Amiens, March 1802—National Debt—Renewal of War, May 1803—Pitt Again in Office—Lord Melville, Canning, and Huskisson—Napoleon, Emperor—Pitt's Third Coalition, 1805—Death of Pitt—England's Tardy Operations—First Census—"All the Talents"—Abolition of the Slave Trade—Fall of the Ministry—The Portland Ministry—A Third

Political Party—Seizure of the Danish Fleet—Orders in Council—Embarkation of the Portuguese Royal Family—Sir Arthur Wellesley in Portugal, 1808—Walcheren Expedition — Duel Between Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Canning—The Perceval Ministry—The Liverpool Government—Rev. Gilbert Wakefield,—Mr. Cuthill—Benjamin Flowers—Action against the *Examiner*, 1811—Not Guilty—Another Action for Libel on the Prince Regent, 1812—Guilty—End of the First Year.

WE have now arrived at a year which will always be noted as the era of a modern system of spies and informers—the year 1794; the beginning of that government by treachery and terror which continued for a quarter of a century, with consequences upon which even the strongest admirers of Pitt can scarcely look without almost unmitigated regret. In Scotland and Ireland the proceedings of the law officers had far outstripped the more tardy operations of the Law Courts in London. The sentences also were harsher. In Ireland a great man had arisen in Mr. Grattan, and, as early as 1778, had taken such a stand against Lord North's Government as to compel the reconsideration, and eventually the withdrawal, of a commercial policy which pressed unfairly on Ireland. Mr. Grattan was called to the Irish Bar in 1772, and was speedily noted for his burning eloquence and his ardent patriotism. The Government hated him because they could not buy him, and because he overtopped them all in the stature of manhood and ability, and of that lofty purity which was beyond the reach of anything that a Government could bestow. In 1780 he elicited from the Irish Parliament a Declaration of Irish Rights, and a vote that "the King's Most Excellent Majesty and the Lords and Commons of Ireland are the only power competent to make laws to bind Ireland." His generous countrymen at this time offered him, as a means of usefulness to his country, a sum of 100,000*l.*; but he desired that the gift should be made one half, which he accepted. A man of singularly pure life, of sincerity in every word and deed, of an overmastering devotion to his country and his principles, Grattan might in this crisis of history have been of incalulable value to the true union of England and Ireland—might if England had had ministers who saw beyond repression and

the policy now represented by "Scotland Yard," the true principles on which nations are governed. There was a sad and dismal year in store for Henry Grattan, but that year was distant when he made his great speech and elicited his great vote in 1780. Under the spell of his eloquence, however, Ireland far distanced Great Britain in the abolition of religious tests.

In Scotland, in May, 1794—the Habeas Corpus Act then suspended—Mr. Thomas Muir, a barrister, and Mr. Palmer, a Unitarian minister of Dundee, were by Scotch law found guilty of sedition. The gravest charge against the former was that he had lent a copy of the *Rights of Man* to some one who had begged it from him to read. For this Mr. Muir was sentenced to fourteen years' transportation. Mr. Palmer was charged with publishing a seditious address—that is, an address for reform—and was sentenced for seven years. Mr. Skirving, Mr. Margarot, and Mr. Gerald were charged with belonging to a society for obtaining annual parliaments and a wide suffrage. They were sentenced to fourteen years' transportation, and immediately sent to Botany Bay. They appear to have been three respectable and respected workmen, at least as honourable in conduct and pure in aim as the men who condemned them. They were certainly men of character and integrity, and of ability which had brought them to the front of affairs. They were found guilty under an old Scotch statute of sowing discord between the King and the people, convicted on the evidence of witnesses who were in the main spies and informers, and by juries that were undoubtedly packed. The juries were selected from a political association called the "Life-Fortune Men" of Goldsmith's Hall, and were at the absolute command of the Government. That the system was a wicked one no one will now deny. Mr. Skirving and Mr. Gerald both died at Botany Bay in 1796, within three days of each other. Their sufferings must have been dreadful. It must be borne in mind also that the time was one of depression of trade; that the masses of the people were suffering great privation, of which Parliament neither knew nor attempted to know anything. Immediately

after the trial Mr. Muir and Mr. Palmer were put on board a revenue cutter at Leith, and taken to Woolwich, where they were heavily ironed and put to work on the river banks. Here were two men as well educated as Mr. Pitt himself, and presumedly as good subjects, if not of the Crown, at least of the country and the laws. Their case was brought before the House of Commons, but in vain. Some of the ablest men of the time pleaded for them in season and out of season, but the Government was inexorable. A motion to assimilate the law of Scotland to that of England was also rejected. Why these cases specially were pleaded, while those of the other three men were forgotten, it is difficult to explain; but even the better part of the House of Commons were not yet prepared to see that a workman may feel as keenly as a barrister or a preacher, and that his family may as easily be made to suffer. Parliament was in no humour to think of Mr. Muir and Mr. Palmer working in irons. It was the beginning of the attempt of little men, actuated only by the spirit of self-preservation, and property-preservation, to worm out every atom of public spirit from the nation. The same stupidity that had rejected the "olive branch" from America, that had passed by the eloquence of Grattan and the pen of Cobbett, in the spirit of the stables and the servants' hall, rejected the petition for these men.

Then, as we have seen, ministers began to talk, in the King's speech, and in speeches of their own, of seditious assemblies and societies, and with the Habeas Corpus suspended the whole case was in their own hands. No, not exactly in their own hands. Fox was there, with his withering exposure and his masterly debating power, to make certain that the House of Commons knew what manner of votes it was entering on its records, when it again suspended the Habeas Corpus Act. Burke and Windham supported Pitt. Fox was beaten in all but argument. It is not quite pleasant to remember that a little latter than this, Mr. Burke was pensioned so largely, that he and his representatives after him, according to Mr. W. J. Fox, had received from that time, till 1846, when the

calculation was made, a total amount of about 185,000*l.* The estimate is given in one of Mr. Fox's fine papers in the *People's Journal* for the year named. Burke had now the double support of the Althorp section of the Whigs, and of all the Tories; the latter were enthusiastic in his favour. It is to his glory that, amid it all, his sincerity never has been questioned by anyone whose name represents more than an evanescent feature or principle of the period. In May, 1794, Mr. Horne Tooke, the Rev. Jeremiah Joyce, private secretary to Lord Stanhope; Mr. Stone, a coal merchant; Mr. Bonney, an attorney; Mr. Thomas Hardy, a shoemaker and secretary to the "Corresponding Society;" Mr. Daniel Adams, secretary to the "Constitutional Society;" John Thelwall, political lecturer, and others, twelve in all, were apprehended and arraigned at the Old Bailey for high treason. On the 2nd October, Lord Chief Justice Eyre charged the grand jury in terms, which would, if accepted as law, have been fatal to all the accused persons, and indeed to everyone who proposed any changes whatever in the constitution of the land. Within forty-eight hours of the delivery of the charge, a letter entitled *Cursory Strictures on the Charge of Lord Chief Justice Eyre*, &c., appeared in the *Morning Chronicle*, and then in a pamphlet, which was everywhere reprinted and read. Prior to that publication, the author of *Public Characters*, says the general impression was that, however melancholy the fact might be, the accused were guilty and would be convicted. "Mr. Godwin," it is added, "saw the fallacy and danger of the reasoning, and having employed a friend to write from his dictation, within forty-eight hours produced his *Cursory Strictures*. The publisher of the pamphlet was ordered to withdraw it immediately, and threatened with prosecution if he sold another copy. He stopped the sale, which was taken up by another publisher. The impression meanwhile had been made, and the charge of the Lord Chief Justice was disposed of, and its "subtle mischief exhibited with all its natural undisguised deformity and coarseness." The public mind was prepared to welcome an acquittal, and to execrate the principles upon which the prosecution rested. It

is curious to observe a note in Howell's *State Trials,* published in 1818, ascribing the *Strictures* "on sufficient authority," to Mr. Felix Vaughan, counsel for one of the accused, while the author of *Public Characters,* published in 1799, gives the full account from whence the above is abridged. The same fact, the writer is informed, is still more fully brought out in the recently published *Life of Godwin.* The *Strictures* with their force and vigour, as from the pen of Junius, were the work of William Godwin, and they were worthy of the author of *Political Justice.* The case of Hardy was taken first. Erskine was assigned as counsel. Sir John Scott represented the Crown, and spoke for nine hours in opening the case; a close and argumentative speech which may still be read with interest. Let us perfectly understand that if these men had been found guilty several of them had died on the scaffold. We are so used in this time to reprieves and petitions for reprieves that we have no conception of the nature of administration in 1794. The trial began on the 28th of October, and at midnight, we are told, little progress had been made. Mr. Erskine had with him Mr. Vicary Gibbs, an able lawyer, and, although by no means inclined, but indeed altogether and in after times characteristically disinclined to the principles of Mr. Hardy, honest enough to do his duty in such a manner as to reflect honour on the Bar. Erskine never before had been put to so severe a test of watchfulness. The Court opened at eight o'clock in the morning, and sat till midnight or later. Lord Campbell says—"Erskine's attention was never for a moment relaxed, and he was ever on the watch for an opportunity of exciting the sympathy of the jury by interlocutory speeches, particularly in arguing questions of evidence." Lord Chief Justice Eyre presided. It had been, the same author tells us, at first intended to charge the prisoners in the Court of King's Bench; but a suspicion had arisen that Lord Kenyon was a little untrustworthy—as to temper it may be presumed—and Chief Justice Eyre was relied upon as "a quiet and safe judge," who would not in any way outrage public opinion or commit the ministry; an error, as we have seen. During the trial, and while

a witness was under cross-examination, "and (the quotation is from Lord Campbell), equivocating so as to revolt the jury, the Chief Justice, interposing, took him out of counsel's hands, and, in a coaxing manner, repeated the question to him:— *Erskine.* 'I am entitled to the benefit of this gentleman's deportment if your Lordship will just indulge me for one moment.' *Lord Chief Justice Eyre.* 'Give him fair play.' *Erskine.* 'He has certainly had fair play. I wish we had as fair play; but that is not addressed to the Court.' *Attorney-General.* 'Whom do you mean?' *Erskine.* 'I say the prisoner has a right to fair play.' *Garrow.* 'But you declared that it was not said to the Court.' *Erskine.* 'I am not to be called to order by the Bar!' Being exceedingly afraid that an impression might be made upon the minds of the jury, which he might not be able to remove, by an infamous paper pretending to be a play-bill, to announce an entertaining farce called *La Guillotine, or George's Head in a Basket,* before it was read he said, most irregularly, but with an air that in him alone excused the irregularity, 'The paper was fabricated by the spies who support the prosecution.' *Attorney-General.* 'You shall not say that till you prove it.' *Erskine.* 'I shall prove it.' A witness, who pretended to relate from notes he said he had taken of the proceedings of a reform society, having been asked for a date, and having answered that he thought it was about such a time, Erskine exclaimed, 'None of your thinking when you have the paper in your hands!' *Witness.* 'I have not a memorandum of the date.' *Erskine.* 'What date have you taken, good Mr. Spy?' *Witness.* 'I do not think on such an occasion being a spy is any disgrace.' *C. J. Eyre.* 'These observations are more proper when you come to address the jury.'"

Erskine began his address to the jury at two o'clock in the afternoon of Saturday, and spoke for seven hours, and for the last ten minutes of his speech had to lean upon the table for support. "He could only whisper to the jury; but so intense was the stillness, that his faint accents were heard in the remotest part of the court." The author of *State Trials* wrote:—"I have been indulged by Mr. Rogers, author of the *Pleasures of Memory*

with Horne Tooke's copy of Hardy's trial, and found in Mr. Tooke's handwriting, at the end of the argument, 'This speech will live for ever.'" Mr. Vicary Gibbs followed. Then Lord Redesdale, who at the time was Solicitor-General, replied on behalf of the Crown. The verdict was "Not guilty," causing great demonstrations of rejoicing among the opponents of Mr. Pitt, and not a little vexation to his supporters. "When Erskine concluded," the editor of his speeches tells us "an irresistible acclamation pervaded the court, and to an immense distance round. The streets were seemingly filled with the whole of the inhabitants of London, and the passages were so thronged that it was impossible for the judges to get to their carriages." It was indeed a real victory. A few days earlier (October 15th), Robert Watt had been drawn on a hurdle to the place of execution in Edinburgh, and there while half hanged had been subjected to the revolting cruelties which at that time distinguished the carrying out of an execution for high treason. Hardy's name appears, in the proceedings of the court, appended to several of the documents which had convicted Skirving. There is no doubt indeed that Muir, Palmer, and the other men referred to above, were convicted because they were beyond the wholesome influence of the intellectual life of London, and that Hardy escaped because that influence—the influence of the large town so terrible to Lord Kaims—was on his side.

After an interval of some days, the case of Horne Tooke was taken. It had been the custom, Lord Campbell says, that when several persons were arraigned for high treason, and one was acquitted, that the other cases should not be proceeded with; and he adds, "I am wholly at a loss to account for the infatuated obstinacy which was now exhibited" in arraigning Mr. Horne Tooke on exactly the same charge, and on the same evidence. Mr. Tooke, at the time of his arrest, was living at Wimbledon, and was in that familiar intercourse with Lord Thurlow to which reference has been made. The charge, which might very easily have cost him his life, originated, it is supposed, in his incorrigible love of fun—incorrigible, certainly, for he was now a weak and broken man, very different from the man who in

1788, in the case of the Westminster election, had teased Lord Kenyon so unmercifully. One of the Government spies had been directed to attach himself to Mr. Tooke, who speedily detected the attachment, and, Mr. Stephens says, "pretending to admit the spy into his entire confidence, completed the delusion by actually rendering the person who wished to circumvent him, in his turn, a dupe." He began to drop hints as to the numbers of people who were to rise at his bidding—ay, at the stamp of his foot; and after pledging the spy to secrecy, he related in an awful whisper that a considerable portion of the Guards had been gained over, and that the moment he gave the signal—the magical stamp on the ground—legions would rise to overthrow the constitution. All this was immediately carried to the ministers, and Tooke was committed to the Tower as a member of a seditious society. There is something pleasant to this day in the daring hoax. Mr. Tooke is said to have entered the court with the assumed air of a man "weighted down by his oppressors." When called upon to plead he shook his head, and said, "I would be tried by God and my country. But"——There he ended. It was sufficiently clear that the old humorist did not expect a trial by either the one authority or the other. An application was made that he should be allowed to sit, on account of his infirmities, and he was told that the indulgence should be granted. He replied, "I cannot help saying, my Lord, that if I were a judge, the word indulgence should never issue from my lips. My Lord, you have no indulgence to show; you are bound to be just, and to be just is to do that which is ordered." Lord Campbell says that "Once at the table with the counsel, he was the most facetious and light-hearted of mortals, and seemed to have as much enjoyment in the proceedings as a young advocate who has unexpectedly got a brief in a winning cause, by which he expects to make his fortune." Erskine was again counsel for the defence, and no one in the court seemed to more thoroughly enjoy the banter of the man who was being tried for his life. The charges were frivolous, but far more weighty than those on which Muir and Palmer had been condemned. When certain

passages were read from pamphlets abusing the King, and so on, Mr. Tooke offered to prove that he himself had been abused in all manner of prints and even on earthenware vessels; but what of that? A witness attested that a treasonable song had been sung at a certain meeting. Mr. Tooke gravely proposed that the song should be sung in court, so that the jury might have an opportunity of judging of its purport and tendency. Objecting to a certain statement which had no reference to himself, the Chief Justice reminded him that it was necessary to go from link to link of a chain of evidence. *Tooke.* "I beg your pardon, my Lord, but is not a chain composed of links? and may I not disjoin each link? and do I not thereby destroy the chain?" *Chief Justice.* "I rather think not, till the links are put together and form the chain." *Tooke.* "Nay, my Lord, with great submission to your Lordship, I rather think I may, because it is my business to prevent the forming of that chain." To prove him to be a Republican, Lord Campbell says evidence was given that a society of which he was a member had approved some proceedings of the National Assembly. "Egad," he said, "it is lucky we did not say there were some good things in the Koran, or we should have been charged with being Mohammedans." He gave evidence that at public meetings his sentiments had often been received with disapproval. Then he nodded to the jury, and said, "My object, gentlemen, is to show that after I had deposed our Lord the King, I was likely to have very troublesome subjects, for I was constantly received with hisses." To one witness, who is termed by Lord Campbell, "the solemn and empty Beaufoy who pretended hardly to know him in court," he said, "Now, witness, upon your oath, was it not the very day that you complained so bitterly to me you could not sleep, because, notwithstanding all your services to Pitt, and all the money you had spent in his cause, he had refused to return your bow?" The question was a pure fabrication, but it had the intended effect. The last witticism recorded by Lord Campbell is, that the Attorney-General, in repelling some insinuation made upon his manner

of conducting the prosecutions, said, "he could endure anything but an attack on his good name; it was the small patrimony he had to leave to his children, and with God's help he would leave it unimpaired." After this he burst into tears, in which the Solicitor-General joined him. Tooke said, "in a stage whisper, 'Do you know what Sir John Mitford is crying about? He is thinking of the destitute condition of Sir John Scott's children, and the small patrimony they are likely to divide among them.'" It was impossible to convict a man like this. Erskine replied; and with reference to certain allegations against Mr. Tooke, that he had wished for the success of France, he predicted that a time would come when a man might again lawfully wish for the triumph even of French armies. "In the meantime," he said, "I will assert the freedom of an Englishman; I will maintain the dignity of a man; I will vindicate and glory in the principles which raised this country to her pre-eminence among the nations of the earth." The jury had required some hours to consider their verdict in the case of Mr. Hardy. In the case of Mr. Horne Tooke the verdict of acquittal followed almost immediately on the judge's summing up, and the verdict was received with delight by the public.

This trial, by the inimitable power of scorn and derision wielded by the aged defendant—a man, it may be worth re-stating of profound scholarship and marked ability—was a severe blow to a Government which knew no other means of preserving order than criminal prosecutions. Among the witnesses called by Mr. Tooke was Mr. Pitt himself, who was made to acknowledge that he had been present at one of the meetings of the society now under the ban of the law, and had listened without a word of disapproval to sentiments similar to those for which this prosecution was instituted. His excuse would naturally be that the times were different, and perhaps the plea would not be unreasonable; but this fact was little seen in the popular rejoicing for the ministerial defeat. Lord Brougham says of Mr. Tooke:—"His exertions to procure parliamentary

reform and good government in the country, accompanied with no conspiracy, and marked by no kind of personal or party violence, subjected his house to be ransacked by police officers and his repositories to be broken open, his private correspondence to be exposed, his daughters to be alarmed and insulted, his person, now bent down with grievous infirmities, to be hurried away in the night, to undergo an inquisitorial examination before a secret council, to be flung into prison, and only released after months of confinement, and after putting his life in jeopardy by a trial for high treason. These are sufferings which fair-weather politicians know nothing of; but they are sufferings which make men dear to the people, which are deeply engraved on the public mind." And again:—"All that the Mansfields and the Bullers could ever effect was to occasion a repetition, with aggravating variations, of the offensive passages; all that Attorney-Generals could obtain was some new laughter from the audience at their expense. . . . . He was ever ready to stand on the firm ground of right, and to press the claims of men to their legal privileges. He brought many important constitutional questions to a fair issue; he was the patron, the supporter, the fellow-labourer of all who dared to resist arbitrary power, and would make a stand for the rights of man and the principles of the constitution." Mr. Tooke died in 1812. It may be said of him that his usefulness in life far exceeded his fame, but also that his fame will increase as the years go on. At the end of this trial Mr. John Thelwall was charged, and was also acquitted. Here the Government was wise enough to stay proceedings. It is recorded that Thelwall, who was very impatient of legal forms, during the trial handed a bit of paper over to Mr. Erskine with the words, "I'll be hanged if I don't plead my own cause." Erskine wrote back, "You'll be hanged if you do." Thelwall let well alone. A few days later Erskine wrote to a friend, "I am busy flying my boy's kite. . . . . How much happier . . . . if the King's ministers were employed in a course so much more innocent than theirs, and so perfectly suitable to their capacities." From whence it may be inferred that Mr. Erskine had much the same opinion with respect to

certain prominent persons that Canning had of some others at a later period, when he wrote —

"Happy the nation's fate, I ween,
As Briton's sons can tell,
Whose rulers very little mean,
Nor mean that little well."

After the trials a mass-meeting was held on Copenhagen Fields, near Chalk Farm, and violent addresses were delivered by Thelwall, Gale Jones—another political lecturer—and others. On the 29th of October, 1795, the King was shot at on his way to open Parliament. Bills were almost immediately presented to both Houses for the protection of the King's person, and for preventing seditious assemblies. The Bills were opposed as unnecessary by many of the Whigs in Parliament, and on more extreme grounds by mass-meetings outside; but they were, of course, carried. A little later the Whigs were foolish enough to enter upon a prosecution for libel of Mr. Reeves, chairman of a "Society against Republicans and Levellers." Mr. Reeves had written a pamphlet, everywhere admitted to be foolish to puerility, stating among other absurdities that the Government of England being a monarchy, the Houses of Parliament are a mere accident, which might be lopped off by the King if necessary. The case was tried before Lord Kenyon. The House of Commons, by Mr. Erskine, prosecuted. The jury returned a verdict of not guilty; a real humiliation to Erskine, for in this case he represented, not his cherished freedom, but repression. The lesson was an important one. The King, the ministers, and now the House of Commons, and especially the Whigs in it, had been defeated by the soberer sense of a Common Jury. Here was a Tory protected against Whigs by the same power that protected Whigs against Tories. It may be interesting to notice that Mr. Reeves was the person most prominent in 1800, in the reception of William Cobbett on that gentleman's return to England after his Tory campaign as "Peter Porcupine" in America. Mr. Reeves laid down the law very prettily indeed to Cobbett. "In this country," he said, "you must kiss or kick, and you must choose your course." Cobbett chose to do

both. He took his place as a rank Tory, and began the *Porcupine Gazette*. There cannot be a doubt that for this he received public money. At the peace of Amiens, to which he was opposed, he refused to illuminate, and had his windows broken. Next day he revenged himself by publishing no paper. The public met this by a refusal to buy the paper when it did appear. Soon after the *Gazette* came to an end. Cobbett then began business as a bookseller, under the sign of the Bible and Crown. We shall subsequently see William Hone, before becoming a Radical, appealing, as a Tory, to the same indomitable Mr. Reeves.

In this year Warren Hastings was acquitted; and Burke, who had foreseen this end of his great efforts, had accepted the Chiltern Hundreds and retired from Parliament in disgust. He died in 1797. John Wilkes died the same year, and all their feuds were quietly covered up for ever. About the same period Sir Richard Arkwright died, as also did Mr. Wedgwood—two very notable men in view of the material progress of the nation. In 1797, Fox, Grey, Sheridan, and several other noted men of the young Whigs, withdrew for a time from Parliament, deeming all opposition to Pitt and the war futile; a not unnatural, but a mistaken step. In the beginning of the same year ministers and the nation were brought face to face with the mutiny of the fleets at Spithead and the Nore; a fact altogether unprecedented in our history. For three months the nation was uncertain whether, in its possibly great need, a blow would be struck in its defence by the men on whom it had relied above all others for the national safety. The grounds for the mutiny were in the undoubted and long-continued gross ill-treatment of the men, and perhaps most of all in the hated press-gang. The most stringent means had been taken to prevent seditious or inflammatory writings from reaching the fleet, and there cannot be a doubt that the discontent was in a great measure spontaneous, and arose from real grievances. The short work, uncertain prices of provisions—the quartern loaf varying at times in one year from 1*s.* 10½*d.* to 10½*d.*, the actual case in 1800—will give some idea of the privation of the time.

In the year 1797, Kosciusko was permitted to retire to America after his last struggle for the independence of his country; and Poland, by the third Partition Treaty (1795) between Russia, Prussia and Austria, had been feloniously blotted from the map of Europe. England made no sign of disapproval any more than she had a little earlier (1794), when, on the capture of Warsaw, Suwarrow put about 20,000 people to the sword. Mr. Pitt had a profound conception that he was not his brother's keeper as against despotism, though he might be so as against freedom. In 1798 King Stanislaus died, and one of the most heroic of nations was no more. The effect of this huge crime on English public opinion was very great. It intensified the zeal of every man in whom the love of freedom was stronger than the admiration for the successes—"brilliant successes" so called—of despotism. It was just such an event as England needed to steady her in fast approaching years when despotic robbers and murderers were "the good and faithful allies" of the English crown. The national life of a brave and generous people, who had saved Europe from the Turks, was past. There were people in England who understood what had been involved in the deeds of that terrible day when John Sobieski and his army alone stood between the Turks and Vienna, and what was meant by that outburst of the gratitude of all Austrians, setting even the sacredness of the cathedral at naught when, as part of the solemn thanksgiving for the great deliverance, the priest, standing at the altar, read, as his thrice-solemn text:—"There was a man sent from God whose name was John." The great lesson was re-told, pointed with the story of the partition decreed and executed in the year 1795, and the story was sent out among the people of England in the very midst of Pitt's Reign of Terror. The downfall of Poland assisted in the salvation of England.

Meanwhile the tide of victory had begun to set in for France. Early in 1795 the Duke of York and the British army that he commanded—the army that was to obey the behests of the august council we have noticed—had been compelled to retreat and re-embark for England. Prussia and Holland, by treaties

made at Basle, had virtually placed themselves under the protection of France. Spain and several minor states followed the example. France was no longer alone in Europe. Napoleon, who had risen to note at Toulon in 1793, and assisted to put an end to the Revolution in 1795, was married to Josephine Beauharnais on the 9th of March, 1796. On the 27th of the same month he was at Nice, at the head of an invincible army. The battle of the Bridge of Lodi was fought in May 1796; and Arcola in the same year. The battles of Montenotte, Mellesimo, and Mondovi, the passage of the Po, the entry to Milan, to Verona, and to other great cities, the battle of Castiglione, and, in fact the complete subjection of Italy, were the work of this year. On the Rhine the French were also successful. In October Spain declared war against England; Genoa excluded English commerce from Genoese ports, and Naples made peace with France. In December General Hoche, with a fleet of 25,000 men, left France for Ireland; but the fleet was dispersed in a storm, and the admiral, arriving at Bantry Bay, had so little love for the aspect of affairs that he refused to disembark his men. An attempt—perhaps an earnest attempt—was now made on the part of England to secure peace; but in a short time Lord Malmesbury, to whom the negotiation was entrusted, was ordered to leave Paris. France had tasted glory and blood.

In the same year Washington unostentatiously retired from public life, and in the following year died. There is ample evidence in the journals of the time that the simple and beautiful, brief ceremony of the retirement of the "father of his country," was compared in England with other ceremonies nearer home, and by no means to the advantage of the latter. It was the retirement, not of a foreigner, but of an Englishman, who had defied and defeated despotism. The Spanish declaration of war against England was followed by the defeat of the Spaniards, in February 1797, by Sir John Jervis, at Cape St. Vincent; a victory which was grandly celebrated. In October, the same year, Admiral Duncan defeated the Dutch at Camperdown. A little earlier in the same year, Nelson had made his unsuccessful but heroic attack on Santa Cruz in the Island of Teneriffe,

where he lost an arm. In July 1798, Napoleon won the battle of the Pyramids in Egypt. On the 1st of August Nelson won the Battle of the Nile. In the year 1799 Napoleon left Egypt for France, running the gauntlet of the British fleet, now all-powerful in the Mediterranean. In this short time—little more than a year in Egypt—he had, after his manner, done wonders of war. By the celerity of his movements he had paralysed all enemies, save that one stubborn personage, Sir Sydney Smith, who checked his progress at Acre, and Nelson, who longed for nothing more than to meet him on sea. The expedition, so far as grandeur of conception was concerned, may rank with Hannibal's great march from Spain to Italy, and with Scipio's expedition to Carthage. Granted certain conditions, chief of which was an open sea, and France might possess an Eastern Empire; might have under her command fierce Eastern races, to be directed at some chosen time against India. The blood of Napoleon might well course more quickly in his veins as he was being borne over the blue waters of the Mediterranean, in sight of the changeless bleak rocks, or the everlastingly recurring verdure of the storied lands of antiquity. Nelson alone stood in the way, with his eager, impetuous genius, his splendid seamanship, and his unconquerable will, and when Napoleon returned, as by stealth to France, his dream of a French capital at Cairo, and a French Liverpool at Alexandria was gone. The course of Russia was peculiar; at one time presenting the appearance of an active policy towards France, against which Suwarrow was ready to make war to the knife, then inclining to France and her great soldier; then halting between two courses, and waiting, on the historic principle of Rob Roy, for the "booty" whichever side won; a policy which Mr. Pitt found very unreliable and disheartening. The Empress Catherine died in 1796, and was succeeded by her son Paul, upon whom Napoleon had cast the glamour of his genius.

The return of Napoleon to France was signalised by the overthrow of the Directory and the eventual establishment of what became known as the Consular Constitution; Napoleon first

consul for ten years, with second and third consuls for five years. During the same period, England had marked an epoch in her history in India by the capture of Seringapatam. This landmark action, resulting in the death of Tippoo Saib, was fought early in May 1799. The British flag waved over Seringapatam after a month's siege. The future Duke of Wellington was now a colonel assisting his brother, the Governor-General of India, with cool and sagacious counsel, and prompt action when action was required. Two months later Sir Ralph Abercromby was sent out, under the command of the Duke of York, with 15,000 British and 17,000 Russians for the recovery of Holland; an attempt that was defeated in spite of the genius of Abercromby, by the admitted incapacity of the Duke. In December 1800, Abercromby embarked for Egypt, and on the 8th of March, 1801, landed in Aboukir Bay. On the 21st the battle of Alexandria was fought; a valuable battle for England, for it showed that under fair conditions the old stamina of Englishmen was still an overmatch for the enthusiasm of France. The death of Abercromby only deepened the lesson. One of the most remarkable facts in connection with this expedition, and indeed of the whole war, was the landing of an Anglo-Indian army on the shores of the Red Sea, and its rapid march across the desert under General Baird. The force arrived too late to be of any material use to General Hutchinson, who succeeded Abercromby, but it solved a great problem in the military affairs of England and India. What was done once can be done again, and it is scarcely likely that in case of war in Europe, India would be suffered to become a source of weakness to the British arms. Scarcely is it likely indeed that India would not pour forth its warlike population, utilised in case of real peril with revolutionary vigour, and led by splendid officers. With war in the distance we talk of what Russia might or might not do. In war we should be likely to remember that what England did she can do again. It is noteworthy that Napoleon almost immediately upon his accession to power at the end of 1799 made an attempt, ostensible at all events, to effect a treaty of peace between France and England, and received from Lord

Grenville in January of the following year a direct refusal to open negotiations. In June 1800, Napoleon won the battle of Marengo. At this time there were close upon 26,000 French prisoners in England, of whom a very curious story, which bids fair to be lost, might be told. Their skill in handicraft, in penmanship, and in artistic productions of various kinds provided them with many of the luxuries of life not by any means obtainable by English prisoners in France.

The history of Ireland in these years is one of the most painful chapters in the whole history of the British Isles. In December, 1794, Lord Fitzwilliam, nephew of the Marquis of Rockingham, and, as already stated, a thorough believer in Burke's views of the French Revolution — that is, an "Old" Whig—had been appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, and so conciliatory were his measures, policy, and deportment, that a Catholic Emancipation Bill had actually been prepared, and complete freedom of religious opinion was supposed to have been secured. It is to the glory of Ireland that these steps were taken. She has the distinction of having made a clear advance upon Great Britain in religious freedom, and to have made the advance generously and honourably. There were, however, among the opponents of emancipation the Lord Chancellor Fitzgibbon—Grattan's old enemy—Mr. Beresford, Commissioner of the Treasury, and the law officers of the Crown, who took the tone of their policy from the persons in power in London. Lord Fitzwilliam felt that with these officers it would be impossible for him to work. He demanded their removal. Pitt remonstrated. The Duke of Portland expressed a doubt whether Catholic emancipation would be sound policy. The King, of course, supported both. In February, 1795, Lord Fitzwilliam was recalled. When he left Dublin the shops and the ships in the bay went into mourning. Grattan, who a month before had been in the highest spirits, in view of the termination of his great struggle for the well-being of his country, was now in deep despair. In April Lord Fitzwilliam, in his place in Parliament, challenged the ministry to discuss the subject of his recall—to tell him wherein he had offended or failed to carry out the instructions with

which he left England. A vigorous debate followed, and Lord Grenville was compelled to take refuge in "reasons of State" for silence. Other rulers of Ireland had, he said, been removed without a question being raised. Why should an exception be made in the case of Lord Fitzwilliam? The subject was brought before the House of Commons with a like result. Much more important events to members of Parliament and their wives and daughters had occurred about this time, and the House found it quite impossible to concentrate attention on the affairs of Ireland. The Prince of Wales, afterwards George IV., had just then been auspiciously married to the Princess Caroline of Brunswick, and there had been such rejoicings as a loyal, and contented, and altogether prosperous, people knew how to make. There came a later day when the Princess Caroline was pushed back rudely from the doors of Westminster Abbey, on the occasion of the coronation of her lord. Lord Camden was now made Lord-lieutenant; a rule that will always be referred to with shame. Soon afterwards Grattan moved for an inquiry into the recall of Lord Fitzwilliam, but was defeated, as also was his Catholic Emancipation Bill, by the very same men who, a short time before, had voted for the Bill with acclamation. Among these members there was one man, member for County Down, known at this time as the Hon. Mr. Stewart, known afterwards as Lord Castlereagh. He was distinguished by his extreme professions of patriotism. He had even presided at public dinners where the toast of "Our Sovereign Lord the People" had been drunk. He had supported Grattan for reform and for emancipation. He had denounced the Government in terms which had gained him unbounded popular applause. Now he became what may be called a "changed man." What subtle charm Lord Camden employed is not clearly discernible; but certain it is, that to the Right Hon. Robert Stewart old things passed away and all things became new. In October the same year Mr. Stewart's father became Lord Castlereagh, and a year later was made Marquis of Londonderry. In 1798 Mr. Stewart—Lord Castlereagh, on his father's elevation to the marquisate—became Lord Camden's

private secretary, and before long succeeded in making for himself a name hated beyond almost all other names in Ireland.

At this time the society of the "United Irishmen," began to be looked to as the sole refuge of the country from oppression. Mr. Arthur O'Connor, heir-presumptive to Lord Longueville, and a warm and brilliant supporter of Grattan; Dr. McNevin, Chairman of a Catholic Committee; Mr. Oliver Bond, a wealthy merchant of Dublin; and Mr. Emmett, a young barrister—destined to be executed at a later period, and to leave a name embalmed for ever in Miss Curran's beautiful ballad, *Robert Aroon*, and in the national memory—became banded together, with many others, to break the spell that rested on their country. Oaths of secrecy were administered; a correspondence was opened with the French Republicans; Mr. Theobald Wolfe Tone was put in direct communication with the French Directorate, which promised help in men and arms. It is curious to observe that the Irish of this time were specially careful to stipulate with the French Republic for not fewer than 5,000, nor more than 10,000 men, not being altogether easy as to a French occupation of their country; and that the French Directors, in disregard of the stipulation, determined to send from 50,000 to 60,000 men, in three different detachments, from France, Spain, and Holland. We have seen how General Hoche and his fleet were defeated by the storm, and retreated from Bantry Bay in December, 1796; and that in February, the following year Sir John Jervis interposed with the action off Cape St. Vincent, and that there was no more chance of invading Ireland. The idea was revived, however, a year later, and Arthur O'Connor and several others were sent on a secret embassy to England, where a large number of small bodies of "United Englishmen" had been formed. From the day the young Irishman crossed the Irish Sea his course was closely watched, and at last he was arrested with O'Coigley, a priest, and some others at Margate, on the eve of an embarkation for France. A few days later the "Directory" of the rebellion were arrested at the house of Oliver Bond, on the information of a person named Reynolds, a Catholic

gentleman so-called, and a Government spy. We shall have a great deal more to do with this man, who lived to drink the cup of infamy to the very dregs. The persons apprehended at Margate were put on their trial, but with the exception of O'Coigley, who was executed, the prosecutions failed. O'Connor, and Binns, a member of the London Corresponding Society, were subsequently arrested on a new charge; and other members of the same society were captured at the same time in a house in Newcastle Street, London. Lord Edward Fitzgerald also was arrested, after a stout resistance, in Dublin, and was sent wounded to prison, where he died. His wife, daughter of the Duke of Orleans, was ordered to leave England. Two barristers, the brothers John and Henry Sheares, with some others, were executed. Early in the year 1798 Lord Moira moved an address to the Lord-Lieutenant, beseeching him to use conciliatory measures with the rebels, and drawing attention to the cruelties inflicted for the purpose of extorting confessions; cruelties of which Lord Castlereagh was destined to hear more in later years. The motion was rejected. The 23rd May had been appointed for a general rising, and about that time the rebellion broke out in various parts of Ireland, with dreadful cruelties on both sides. On June 21st the rebels were defeated by General Lake on Vinegar Hill, near Enniscarthy. Their power was entirely broken. On the 12th October Sir John Warren fell in with a French line-of-battle ship, *La Hoche*, and eight frigates, conveying troops to Ireland. He captured the man-of-war, on board of which he found the redoubtable Wolfe Tone, who was tried by court-martial, and sentenced to death. Mr. Curran, more in the spirit of a gentleman than of a mere advocate, stepped in promptly, and moved for arrest of the execution. He had obtained a writ of Habeas Corpus, when his labours were brought abruptly to a close by the suicide of Mr. Tone, one of the very remarkable men whom Ireland produced in these distressing years, and who under other circumstances might have been famous. The rebellion was now considered at an end. The loss of life has been differently estimated at from 30,000 to 50,000—a wide margin certainly,

but indicative at least of the sad state of Ireland. Napper Tandy and several others were arrested at Hamburgh, but the minister of England claiming them on the one hand, and the minister of France on the other, the application for their extradition was allowed to fall through.

On the 22nd January, 1799, the royal speech recommended the legislative union of Great Britain and Ireland. It was well known also that the measure was fully prepared. Wolfe Tone had then been dead about two months. To Castlereagh is ascribed, and with good reason, the work done in Dublin at this time. Lord Cornwallis had succeeded Lord Camden in 1798, but the man principally concerned in the proceedings narrated above remained Secretary, and virtual Governor of Ireland. It has been said, and by Lord Brougham among others, that Lord Castlereagh neither inflicted cruelties nor bribed with his own hand; a plea which in reality amounts to very little. It would be very strange indeed, if a virtual minister of state, a secretary of high position, inflicted torture or offered bribes in person. A sheriff objects to be made an executioner. But none the less is it a fact, that bribes, under the name of compensation, were given "to men who would accept office on the terms of carrying the union." Sir John Barrington, in his *Historic Memoirs*, says that the price set down for a nobleman who had the power of returning a member to Parliament was 15,000*l.*, and that the sum was doubled or trebled according to the number of members he returned. Every member who had bought a seat in the Irish Parliament had the purchase-money returned. Of course that was not bribery on Lord Castlereagh's part. Even if he gave cheques he did not give money. The following, among other sums, however were paid :—"To Lord Shannon for his patronage in the Commons, 45,000*l.*; to Lord Clanmorris, 23,000*l.* and a peerage; to the Marquis of Ely, 45,000*l.*; to Lord Belvidere, with a sum in advance, 15,000*l.*; to Sir Hercules Langrish, 15,000*l.*" In all a million and a half, raised by taxation in Ireland, were paid in bribes for the legislative union of Great Britain and Ireland. It is pleasant to state that Lord Fitzwilliam, who had a great pecuniary stake in Ireland, refused to accept

a penny. He had suffered greatly in the rebellion. He was no revolutionist, but almost a monomaniac against revolutions, and especially against that of France. He was wedded to the traditions of the Marquis of Rockingham, and had inherited that nobleman's regard for Burke, and for Burke's policy; but he was brave in Irish affairs. It is well worthy of note therefore that when the claimants for compensation presented themselves, a Dublin banker, a member of Parliament, stated that Lord Fitzwilliam had no claim. A nobler lord-lieutenancy there had never been, in splendour of hospitality, in dignity of deportment, in a statesmanlike regard for the well-being of the people. All this came well out at the end. The Act of Union was passed in the English Parliament in May, 1800, and in the Irish Parliament in June. It received the Royal Assent on the 2nd July, and came into operation on the 1st January, 1801. The title of King of France was at the same time disused. Of Lord Castlereagh, the hero of the infamous proceedings by which the Act was carried, it is said that he was cold and passionless, and that whatever he did was done of political purpose and calculated design. That is, that he was not actuated by personal vindictiveness; a plea that has been urged on behalf of bad statesmen in all times.

No intelligent Englishman in these days recurs to the dark deeds of the Irish Rebellion without deep mournfulness, though many Englishmen are at a loss to comprehend what good purpose Irishmen imagine can result from skilfully and persistently perpetuating old feuds; and many Englishmen wonder that Irishmen cannot, with the quick wit and perception of their race, make some allowance for a nation, striking out, as England was at that time, against an enemy before whose genius the whole continent of Europe had fallen. Not a word has been said here in defence of the atrocities that are popularly represented, in some cases rightly, in some wrongly, by the name of Castlereagh, and rightly in sufficient cases to justify the rule. Let them remain for ever stamped with the infamy that belongs to them. It should be remembered, however, that Englishmen and Scotchmen suffered quite as severely wherever the hand of the law could be

brought to bear on them, and still more so where military power could be used for the repression of disorder. In Ireland, from the fact of the Channel intervening, there was a possibility of such a concentration of armed force in defiance of authority as neither England nor Scotland had known anything of for half a century. Scotland was wise enough to forget, as all but history, what followed Culloden. Ireland never even attempts to forget what followed Vinegar Hill. The means taken to secure the union of England and Ireland were means so base that history blushes to record them; but, after all, union by bribery and cajolery was believed in England after the acts were done, and could not be undone, to be preferable to union by conquest, which must have been the result if Ireland had become identified with the projects of Wolfe Tone. Or, at least, an Irish Republic united to the French Republic could only have ended either in the entire subjugation of England or in war to the knife between England and Ireland. Looking to these facts, and to the attitude taken up by Irishmen, the question in the minds and often on the lips of Englishmen is—"Can't you let bygones be bygones? Can't you let the dead bury its dead?" It is certain that there is nothing of a political nature Englishmen dread so much as another rebellion in Ireland. If this is an avowal over which Irishmen feel justified in making merry, as some made merry over Mr. Gladstone's reference to the Fenians in relation to the disestablishment of the Irish Church, why the merriment must be accepted as a penalty for past misdeeds—the misdeeds of generations gone. The assertion is at all events a sober and solemn fact. Is it not high time that intelligent Irishmen should make an effort in the direction of seeing whether Ireland cannot find justice and fairplay in the United Parliament?

We have now reached a very important part of Mr. Pitt's career. He had distinctly promised, as the price of the Union, that Catholics should be placed on a fair footing in the state; that Grattan's great Bill should be virtually incorporated with the law of the United Kingdom. All at once, he found that on this point the King would not yield. It was becoming

important also to make peace with France, and as the name of Pitt had been identified in France, not merely with an open warlike policy, but with secret intrigues of which he was incapable, and which indeed were absurd, it appeared necessary for him to retire. The first Parliament of Great Britain and Ireland met in January 1801. Mr. Addington was re-elected Speaker. Public affairs were peculiar, from the fact that the King's insanity was now placed beyond doubt, and that his determination not to concede the Catholic claims was one of the most rooted features of the malady. Amid it all the position of the King himself was one upon which no generous mind can look without pity. That he was a man pure in life never has been doubted, even by those who have most bitterly condemned the errors of his policy. His coronation oath was ever before him; the obligation which he supposed rested upon him to protect the Protestant religion by the exclusion of Catholics from civil rights. Educated in the bad society of his father's "opposition" court, and with a mind incapable of recondite reasoning, there is something simply melancholy in the bigotry of George III. It was a bigotry, too, shared in another way by the large mass of intelligent men who dreaded "Popery and arbitrary power." It was not that he was unmerciful that he objected to Pitt's promise of Catholic emancipation. Personally he would have been as generous to the Catholic as to the Protestant; but a higher power than that of kings had decreed that there should fall upon his mind that deep shadow which obscured all private virtues. It would be ungenerous to forget the individual goodness, it would be criminal to forget and ignore the public faults of a life which merely did not err against conscientiousness, but which more than once nearly ruined England.

Of Pitt, at this time, it is difficult to think with approval, or even patience; but when the whole subject is considered it is almost as difficult unhesitatingly to condemn. It has been alleged against him, that since he resigned on the score of the King's absolute refusal to concede the Catholic claims, he was bound not to return to office until those claims were conceded.

To this assertion there is the reply that the services of a statesman belong to his country, and that if he could not obtain all he wished, there was no reason why he should altogether refuse to give those services which he perhaps of all men living was best able to give to the Crown at that particular time. But that Catholic emancipation was promised as the price of the union there is no doubt whatever, and that the promise was not kept must always stand to the discredit of Mr. Pitt and his government. On the 14th of March, 1801, the King's health had become sufficiently restored to enable him to accept the resignation of his favourite statesman. Mr. Addington became Prime Minister and Chancellor of the Exchequer. Among the ministry were the Duke of Portland, Lord Castlereagh, Earl St. Vincent, and Lord Hawkesbury, with Lord Eldon as Lord Chancellor, Sir Edward Law, Attorney-General, and Mr. Spencer Perceval, Solicitor-General. Mr. Addington took office on the 13th of July. Proposals for peace were almost immediately made to France, and hostilities suspended, though the Peace of Amiens was not signed till March 1802. The national debt at this time was 520,000,000*l.* An unreal and insincere truce on both sides was followed by a fierce determination, also on both sides, to prosecute war to the utmost extremity. Napoleon's disposition towards England was shown by his immediate apprehension of all Englishmen —ten thousand it was computed—in France at the time the peace terminated. These persons, travellers, tourists, and what not, were kept prisoners till the power of Napoleon came to an end in 1814. Looking to this one fact alone—and it is one of a large number of kindred facts—it is not difficult to see what the fate of England would have been if Napoleon could have dictated terms of peace in London; a fact which goes far to modify one's view of proceedings at home that never can be justified. The war had become one of life or death to England. War was again declared in May 1803, after a peace of little more than a year. In February the following year Mr. Pitt was again called to the head of affairs. The Duke of Portland, Lord Castlereagh, Lord Eldon, and others retained

office, with Lord Melville (formerly Mr. Dundas), Mr. Canning, and Mr. Huskisson. In the same month in which war was declared Napoleon was crowned Emperor of France. In 1805 Sir Arthur Wellesley left Madras for England. In the same year Mr. Addington was made Viscount Sidmouth, and Lord Melville charged with peculation, was eventually compelled to resign; a serious blow to Pitt's ministry.

In the same year Mr. Pitt formed his Third Coalition against France. The treaty was signed at St. Petersburg in April. The coalition was broken, as with a crash, on the 3rd of December at Austerlitz. Pitt, it is said, never looked up again. The "look of Austerlitz" rested upon his face from this time to the end, now clearly approaching. He died on the 23rd of January, 1806, and died in something like despair of the future of England as regarded France. The previous year had closed with the great victory of Trafalgar, and with numerous victories in India; but nothing compensated for the reverse of Austerlitz, and for the fact that an army was assembled at Boulogne for the invasion of England. Ordinary people might, as Southey says, feel as secure from invasion after Trafalgar as if no flat-bottomed boats had been in existence; but a statesman could not so narrow the great issue. It is impossible to overlook these facts in dealing with State Trials which in themselves were in many cases ludicrously trivial. Napoleon's treatment of Prussia, and indeed of every country of which he was the conqueror, excused in the eyes of many the harsh measures of the time. The Whigs had ceased to contend against the war mania. At the time of Pitt's death there seemed to be but one policy in England. That policy was for determined war. The man who could wage successful war would be placed high among Englishmen. Sir Archibald Alison, among others, expressed, and thought that posterity would express, amazement that England, with so large a force under arms, should not have begun active operations against France at an earlier period; but it cannot be forgotten that the rapidity of Napoleon's movements and the discontent in England account for much of the slowness and supineness of the English Government as to

warlike proceedings on the Continent; and that the allies had proved themselves untrustworthy. There was scarcely time to adopt a definite plan of operations before Napoleon, by some great battle, had put an end to the coalitions against him, and before new treaties with France had abrogated treaties against her on which the ink was barely dry. When Pitt first met the French Revolution he was full of life and spirit, defiant of his political opponents and of foreign foes. When he died England had been ten years in a state of siege at home, and abroad there had set in for her the deep darkness that comes before the dawn. The nation was on the eve of victories that were once more to prove her power in a struggle with France; but that was hidden from all knowledge. At the beginning of 1806 all that could be seen was a series of disasters which seemed almost unlimited, and an incessant drain on the national resources for subsidies to foreign powers, altogether forming what seemed like a blight on English effort on the Continent.

In India, where individuality had been left free, a great empire had been built, or, if not built, at least the foundations so securely laid that the future became almost a matter of calculation. From Arcot only a little more than fifty years, from Plassey not quite fifty years, to Assaye, great historical events had followed each other with marvellous rapidity, proving that the national courage remained. In America the individuality and force of the English character had built up a new nationality. At home, too, in spite of all difficulties, the population had everywhere increased, and the large towns in particular had developed so rapidly, that in many cases they had doubled their population in a brief period. The first census was in 1801, and from that time there were exact means for estimating progress or decay. The popular feeling with respect to Pitt's policy may be judged from the fact, that when the question of a statue to him was proposed in the Common Council of London, the proposal was only carried by seventy-seven against seventy-one votes. When he was described in Parliament as an "excellent statesman," his opponents not unreasonably objected to the term, while many of them very unreasonably demurred even to

burying him in the Abbey. The error was seen when, later in the year, Fox needed the same defence and the same fair representation of motives, when he too was unable to speak for himself. On the death of Mr. Pitt his government fell to pieces, in spite of energetic efforts to reconstruct it, and at the end of January, 1806, the ministry of "All the Talents" was formed:—Lord Grenville, Premier; Mr. Erskine, Lord Chancellor; Lord Henry Petty, afterwards Marquis of Lansdowne, Chancellor of Exchequer; Lord Holland (third lord, and nephew of Mr. Fox), Privy Seal; Earl Fitzwilliam, President of the Council; Mr. Fox, Foreign Secretary; Mr. Grey, First Lord of the Admiralty; Mr. Sheridan, Treasurer of the Navy; Sir Samuel Romilly, Solicitor-General; Lord Sidmouth, Lord Privy Seal; Lord Ellenborough, Chief Justice, and included in the ministry as Lord Sidmouth's friend. Mr. Curran was made Master of the Rolls in Ireland.

One of the first acts of the new ministry was to give an earnest and vigorous support to the motion of Mr. Wilberforce for the Abolition of the Slave Trade. The measure was not carried till early in the following year, but the prompt effort may serve to mark the difference between the two ministries. There was no longer any hesitation as to the bad trade. In a speech on the subject Sir Samuel Romilly stated that in the ten years immediately preceding that time, 360,000 Africans had been sold into slavery or had perished on the sea. Lord Grenville, it may be useful to remember, was the son of Mr. George Grenville, whose relationship to Lord Chatham we have seen. He was favourable to Catholic emancipation, which Lord Sidmouth opposed. The latter therefore stood higher in the favour of the King and the Court with results of great State importance. The ministry was necessarily reconstructed on the death of Fox. Mr. Grey, afterwards Lord Howick and then Earl Grey, became Foreign Secretary. A strong and sincere attempt had been made by Fox to bring the war to an end, but the negotiations, not now by any means sincere on the part of Napoleon, were altogether broken off when Fox died. The French Emperor then fell upon Prussia and Russia with

those sledge-hammer blows which resulted in the peace of Tilsit, secured the famous Confederation of the Rhine, and gave point to the Berlin decree against English commerce. The ministry of "All the Talents" was not destined to a long life. An attempt to enable Catholics to serve in the army was opposed by the King. In 1807 the ministry came to an end, and were succeeded by the Duke of Portland, Prime Minister, Mr. Perceval, Chancellor of Exchequer, and Mr. Canning, Foreign Secretary. Lord Eldon retained the Great Seal; Sir Arthur Wellesley, was Secretary for Ireland, under the Lord-Lieutenancy of the Duke of Richmond. It is noteworthy that Lord Grenville and Lord Howick both agreed not to press the Catholic claim upon the King, provided they might be permitted to leave a record in vindication of their character, and again entreat his Majesty to consider the subject at some more favourable time. The King was inexorable. Not only did he refuse to consider the subject at that time, but he would have an undertaking that it never should again be mentioned to him. There were ministers ready to obey him even in that, but these ministers would not do so. The condition of Ireland was again assuming an alarming aspect, and the Chief Secretary, a little later, demanded and obtained larger powers for repression. In the House of Commons the Government had been weak from the first, and Canning, acting on the example of Pitt at a memorable period, threatened the House with an immediate dissolution if certain measures of the Government were opposed. A little later the threat was carried into effect, and the Parliament dissolved, having existed only four months and fifteen days.

The elections that followed were among the most bitter ever known, but ministers were found to have an immense majority. Sir Francis Burdett and Lord Cochrane, however, were both re-elected by an Independent Party, which they may be said to have formed; a party that would henceforth remain in English politics altogether unconnected with either Whig or Tory, and representing a popular feeling which for the last generation had been slowly forcing its way into life. Sir

Francis Burdett, as far back as 1799, had called attention in Parliament, in a very forcible speech, but with little practical result, to the state of the Coldbath prison, then crowded with prisoners. His influence was more felt out of Parliament than in it, and had a very decisive effect at several critical times in future years. The remarkable succession of French victories led the English Government, at the end of 1807, to take a step which for a long time was the subject of very severe animadversion, and which cannot be justified even on the score of self-preservation. Napoleon's Berlin decree of the previous year had been passed for the simple and avowed purpose of excluding English commerce from the Continent, and it was believed by ministers, and on reasonable grounds, that the Danish fleet would be seized by Napoleon and directed against England. In August 1807 an English force, commanded by Lord Cathcart and Sir Arthur Wellesley, with Admiral Gambier in command of the fleet, was sent to Denmark to demand the surrender of the Danish fleet, which the English ministry promised should be held in trust and given back at the end of the war. The Danes naturally refused, and the fleet was taken by force. Sixteen ships of the line, fifteen frigates, and twenty-five gunboats, with several other vessels then on the stocks, and immense naval and military stores, were brought to England. In all there were about 20,000 tons of war material. It was a stroke of policy worthy of the initiative of Napoleon himself; but he nevertheless made the most of it as the basis of an indignant protest. He replied by an imperial ukase, ordering the seizure of all British ships and property. This step, and the Berlin decrees, led to the famous Orders in Council declaring France and all countries under her control in a state of blockade. The orders were passed at the end of 1807. They were replied to by more stringent decrees on the part of Napoleon; in both cases to the serious injury of peaceful nations, and especially of America, though the power to inflict the greatest injury was with England, as mistress of the sea.

In October 1807, a French army crossed the Bidassoa, with

orders to capture Lisbon, Napoleon in his usual haughty way declaring the House of Braganza to be at an end. He was met in a manner for which history affords no parallel. Junot found no difficulty in entering Lisbon, but before he arrived there he saw the Portuguese fleet, with British assistance, embarking for Brazil, with the Prince Regent, the Royal family, and 15,000 of the principal inhabitants of Lisbon. The seat of government had been formally transferred from Europe to America. This seemed the signal for England to take up a more resolute position. On the 12th July, 1808, Sir Arthur Wellesley embarked for Portugal. On the 21st August he defeated the French at Vimiera, but was immediately afterwards superseded in his command. The Convention of Cintra followed; Generals Dalrymple, Burrard, and Wellesley were recalled, and Sir John Moore was entrusted with the high command. Early in 1809 the Retreat of Corunna, glorious but futile, came to an end. Sir Arthur Wellesley was again sent to Portugal. The advance on Oporto, the passage of the Douro, the battle of Talavera, followed in rapid succession; brilliant passages in arms, but more than neutralised by Napoleon's great victories at Wagram and elsewhere, and by the disastrous failure of the Walcheren Expedition, which left England in May, certain, it was said, to destroy the Dutch fleets and dockyards, and ended in December with an utter collapse. It was the famous occasion when "the Earl of Chatham, with his sword drawn, stood waiting for Sir Richard Strachan," and when "Sir Richard, burning to be at 'em, stood waiting for the Earl of Chatham." This disaster led to a violent personal dispute, and to the famous duel between Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Canning. Eventually also it caused the break-up of the ministry. The Duke of Portland resigned, and died in the following year. Mr. Perceval now became Premier, with the Marquis of Wellesley, Secretary for Foreign Affairs; Lord Liverpool, Secretary for War, and the Colonies; and Lord Palmerston, Secretary for War. It is not the object here to tell of the war in Spain, or of the French disasters in Russia. In both cases the power of Napoleon was fast coming to an end, and England began to find a breathing time for other

interests than those of war. In February 1811, the Prince of Wales was made Regent. In the beginning of 1812 Napoleon made his advance into Russia. In June the same year the Americans declared war against England. The Perceval Ministry had come to an end by the murder of the Premier a couple of months earlier, and the ministry of Lord Liverpool was formed, with Mr. Vansittart Chancellor of Exchequer, Lord Bathurst, Secretary of War; Lord Sidmouth, Secretary for the Home Department; Lord Castlereagh, Secretary for Foreign Affairs. Alterations were subsequently made in the ministry from time to time, but the name and the general identity remained, with eighteen years of absolute Tory rule. The total collapse of Napoleon's power in 1815 brought a new state of affairs to England. During the years of war there had been submission to arbitrary measures, even on the part of men who altogether disapproved arbitrary power. The obstinacy of the King also had interposed an almost insuperable barrier to any concessions involving freedom of opinion, and the resistance that would naturally have been offered to him in a time of peace was rendered futile by the imminence of the danger which the genius of Napoleon had created. In 1815 the state of affairs was altogether different from anything that had been known in England from the Restoration of Charles II. During the quarter of a century that had elapsed from 1789 to the end of the Great War, a series of constitutional struggles had been carried on, under great disadvantages it is true, but with unalterable persistence. When the war ended, the efforts began to be concentrated in a manner which rendered opposition to them dangerous and in the end all but impossible unless the constitution itself was to fall. This we shall see in a succeeding chapter.

It may be well here, however, to recur to one or two more prosecutions, which may be taken as representative of a large number. Few charges ever were more vexatious and foolish than those brought against the Rev. Gilbert Wakefield, very near the end of the century. Mr. Wakefield was an accomplished scholar, who had been highly distinguished at Cambridge,

where he had obtained the degree of B.A., twenty years before this trial. The charge against him was the publication of a pamphlet, *A Reply to Some Parts of the Bishop of Llandaff's Address.* The reply was alleged to have a Republican tendency. In reality it was a purely theological work. Mr. Wakefield had become a Unitarian and a controversialist, and was expounding his views, which only incidentally touched on politics. He was prosecuted by Sir John Scott, then Attorney-General, and defended by Mr. Erskine, before Lord Kenyon, with the result of a sentence to two years' imprisonment, which was rigorously carried out. During the term of imprisonment 5,000*l.* were subscribed for Mr. Wakefield, but he lived a very short time afterwards to enjoy it. Mr. Cuthill, a respectable bookseller, had previously been convicted because his shopman had accidentally, and without Mr. Cuthill's knowledge, sold a few copies of the same pamphlet; but public opinion was so strong against a violent direction of Lord Kenyon, that the penalty was reduced to a small fine. Benjamin Flower, for an alleged libel on the House of Lords, published in a Cambridge newspaper, was brought up to London, and ordered to pay a fine of 100*l.* and to be committed to prison for six months. The case was a public scandal, from the fact that the defendant never was even put on his defence. He obtained a writ of Habeas Corpus, but without success. Lord Kenyon ruled that commitment by either House of Parliament is not subject to revision by a law court. These will perhaps be taken as additional evidence that even in England it is possible for governments unchecked by the people to become as tyrannical as the governments most noted for despotism in other lands. A reference to Mr. Flower of so curious and instructive a character occurs in Grant's *History of the Newspaper Press*, that it cannot have too wide a circulation. "Mr. Flower," the author says, "was a Unitarian in his theological views, and extreme in his Liberalism, as were almost all the Unitarians of the latter part of the last century. It is worthy of being mentioned parenthetically that Mr. Flower was the father of the Miss Flower, afterwards Mrs. T. F. Adams, author of the much

admired hymn, though there is not an atom of Gospel in it, beginning with the lines, 'Nearer, my God, to Thee, nearer to Thee.'" The reader may be interested in the daughter for the father's sake, and in the father for the daughter's. It contains "not an atom of Gospel" the then editor of the *Morning Advertiser* wrote of the beautiful hymn that we owe to Miss Flower's pen.

In the beginning of 1811 the *Examiner* newspaper was charged before Lord Ellenborough, on an *ex-officio* information of Attorney-General Sir Vicary Gibbs, with the dire offence of attacking a brutal case of military flogging. The sentence was one of 1,000 lashes, which had been perforce reduced to 750 by the absolute insensibility of the soldier. The *Examiner*, after picturing the horrible scene, and commenting on the comparative mildness of French law, had concluded:—"In short Buonaparte's soldiers cannot form any notion of the most heartrending of all exhibitions on this side hell—an English military flogging." Sir Vicary Gibbs held that anything calculated to cause the soldiers to compare their lot unfavourably with that of the soldiers of France was wicked, and calculated to destroy discipline and impair courage. No better proof could well be given of the demoralization of this wretched war time. John and Leigh Hunt were defended by Mr. Brougham, and found not guilty. They had a real triumph for the moment, but they were journalists, and could easily be entrapped. At the end of the following year they were caught in a libel on the Prince Regent, and in spite of another eloquent defence by Brougham, were sentenced to be imprisoned for two years in different prisons, and to pay a fine of 500*l.* each. The gist of the offence was that in reprinting a court account of a ceremonial in which the Prince Regent had figured, the brothers—or one of them, Leigh Hunt probably—having found the Prince referred to as "an Adonis," had added, "of fifty," and so had sought to bring the loftiest person in the land into disrepute. The Prince had very much worse than this to endure before he died. There is a curious article in the *Examiner* of February 6th, 1814, signed

Leigh Hunt, headed "Expiration of the first year's imprisonment," and beginning:—"My brother and myself entered our respective places of confinement on the 3rd of February, 1813, so that we have now passed the first half of our imprisonment, and have arrived at what is called the top of the hill." Some severe remarks follow, and coming from gentle, amiable Leigh Hunt, have all the greater weight. "Has our imprisonment," he says, "made the Prince Regent more beloved? Did it add to his good impression on the public mind during the business of the Princess his wife? Has it not tended to suggest advantageous comparisons between men who can bear the liberty of the press and men who cannot? . . . . Let the last year with all its great events answer these questions:—Let the records of the courts, and the speeches in Parliament answer them; let the road between Pall Mall and the House of Lords muster up a voice and answer them." Then after sundry references to the Queen and to other topics, Mr. Hunt concludes:—"Our adversaries were in the wrong, ourselves were in the right; and these two magic words include all that could be said upon the subject, were we to extend our observations to twenty numbers." Rather defiant talk in the face of Lord Ellenborough and his royal master. When the year again turned the brothers repeated their admonition, and left their adversaries in no enviable position. These were the beginning of a new series of prosecutions and persecutions of independent journalism. It seems as if, all through our history, from the time that printing became a power, it has been necessary for some persons to suffer, at some period not very far from some like period, that stupidity in power might be reminded of what a free press really means. The Hunts were proud and honourable journalists, worthy of the place they won in a great history, and in this and much besides their services to the nation were invaluable. We have several good pictures of Leigh Hunt in prison, where he was visited by Byron and Moore, among others, and where he talked the sternest republicanism in the gentlest and most genial way. He had books, pictures, a trellised flower-garden,

cage-birds, and a piano. Friends were permitted to visit and dine with him, and he wrote articles for his newspaper. Upon the whole he could scarcely be said to have had a hard time. Still it was imprisonment, and vexatious privation. Moreover it was public wrong. Of Lord Ellenborough, who has now come into note, we shall not again lose sight till very nearly the end of these pages.

It may be well to notice that one of the most distinct features in all popular demonstrations at this time for freedom, or against power and authority, is Royal George, first as Prince Regent and then as King It was useless for adulation to call him "that august personage," "that most august personage," "the first gentleman in Europe." The popular feeling fixed upon him with unerring certainty for scorn and derision, and, in some cases, for absolute hatred. The picture ought to be useful for later times. Denman and Brougham did much to intensify the feeling in defence of the Queen, but it needed no such help. Fox, and the party that associated with him, were not guiltless for the death in life of the poor pitiable prince. The Church was not guiltless. No one spoke to him anything like truth devoid of adulation, save those whom he was taught to call his enemies. He grew up to believe that persons who did not flatter him were his foes, deserving of nothing but condign punishment. His power was immense. He could make the fortune of a bootmaker by sending to his shop for a pair of boots. He could by a smile send a whole family from London to the country rich in happiness, and would laugh at them as they went. By a well-timed compliment, meaning nothing, he had power to make a man, even like Wellington, to feel bigger in his own eyes, and immensely bigger in those of the large mass of other people. We shall see the Prince Regent more fully afterwards, but this reference may be useful at this stage of history, when all the machinery of the law is being put in force by men like Sir Vicary Gibbs to protect a character the sole defence of which in history will be its early and late abandonment to the flattery

and self-seeking arts of men who in many cases managed on their own part to leave a fairer fame.

Of each year of the war with France we have dismal records which throw light on the condition of the poor. Near to the end of 1811 the Luddite Riots against machinery broke out in Nottinghamshire, Leicestershire, and Derbyshire, and were put down with rigour; fourteen persons executed at a time at York, and like scenes elsewhere. The secret of the name of Captain Ludd, as the basis of the conspiracy, appears to have been well kept, simply because the name was altogether a myth, used as a symbol merely. In that sense, and without a bodily presence, it was sufficiently powerful to set all the north of England aflame. These incidents, it should be remembered, were transpiring while Wellington was winning glories in the Peninsula, covering with fame those old flags yet to be seen in many of our parish churches, and while Napoleon was retreating from Russia—congratulations everywhere among the wealthy; bread riots among the poor; illuminations generally. The war spirit as we have seen had grown till it had become as effective against France as the spirit of a united nation might have been. The question was at last one of France or England. All else was forgotten. When, however, it is said that the nation was well governed and guided from 1790 to 1815, a great question is raised. That the nation had immense vital and recuperative power there is no doubt. It had extended its arms to the ends of the earth; had planted its language, laws, literature, and manhood in far distant lands, and had seen nations spring therefrom. At home it had made commerce to increase and flourish—education to take roots that would never again be shaken. It had built large towns, and fostered the growth of a large intelligence, and of manufactures which even then converted whole districts into huge workshops, not to be equalled in any other land. Looking to all this—to these immense resources—is it possible to say that the ministry of Mr. Pitt and the ministry of Lord Liverpool were in the true sense great? With a network of lord-lieutenancies, commissions of the peace, militia, yeomanry,

and other organizations, why was nothing really attempted to induce loyalty to the nation? With such forces at command, why were ministers compelled to entail war burthens without being able to strike effectively in war? They dared not to trust the nation. That was the whole secret. And they dared not to trust because they had shown no power, and in truth no wish, to remove the evils of which the nation, articulately in some cases, dumbly in others, complained.

CHAPTER XI.

AT THE END OF THE GREAT WAR.

Popular Views as to War and Peace—Public Morals—Agricultural Labourers and Miners—Prosecutions for Blasphemy—Habits of Blasphemy—Recollections of the War—The Press and the Church—The Masses of the Nation Not really Opposed to Christianity—Popular Views of Property—And of Dissent—Mr. Carlyle's View—The Corn Laws—Corn at 46*s.* per quarter—Bounties Paid for Exports—Excess of Exports—Wheat at 29*s.* 2½*d.* per quarter—At 51*s.* per quarter—Condition of Workmen—Absolute Prohibition of Exportation, Wheat in the same Year at 155*s.* and at 75*s.* 6*d.* per quarter—Workmen's Wages—Lords' Committee in 1815—Bad Harvests of 1816, 1817, and 1818—Political Reform—Catholic Claims—Emmett—The Social Reformers; Mr. Spence—Skilled Writing for Bad Laws—Legislation Against Workmen—Destruction of Machinery—The Errors of Workmen; the Worse Errors of Ministers of State—Dr. Malthus—The Bible Society—*Alton Locke*—Parliamentary Elections—Church Rates and Tithes—Position of Royalty—Party Action—Lord Grey's Decision—The Later Whigs—Power in the Hands of the Tories till 1827—Whig Clubs—Meeting of Parliament, 1816—The Spa Field Riots—The Spy Castles—Mr. Hunt—The Spenceans—The Tory and the Whig Reviews—Whig and Tory Newspapers in the Provinces—Poor Rates, 1817—Committals to Prison—Education.

WHEN the French war ended the position of England was generally declared throughout Europe to be one of great glory and distinction; in reality it was almost more deplorable than that of the countries devastated by Napoleon's armies. The national burthens had increased in a ratio which only needs a comparative statement in approximately accurate figures to be intelligible. The term "approximately accurate figures" is used advisedly, that the statement may be taken as a general picture merely, and as based upon an estimate. It was, however, made by a very accurate politician, the late Mr. W. J.

Fox, M.P. for Oldham. Mr. Fox calculated that the reign of William III. rested on a war expenditure of 16 millions raised in taxes, and 20 millions carried forward as debt—war cost. The reign of Anne—the glories of Marlborough—cost 30 millions in taxes, and 32½ millions debt; the Spanish War and the War of the Austrian Succession, under the first two Georges, 25 millions and 29 millions debt; the Seven Years' War—Chatham's glorious war—52 millions in taxes and 60 millions debt; the American Revolution, and the wars consequent thereon, 32 millions in taxes, and 104 millions debt; the wars with France from 1793 to 1802, in taxes 263½ millions, and 200 millions debt; and the renewed war from 1803 to 1815, in taxes 770½ millions, and 388½ millions debt. The bare official returns from the "Commons' Journals," show that on the 5th January, 1820, the nation owed 843,388,804*l.*; and that while in 1761, the excess of expenditure over income had been as 19,213,680*l.* against 8,800,000*l.*, it had in 1801 been as 46,886,303*l.* against 28,085,829*l.*, in 1811, as 88,616,136*l.* against 64,427,371, and in 1819 was as 64,506,449*l.* against 48,162,232. The proportion of expenditure paid from income, instead of from loan, certainly had increased, and to that extent was a sign of increased health; but the taxation was enormous, and as will be shown hereafter, pressed on every act of life. The figures prove that from year to year the burthens were growing heavier, while the Government were paying money, in some cases reasonably, in some unreasonably, to every Power in Europe. In loans and subsidies during the French War, the nation sent to continental nations, to further their own interests, the vast sum of 68,000,000*l.*; to Prussia more than seven millions, to Austria nearly eleven, to Portugal nearly twelve, to Russia nine and a half millions. Six of the seven millions paid to Prussia were in 1813-16; the entire sum paid to Russia was granted in 1812-16; the loans and subsidies to Austria covered the whole period of the war from 1794. These figures are from the official returns. Money, it has been said, was a small consideration to a nation fighting for existence; but this is an error. At the utmost, money could only be deemed a

secondary consideration even in so extreme a case. It was a huge drawback to a nation trying to be honest, and to rise to true nationality. In round figures the debt may, as Mr. Disraeli thinks, be a "flea-bite," and may, as Lord Macaulay held, represent an unimportant amount as compared with the ever-increasing resources of the nation; but relatively to over-taxed millions, who lived from day to day dependent on that day's labour for food, it represented great privation and suffering. In fifty years the cost of the poor had risen from 965,000*l.* (the amount in 1760), to 6,147,000 (the average in 1813-15), and rose more than a million higher in 1819-20. In M'Culloch's *Commercial Dictionary*, the estimate taken from official returns of the debt alone, is stated in these figures:—

	Principal Funded and Unfunded.
Debt at the Revolution, in 1689	£664,263
Excess of debt contracted during the reign of William III. above debt paid off	15,730,439
Debt at the accession of Queen Anne, in 1702	16,394,702
Debt contracted during Queen Anne's reign	37,750,661
Debt at the accession of George I., in 1714	54,145,363
Debt paid off during the reign of George I. above debt contracted	2,053,125
Debt at the accession of George II., in 1727	52,092,238
Debt contracted from the accession of George II. till the Peace of Paris in 1763, three years after the accession of George III.	86,773,192
Debt in 1763	138,865,430
Paid during Peace, from 1763 to 1775	10,281,795
Debt at the commencement of the American War, in 1775	128,583,635
Debt contracted during the American War	121,267,993
Debt at the conclusion of the American War, in 1784	249,851,628
Paid during Peace, from 1784 to 1793	10,501,380
Debt at the commencement of the French War, in 1793	239,350,148
Debt contracted during the French War	601,500,343
Total funded and Unfunded Debt on the 1st of February, 1817, when the English and Irish Exchequers were consolidated	840,850,491

To deal with these figures with a view to considering what value the nation had received for the enormous expenditure is beyond the object of this work. The inquiry would necessarily

take a wide scope, and could not be settled, as many people have delighted to settle it, by pronouncing all war an aristocratic amusement, in which only a few orders of men have any interest. This position would be a mere platitude, involving a large and dangerous fallacy, as well as an undoubted partial truth. Many questions demand examination when we consider, for instance, the war with France, and the issues as between Pitt and Fox. There can be no difference of opinion, however, as to the fact that a vast increase had been made to the national burthens, and there can be quite as little doubt that the nation was ill-prepared to bear that increase. Let us consider fairly what right the King and his ministers had to expect the national contentment and loyalty which they strove to exact. Take the question of the bad laws made at the Restoration. When we ask how many of them had been repealed, what do we find? Why, scarcely one. All the enormities of the divine right days, partly pictured in Chapter II., still remained on the statute book. Not much encouragement there for order, contentment, or loyalty. Men—excellent and devoted citizens—had lived and died under those laws, virtually outside the pale of social life. Their children had succeeded to the same heritage of a galling brand of inferiority to their fellows; a brand that they could have removed in a moment by even the semblance of conformity, but which to the honour and well-being of England, and to their own honour in particular, they refused to remove on such terms. During all that fierce war-time the King and his chosen ministers had not taken one step to win the confidence of some of the most loyal and intelligent men in the country. Can we call that high statesmanship? Among the poor, also, entirely new forces existed. Machinery had risen like a very demon of destruction, and whole trades, and whole bodies of workmen, had been swept away. Prices had risen without any commensurate rise in the rate of wages. In the midst of all this a Parliament in which landowners vastly preponderated had made and maintained laws which had put an artificial price on bread. This was while people were perishing for want of food. On the return of peace the distress was

intensified by men of a number of handicrafts being thrown out of employment. The nation had now in abundance ships, guns, ammunition, war-carriage, and a host of other articles which a short time before were greatly in demand. From these and like causes the first few years of the peace were far more distressing than the last few years of the war. In fact, from the time that Wellington began his series of victories, the news from the Continent had been rather cheerful than otherwise to people who had no friends there, and when Wellington proved himself an overmatch in war for Napoleon's famous marshals, Englishmen began to think the bulletins rather pleasant reading. When Napoleon was safely imprisoned at St. Helena, the uneducated masses of the people were not all unprepared to believe, as many designing educated men were ready to teach, that the evils and distresses of the period had sprung from the peace, and that war after all really was a desirable state of affairs. Mr. Pitt's excuse for severe and stringent laws had been the dangers of the war. The excuses of Lord Liverpool, Lord Castlereagh, Lord Sidmouth, and Mr. Canning, for like laws, were the dangers and difficulties entailed by peace. For this history never will find an excuse. In time it became almost an article of political faith to a large number of misinformed workmen that the high prices of food and the low remuneration of labour had resulted from the termination of the "chances of war," and might fairly be ascribed to Waterloo and to Whig and ultra-Whig peacemongers. When merchant fleets were no longer liable to capture, the wages not merely of shipbuilders but of all persons employed in the production of the lost cargoes were supposed to fall by a natural law altogether inimical to the interests of workmen. No arguments on the score of political economy were of much weight in such a case.

Of public morals the clearest of certainties was that they had not in the main improved since 1789; a fact all the more apparent, and all the more distressing, because the morals of important classes of the people undoubtedly had improved with the advance of education, and so had made the gulf between those classes and the greater body of the nation all the wider

and all the more impassable. At the head of the state there was an example unutterably bad. The condition of agricultural labourers was in many cases very little higher than that of the brute creation. Herded together, male and female, even as to sleeping rooms, there was everything to lead to immorality, and little that could be held to conduce to decency and order. In the coal mines the state of affairs was even worse. Men, women, and children were sent down in company in the same baskets or tubs, with results which were at a later period heard of with horror. Good people could scarcely be brought to believe that such things existed in a nation which prided itself on its religion; a nation more than ordinarily anxious to convert the other nations of men, and bring Jew, Turk, Infidel, and Heretic into one fold; a nation which had done so much, by means of its law officers, often the reverse of over-moral men, to check blasphemy and profanity in the Press, and to secure uniformity of public worship, and, if possible, of the national creed. The naval and mercantile ports were alike infested with crimps and persons who lived by the demoralization and impoverishment of sailors returning from long voyages or from the dangers of war. In the manufacturing towns children were born to parents who themselves were mere children. The prisons were crowded, and in spite of the humane efforts of John Howard and men like him, were often places of infamy. The memory of the hated pressgangs and ballotings for the militia was deeply engraven in the minds of sailors and workmen, and in spite of the supposed interest of war was as gall and wormwood, then and down to a much later period. Beggars' assemblies, penny hops, thieves' schools, still common enough to be noticeable features in the life of our great towns, were then the signs and marks of a sort of society into which it was dangerous to venture in daylight, and fatal to enter after dark. Bull-baiting and cock-fighting were gentlemanly sports, countenanced by persons who boasted of royal and noble blood. The law was enforced with a rigour almost exceeding that of any earlier time against political crimes, in some cases new. Life was insecure, and property never out of danger in the possession of

persons travelling on the king's highway. Blasphemous language had become a fashion in the king's court, in the law courts, in the society that called itself upper, at the very time that the law was being put in rigorous force against the chance sale, or even the loan of, a copy of the *Age of Reason* or the *Rights of Man*. With the Prince Regent every few words in ordinary conversation were followed by a profane oath; and when the prince set an example there were sure to be numbers of people to follow—people who to the end of his inane life deemed George the first gentleman in Europe.

Meanwhile the Press had become a great power in the state, and the inconsistencies and errors of the Government, and in particular of the Church, were pointed out without mercy. The term "priestcraft" carried with it almost more opprobrium than any other term representing dominant power. The Church Catechism was alleged to have been constructed for the purpose of teaching the children of poor parents to reverence and obey—to order themselves lowly and reverently to all in authority, to all persons of high position, the squire, the magistrate, the clergyman, to all who were termed "betters." The poor boy, it was pointed out, was taught to bow; not to persons rich and poor as French boys are, or like the English boy of a higher position, to equals as well as superiors, but merely to superiors. The "duty towards my neighbour" of the Church was compared with the sentiments of equality promulgated in France in 1789, and in America years earlier; and all comparisons were to the disadvantage of the Church. To sentiments such as these—foolish sentiments very often—the Government and "society" had, as a rule, but one reply. That one rested on the law and the prison, embittering all the relations of life. Sermons on the Deluge and the sin of Achan were met by songs about the "black bench with its big wigs," &c., and by the application to clerical magistrates of such texts as "God shall smite thee, thou whited wall." Perhaps the one most powerful and effective weapon of the Established Church, in opposition to principles and teachings which it must be granted were far from conducive to order and morality, was in the practice

of Sunday by Sunday reading in the Lessons, and the Epistles and Gospels, words which always had a healthy and benignant influence, even on those who could not read for themselves; and perhaps the effect was much more real than was at the time supposed, even by those who perceived the general fact. Certain it is that the men who talked most loudly against priestcraft were not in anything like a large proportion of cases followers of Paine. When Robert Owen declared himself against all the religions of the world, the first notable effect of his declaration was to wean away from him a large number of those who had been attracted to his schemes of social reform. The same fact was observable at a later period when the Chartists were in their hey-day of political defiance. Some influence assuredly had prevailed to check tendencies towards the destruction of the Christian religion as a social power, and to prevent forgetfulness of it as the faith which, after all had been said of human errors with respect to it, was at the foundation of all that was best in the individual life. Nay, the feeling went even farther than that, if statesmen had had intelligence enough to perceive a fact that was at their very doors. It was no uncommon thing for a Dissenter who had spent the greater part of a life in antagonism to the Established Church, to request at last that his body should be laid under the shadow of the sacred building, and that the solemn words, "I am the Resurrection and the Life" should be pronounced over the tenantless clay. It is only on some such grounds that it is possible to understand how the Established Church survived, and still survives, the opposition of which, during the years succeeding the French war, it was by far the most conspicuous object.

Another peculiarity of English character, very markedly exhibited at this time, was its objection to certain new views of property which came into prominence in connection with the names of Robert Owen and an old schoolmaster named Spence, many years dead, but whose name had been revived, and used to designate certain clubs—termed the Spencean Clubs—which sprang into existence about the conclusion of the war. There was no subject on which the men who called themselves political

reformers were more in earnest than their non-identification with a division of property, after the plan of Mr. Spence, or with a social cure for political evils after the plans of Mr. Owen. Many social and political principles, called by the name of "Reform," were in direct antagonism to each other, and perhaps in a degree more intense than their common antagonism to the Government, which certainly represented some ages of virtual as well as nominal despotism. But between the social and the political reformers there was the widest gulf of all. These questions demand consideration if we would account for the public feeling existing in 1815-17 on many subjects which in these days appear to present no difficulty whatever. We shall see these facts more markedly a little later.

It may not be out of place also once more to observe that whatever the popular feeling was with respect to the Established Church, it was by no means more favourable towards Dissent. There was a belief, very erroneous no doubt, but very strong, that a Methodist had a means all his own of conveying a falsehood without telling a direct lie in so many words. The Methodist was presumed to be guilty, not merely of canting, but of using the false weights that are an abomination to the Lord. To Cobbett, as we have seen, the Quaker was an English Jew—the Quaker to whom we owe so many consistent efforts for reform; and the feeling in both cases was far from uncommon. The necessity, moreover, of professing a "change" with the Methodist or other Dissenter, and talking of it in class meetings or church meetings, never very forcibly commended itself to the mass of workmen in England. There remained an old feeling in favour of Sunday botanising in green fields, or on the wild mountain or moorland, where the song of the bird had no reproach, but something that sounded like a welcome to men who had been confined for six days, and during long hours in each, in the factory, then "sickly" in a sense for which happily we have now no parallel. No view of these subjects and times has been more misinterpreted and perhaps misunderstood than that of Mr. Carlyle. It is not always easy to know exactly to whom he applies the

term "windbag"; but it is very easy to see that he does not apply it to the many thousands of workmen in all the large towns who at this time and long after were utterly bewildered among the variety of views propounded for the improvement of their social condition. We know very well what Mr. Carlyle thinks of Bentham and utilitarian philosophy, and of some other men and other philosophies. With respect also to his view of the dumb millions who waited and watched to know what lawyers and statesmen and eloquent divines meant, we are left in no doubt. They were no cowards, Mr. Carlyle says, though they ran from the military when the military represented even the errors of the law. One other point beyond all this is equally clear and certain; namely, that workmen had been learning for several generations to distrust at once the wisdom and the patriotism of the educated classes. We have seen somewhat of the outrageous character of the penal laws against freedom of religion. Let us consider for a short time the nature and effect of certain other laws which cost a hard and bitter struggle before they were repealed, and in particular the laws which governed the importation and exportation of corn.

It was a sore and grievous subject to men at this time that, with bread riots all the country through, the free importation of corn should have been forbidden and that by a landowning Parliament. No skill of tongue or pen could hide the fact that legislation with respect to corn had not been in the main patriotic legislation; had not been in the main in the interest of the people who most needed legislation as to food. During the seven years ending 1679 the price of grain had risen no less than 30 per cent., and stood at the end of the seven years at 46*s.* a quarter, although there had been a considerable increase in the area of arable land. It was notable that when this advance in prices took place, entailing a vast amount of distress on the poor, there was no disposition on the part of Parliament to open the ports, whereas at the end of the next ten years (1689), when the price of grain had fallen very considerably owing to the increase of tillage, not merely were the export duties removed, but premiums were paid for

the exportation of corn. From 1697 to 1773 the excess of imports, according to Mr. Platt, quoting the Commons' Returns, amounted to 30,968,366 quarters, and the bounties paid were not less than 6,237,176*l.* In the fifty years ending 1765, Mr. Platt goes on to say, there had only been five deficient harvests, and the price of grain during the entire half-century had only averaged 34*s.* 11*d.*, and during the ten years ending 1751 was as low as 29*s.* 2½*d.* per quarter. In 1766, and again in 1770 importation was suspended, but in 1772 it was again allowed, and the City of London offered bounties for imported grain; a most patriotic offer. In 1774 the price had risen from 29*s.* 2½*d.*, at which we have seen it in 1751, to 51*s.*, at which it had stood for the ten years ending 1774. Now at length there was an excess of imports over exports, but not without a vigorous complaint on behalf of the landowners, of a "shifting policy" which allowed foreign grain to so seriously injure the legitimate interests of those who had expended money on the tillage of the land. Why, they asked, should the bounties on exportation be suspended simply because the price of grain had risen? They never made the opposite inquiry when the price of grain fell. Manufacturing people who at all understood these questions must have had their patience greatly tried, when they found a demand for bounties on exportation, together with an actual rise in ten years of 75 per cent. in the price of grain.

The high prices had led to no fewer than 585 new Inclosure Acts from 1760 to 1772, as compared with 226 such acts in the reign of George II., and 16 in that of George I. The wages of skilled workmen would only purchase, in 1801, half the amount of food that a slightly lower wage would have purchased in 1795. The condition of the unskilled workmen was deplorable. An Act in 1791 provided that, when wheat was under 50*s.* per quarter, the import duty should be 24*s.* 3*d.*; when it was 50*s.* and under 54*s.* only 2*s.* 6*d.* per quarter; and when it was 54*s.* and over only 6*d.* per quarter. So that while wheat was under 50*s.* the duty amounted to an absolute prohibition of importation. That this was monstrously unjust legislation was very easily seen. In 1801 the price had risen to 155*s.* the

quarter, but had fallen by June of the same year, with the prospect of a good harvest, to 129*s.* 8*d.*, and at the year's end to 75*s.* 6*d.* Then there was a demand to stop the importation. Wheat had risen from 45*s.* in the ten years ending 1779, and very slightly more for the ten years ending 1789, to 155*s.* in 1801. Wages in the case of compositors had risen from 24*s.* to 27*s.* in 1795, and to 30*s.* in 1801, while in the case of out-door artisans—masons and others—the advance had been very inconsiderable, and the fate of the unskilled labourer had, as usual, been worst of all. It was not difficult, therefore, to see the unreasonableness of the outcry for an amendment of the law of 1773. In the course of years, from 1801 to 1815 fresh attempts had been made from time to time to patch up and amend the corn laws. In the latter year the question began to take a new form. A Committee of the Lords examined agricultural witnesses as to what they deemed a reasonably remunerative price, and the price stated ranged at from 72*s.* to 96*s.*, at which prohibition of importation ought to take effect. A Bill, based on the evidence, was introduced to both Houses. The Lords thought 80*s.* a fair price; the Commons had a proposal for 72*s.*, but it was defeated, as also was an attempt to throw out the Bill. The minority in the first instance for something like reason was 35 against 154, and in the second was 55 against 218. The defeated members then tried 74*s.*, but were again defeated; and so with other amendments. The people were excited to fury. The Houses of Parliament were besieged; the military were called out to defend the representatives of the people from those whom they represented. The final reading of the Bill was carried in the Lords by 128 against 21; but against also, however, a stern and solemn protest from a portion of the minority. No grain could now be imported from foreign countries if the price in England was under 80*s.*, or from the colonies if it was under 67*s*; and the case was made worse by the mode of taking the averages. The rule adopted was that if, for the six previous months, the price had stood at 80*s.*, prohibition should not take effect, unless, during the subsequent six weeks, the rate fell below 80*s.*, in which case the rule as to the

standard was to be set aside, and importation prevented. So that the landed interest gained even beyond the round figures of the baneful and iniquitous class-act. Every fact then known, or since discovered, condemns the corn legislation of especially the year at which we have now arrived. The "agricultural interest," as the landed proprietors were called, had at one time an estimate made showing the varying cost of cultivating 100 acres of arable land at different periods, but unfortunately for the object in view the figures merely show how the land had become ever dearer to the farmer, and ever more valuable to the proprietor and to the clergy. The statement—a real curiosity in its way—shows, under the head of three different years:—

	1790.				1803.				1813.		
	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Rent...	88	6	3½	...	121	2	7½	...	161	12	7¾
Tithe...	20	14	1¾	...	26	8	0¼	...	38	17	3½

The farmer, and especially the labourer, were evidently drifting from bad to worse with every year. The owner of land and tithe had, like Jeshurun, grown fat and kicked. Commerce certainly was also advancing; the total value of cargoes, which had been a little short of 31½ millions in 1803, was close upon 61 millions in 1815; an excellent position for merchants and shipowners, but of little direct significance to the agricultural labourer. The harvests of 1816, 1817, and 1818—the worst known for a century—came to the aid of common sense, and as if to picture, by the light of irresistible facts, a course of legislation which seemed little less than insane. Every vigorous pen on the popular side assailed the Corn Laws; defence in argument they had none. When, therefore, people wonder at the state of popular feeling from 1815 to 1835, and then again till the Corn Laws were repealed, it may be well to express the counter wonder that that feeling was no worse, and that indeed the whole fabric of the constitution was not swept away. Men of high position talking of sedition, and putting on grievous and iniquitous bread taxes, and a "society" at the head of which stood the greatest blasphemer in England—the estimable George —prosecuting worthy and sincere men for written blasphemy,

are facts to be remembered in our generations for ever. There are no seditious meetings or secret societies now. Such societies could not now live among us for a year in the light of the full publicity that rests on all that men do in a corporate capacity. Let us also remember, as a key to much that may seem dark, that in 1815, in the midst of untold distress, the Corn Laws were simply made more stringent.

These and many like subjects were referred back by the political reformers to Parliamentary Reform. The slave trade had been abolished, and the religious tests challenged, immediately that men like Charles James Fox, Earl Grey, Lord Holland and Mr. Erskine were in office. The Catholic claims, for which the Whigs had left office, were disputed, satirised, and set at nought, by the men now in power. All efforts and measures, it was said by the advocates of reform, ought to resolve themselves into a complete and radical transformation of the House of Commons; and the new party in the State—the party of Sir Francis Burdett and Lord Cochrane—added, the abolition of the House of Lords. The feeling on this latter point was intense. The cry came forth from every popular political meeting, "First of all let the bishops be swept away, as the worst opponents of just and righteous laws that England ever knew." The Catholics had the good fortune to see their claims made a national question in Ireland. There had been much to dishearten and repel. Other outbreaks had followed those of Wolfe Tone, Napper Tandy, and Oliver Bond. The services of spies were again brought into requisition, or into note—for they never ceased in fact, save for the short time the Whigs were in power. Robert Emmett among others had had the honour of dying for his country, and leaving her a name long to be remembered and honoured. The promises made by Pitt and by Castlereagh had been broken by them. Much was dark; but the Catholic claims were not suffered even for a moment to be again forced to the background and from public notice. Catholics and Dissenters were simply grappling here—not without some bigotries and injustice of their own accompanying it—with the legislation of the Restoration. The struggle, thrown

back again and again for a hundred and fifty years, was now to hold its own to the end; till many a bulwark and many a strong position of despotic legislation was carried and destroyed. It is good to remember and reiterate these facts, as the best way of building up a nationality in which the general, and not any mere partial and special good, will be paramount.

The so-called Social Reformers—men of Robert Owen's views, men too from whom co-operative labour, and much else of good has come—drove the Political Reformers, at times, nearly wild with rage, by asserting that:—

> "Small of all that human hearts endure,
> The part that Kings and Laws can cause or cure."

Why, it was replied, kings and laws at this moment are causing incalculable misery. Our prisons are filled to overflowing with honest men who simply see more clearly, and act less selfishly, than those charlatans in power. Combinations of workmen to raise the price of labour are forbidden. Combinations of land-owners to keep up the price of corn have from time immemorial been expressly sanctioned by law, and encouraged by bounties from the national purse—from the pockets of men whom these very laws have deprived of food. The "Social" and "Political" men were both right. Robert Owen was the originator of Infant Schools. He assisted to implant habits of self-reliance in people who never before had known what self-reliance was. He showed men how by union of interests and integrity of conduct the well-being of their own families and that of the nation could at the same time be secured. Mr. Owen was deemed less dangerous than the political men. He came in time to have a public meeting presided over by a royal Duke, the father of our Queen; but the societies which bore the name of Mr. Spence, who certainly never could have anticipated so great a renown, were deemed infinitely worse than Cobbett himself, and were put in the same category with Paine. All injustice however comes back to its fountain-head. A statesman of great note, both as a writer and a politician—a man of brilliant wit, and uncommon success in life—told the story of a knife-grinder

who met a pitying philanthropist with the joyful assertion, "Lord bless you, sir, I have nothing to complain of." Another man of great prominence had long before told of a sailor who, bereft of a leg, and otherwise disabled, could still huzza for "Liberty, Property, and Old England;" but the utter uselessness of such writing against one broad fact was now clearly shown. Mr. Holyoake, in his history of co-operation says of a later period :—

"What they (the statutes) had come to in 1822, Francis Place has recorded. In that year a poor farrier had travelled from Alnwick, in Northumberland, to London in search of work. On the same day a shopman to a grocer arrived penniless from Shropshire." They met, and ventured to sleep in Smithfield market, where "they were seized by the police, and taken before a magistrate of the city. Both begged to be discharged, and promised to make their way home the best way they could; but to this the magistrate would not accede. He said 'he was of opinion that the prisoners were not justified in coming to town without any prospect before them, for they must have known that, in the present state of trade, no one would take them in, nor would any one be justified in taking in a perfect stranger; but whether their conduct arose solely from ignorance or not he considered was immaterial; the magistrates could not know the minds of the prisoners, and could make no distinction.' The lord mayor agreed with the alderman who had delivered this decision, and who consulted him in the case. 'The city magistrates,' the mayor said, 'wish it to be known in the country at large, that in future they should feel themselves bound to send all to hard labour for the term enacted' (which was not less than one, and as much as three months), 'whether they were actuated by a vicious spirit of vagabondage, or with whatever professed object or speculation they came to town.'"

This was in 1822, when some progress had been made with respect to popular power. There has been a general misconception and misinterpretation with respect to the opposition of workmen to machinery. It is well to remember that the men who, without advantages of education, destroyed machinery, were famishing, and their families with them, for want of bread, of which the machinery for the time deprived them; whereas the men who sent out, as spies, persons who really incited to sedition and treason against which they afterwards gave fatal evidence, were men of education and beyond the reach of pecuniary privation, or the want of any luxury of

life. It would be very unjust to subject to the same stern criticism both bodies of men. It is only fair to ascribe to the privations of the sorely-tried workmen those incendiary acts on which a class of writers have laid so fierce a ban. At the door of the vestrymen and parish overseers who at that time held office as cabinet ministers, men against whom the ancient virtue of classical nations would have revolted in scorn, men who talked of the constable's baton when they should have thought of wise and healing laws, much of the blame must lie. No sensible man now argues against machinery. There is no longer a ban against the spinning jenny or the mule. The carpenter mortises and tenons and moulds by machinery; the engineer, and other workers in iron, plane and drill by machinery. Our heavy and light guns, our arms of precision, our bayonets and swords, are alike the work of, in many cases, altogether self-acting machines. Life is the happier too, and the condition of poor people the better, for the change. It was very different when those droves of people went out into the country with their doleful half-Methodist wail, mocked by petty humorists on the stage and elsewhere, "We have come from Manchester, and we've got no work to do." Very different indeed; but there are people living who can remember those dark days. The invention of machinery altered, healthily, the whole conditions of labour, of trade guilds, of privileges of apprenticeship, and of those rights of citizenship which entailed countless evils on workmen who were not citizens. Moreover, it brought men to live in great towns; those great towns which assisted so materially to break the tenure of feudal customs and laws.

There had been one proposal which intelligent workmen abhorred more than any other; and they remembered that the proposer was a clergyman, who gave his name to an economical creed. The principles of Malthus were added at this time to the seething mass which bore the elements of the fate of England. Dr. Malthus published his book on Population in 1798, at the time when Europe was finding its way into so many new means of lessening population. Godwin, Condorcet, and

others, had told the world of day-dreams, in which a glowing future appeared for men. Malthus proclaimed, "Unless you restrict population you have a future of ruin." God, it was remembered, had said—"Increase and multiply." Malthus—a clergyman, it never was forgotten, though it was forgotten, if it ever was known, that he was an amiable and well-meaning man—taught a new doctrine in direct opposition to that which had come with a "Thus saith the Lord." Who, reading the command of the Most High, in the spring time of human history, and then reading Malthus on Population, could believe that Malthus believed in God? Yet it was known that persons of high position had welcomed the doctrine as the new Evangel of Christendom. Was it wonderful that the Rev. Thomas Robert Malthus should have had his name so lengthened, and given in full, as that of a kidnapper, worse than Burke and Hare; that at the mention of the hated name poor women drew their children closer to them, as Rachel might have drawn hers when the destroyers came? Had Buonaparte been conquered merely that poor people might be the more certainly and surely brought face to face with Malthus, with fierce prosecutions, with machinery that seemed to portend ruin, with a huge debt and huge taxes, with Government spies and informers, with persons who preached content to men and women perishing for want of food? Nor had the essay of Malthus been a mere trifle of the pen, thrown off and perhaps regretted. It was a philosophy. Its literary success had been such that its author had gone away to foreign countries to perfect his theory by knowledge; and when this had been done, the first essay had grown into an imposing book. Society bowed to Dr. Malthus as to a great discoverer. The East India Company appointed him to the Chair of History and Political Economy at its great college. All this poor men knew, and abhorred.

There were however other and healthier agencies abroad. There was one Society which, amid the vicissitudes of parties, stood alone among religious societies as representing and uniting all Protestant religious bodies; a society that never seems to

have been obnoxious to those to whom most other religious organizations were objectionable. The action both of the Church and of Dissent might be questioned and disputed. There was nothing to urge against the British and Foreign Bible Society, which, in one year, from March 1817, to the same date in the following year, distributed close upon a hundred thousand copies of the Bible, and more than a hundred thousand copies of the New Testament. It is difficult to say where that mighty influence ended so far as social order and the preservation of the nation were concerned. Men learned here, without dogma intervening, that the equality of Paine and Camille Desmoulins had been promulgated long before their time, and without the aid or use of any histrionic appeals to human passion, by One who went far beyond mere equality before the law, to equality before God, and whose doctrines went deeper than rectification of public affairs, to rectification of the inner man. It was a time of reading, a time of craving inquiry, a time of dispute. There was no noise or display in the scattering abroad of these copies of the Gospel of the Great Teacher who came to heal the broken-hearted, as well as to break the chains of the captives. All was quiet and calm as the flowing of a brook, or the shadow of a great rock in a weary land. Let us not doubt that the influence of this society was as a healing balm at this time, when foolish writers of tracts were doing their part to make religion itself nauseous. That there were other good influences operating for the same end is not disputed. This one, however, it is suggested, stands alone.

Let us recall in another sense what the facts and influences of this time portended. Politics and affairs of State were no longer left to men from the universities. Literature and satire were no longer the sole possession of persons who could "ask for a candle in three languages." The religious teachings of scholars were questioned, and their arguments beaten from many a place of dispute by illiterate men. Such were the true circumstances of the time. Mr. Kingsley, anxious to point out to clergymen and others the amiability that might be found, in cottage life, together with crude dreams of politics, pictured in Alton Locke

a character which perhaps more than any other has tended to misrepresent the true working man; the serious, kind, unsentimental man who began at the end of the Great War to determine that, come what might, and that whatever price the struggle might cost, he would do something, as one of his fiercest songs said, "to make the world better yet;" the "world" of that well-loved England in which his little children were growing up without knowledge or a hope in life. Alton Locke is a simple absurdity, even as a caricature of such a man. It was not intended as a caricature, but as a picture, and as that is a burlesque. Burns singing—"Nae gentle dames, or ladies fair, shall ever be my Muse's care," represented a deep feeling of cottage men. Alton Locke, dreaming of one silly lady, and watched for his good by another with a whole generation of assumption in her character, was no picture of the true brave working man who refused to bow to the squire. There were some of the keenest observers in England among workmen, watching and laughing at Southey's abortive attempts, when once he had become laureate, to buy up his republican poem *Wat Tyler*, as there were like men long afterwards, not exactly to laugh at, but to indignantly condemn, Wordsworth's querulous complaint that his solitude among the lakes was being broken into by railways, and by the untaught excursionists from large towns, laughing, romping, and may be dancing, after the manner of people "out for the day." One might have imagined that Wordsworth, above all other men, would have rejoiced to see the workshops of Manchester give up, even though but for an hour, their pale faces to the heather and broom of the mountain sides. "Let them come when they can appreciate the beauties of lake and moorland," some people say. No; let them come to learn to appreciate; that is, let them come to a school where Nature is the teacher. The parallel that Macaulay applied to freedom when he suggested, on the principle of some arguers for delay, that a man should not go into water till he could swim, applies with equal force here. A mountain solitude may be enjoyed with half the education that is needed to enjoy an Italian opera; and in

the former case Lancashire and Yorkshire have a preparatory school on their own moors and wolds, and in their own country lanes.

Nor can we overlook the electioneering falseness of the time. An election of a member of Parliament was a public iniquity, as elections in many cases remain. Bribery and corruption were huge facts, which clergymen and educated men of various kinds countenanced and supported. There had never, it may be repeated, since Cromwell's time, been wanting in English society a strong free fibre—a fibre thickened and strengthened by every such election, little as this was supposed by the men who took part in the wild revels of the hustings, and the canvass, and the "open houses." Tithes and church-rates were tormenting every village and every town. If workmen in any imposing strength, in any large number of districts, had been Dissenters, there would have been certain and repeated outbreaks. The Dissenting minister, however, was in many cases noted for as great assumption as the clergyman. Indeed the latter was often truly humble in spirit, and ready for compromise. Hence church-rates and tithes never became, save in isolated cases, a gage of battle as between the Church and workmen, though they never ceased to be so as between the Church and Dissent. The moment the dispute became one as between the Church and Nonconformity the mass of workmen fell away, often perhaps without rightly knowing why. The question to them was English, not sectarian; and so it remains. Dissenters have very rarely seen this, and removed the whole questions in dispute to the higher ground of nationality. Then royalty itself was a source of weakness. When Henry V. returned from his victorious wars, Lord Brougham says, "he encouraged his subjects to state to him their grievances, and he took measures for preventing the oppressions and abuses that had crept into the administration of justice during his absence." The people had seen nothing of this in any of the Hanoverian kings up to this time. Elizabeth had possessed the quality in a high degree. William III. did not possess it, but simply because he knew nothing intimately of the

nation—he was a true king, but not an English king. Anne, who undoubtedly wished to do right, did not know right from wrong in any beyond very ordinary affairs. We owe much negatively to the Georges. They forbore to do this and that. That is, they had little of that truest feature of old kingliness which removed the causes of discontent. They never understood the sentiment of Burke's remark, "I see no other way for the preservation of a decent attention to public interest in the representatives but the interposition of the body of the people itself, whenever it shall appear by some flagrant and notorious act,—by some capital innovation,—that these representatives are going to overleap the fences of the law, and to introduce an arbitrary power. This interposition is a most unpleasant remedy. But if it be a legal remedy, it is intended on some occasions to be used; to be used then only when it is evident that nothing else can hold the constitution to its true principles. It is not in Parliament alone that the remedy for parliamentary disorder can be completed; hardly indeed can it begin there."

It will be observed, also, that Toryism was hardly ever an effect, but nearly always a cause of popular discontent. There had, however, been such sickening tergiversation in the transactions of the Whigs and Tories that the mind rests with relief on Lord Grey's refusal to join the Perceval Government, or even to consider Mr. Perceval's proposals. Between Lord Grey and Mr. Perceval there were fundamental differences, and the conduct of the former, when viewed by the light of prior, and contemporary, and subsequent political dishonesty stands out brightly. It was now that the Whigs were beginning to attach some meaning to their professed principles. If we cast back the mind to Walpole, with and against Harley, to the jumble, meaning nothing, of Carteret, the Pelhams, the Temples, nay, to Chatham himself, and to the later times of George II.'s reign, we shall find scarcely a resting-place for an identification of Whig principles. The prospect brightens when we come to the great speeches of Fox, to the consistent action of Earl Grey, to the course taken in Ireland by Earl Fitzwilliam, and to the

long modest and tentative, but unwavering, course of Earl Russell. Whiggery, however, had dallied too long with the Delilah of despotism, and when it came as of right to claim its place and power in 1815, it found the ground occupied by the party of Lord Liverpool, which held fast to office and kept its position till Lord Liverpool's death in 1827, and by the third party of Cochrane and Burdett, which, although yet nameless—it was not "Radical" till a little later—gradually put itself forward for the exposition of the popular needs. Earl Grey, contending for parliamentary reform against Pitt and Burke and Jenkinson (Lord Liverpool), brings the Whigs into the light of history as Whigs. To comprehend what they really accomplished we must remember what they did, by means of the Press and by the formation of political clubs, to spread constitutional information and to protect people threatened with prosecution for political action or the expression of opinion. Here, again and again, important public service was done by men like Lord Grey and Lord Holland, when, to all appearance, no one else could have done that service.

On the 1st of February, 1816, Parliament met after a year of brilliant festivities and negotiations, and the Government were able to present Lord Castlereagh to Parliament as a victor fresh from those scenes of glory, the famous meetings of foreign diplomatists who had drawn out and signed the ever-to-be-remembered treaty of 1815. Before the end of the year (December 2nd) the Spa Fields Riots, which decided the policy of the Government in favour of new repressive laws, took place. A meeting to petition for parliamentary reform had been held on these fields on November 15th, and had been presided over by Mr. Henry Hunt. The petition was voted in the usual form, and the meeting adjourned for a fortnight, after which certain leading reformers went to dine, and in one or two cases self-invited, with Mr. Hunt at his hotel in Bouverie Street. Among them there was a prominent member of the Spencean Club named Castles, who came from nobody knew whence, and advocated the most extreme measures—far in advance of the wildest "Spencean" aims as developed at the time. This man was known afterwards as a

paid spy and informer. He very narrowly escaped expulsion from the hotel for having, on this particular occasion, given an infamous toast directed against the highest personage in the land, and on being suffered to remain, he fell, it was said, into a "fox-sleep," and appeared to know nothing of what was transpiring. On the 2nd of December, Mr. Hunt, driving along Cheapside to attend the adjourned meeting, was met by Castles and told by him that the people had assembled sooner than the appointed hour, but had broken up in lawless disorder, and that a portion of them were now in possession of the Tower, while others were inducing a general uprising. This must have been dreadful news to Mr. Hunt, who was infinitely better qualified for making a noise than for commanding the Tower. He wisely decided to go on, to the Spa Fields, and on arriving there he found that there had indeed been riot, but not in the way pointed out by Castles. The people, addressed by Mr. Watson, a Spencean, were suddenly called upon by the orator's son to pay no more regard to petitions, but to follow him and take what they wanted. No more was needed to set a large number of excited but unarmed people at the young desperado's heels. A still considerable number, however, remained to meet Mr. Hunt in the manner agreed upon, and so escaped complicity with the rioters. The only bloodshed was in a gunsmith's shop on Snow Hill, where young Watson fired at and wounded one of the shopmen, and then, appalled at his audacity, offered himself as a medical man to attend to the person he had wounded. The rest of the mischief done consisted in the plunder of a few gunsmiths' shops in the Minories and elsewhere. Then, the police appearing, and the military having been sent for, the bubble burst. Every man made his way as speedily as possible to some place of hiding. Nothing more contemptible ever had been known in the history of riots; but ministers showed themselves very apt in making the most of the event for the purposes on which their minds were fixed for putting down obnoxious clubs, and with them political opposition. Several persons, including the elder Watson and John Cashman, a sailor, charged with joining in the plunder of the shop on Snow Hill, were apprehended.

The younger Watson escaped to America. It was lucky that a portion even of the people assembled had maintained the peaceful character of the meeting, and so in advance had checkmated legal proceedings, which were soon proved to be sufficiently vindictive. Of the Spenceans, Lord Albemarle afterwards said, that they had taken the name of an old madman who many years previously had promulgated the hateful doctrine that landowners are not proprietors, but stewards—an utter madman, the apostle of madmen, but virtuous compared with the shallow orators who declaimed about reform, since the Spenceans at least stated what they meant. This was the view of a very respectable horror-stricken lord. The real truth was that the Spenceans, like the members of the Hampden and other clubs, were not in the main anything at all like revolutionists. It was proved in after times that even those who did advocate revolutionary measures were in most cases incited by spies and other paid tools of the Government.

It is not easy to see in what respect, during all these troubles, the Whig *Edinburgh Review* was more favourable or just than the Tory *Quarterly* to the new Third Party in politics. The political articles in this year and the two following were as scathing and severe in the *Edinburgh Review* against all but moderate—that is Whig—reform, as anything found in the Review whose business it was to prove the Government right, and the men who were calling for reform not only wrong and misguided, but incendiary persons. A brief perusal of the Whig organ indeed is sufficient to show one why the Radicals denounced and abhorred the Whig Press. The *Quarterly*, of course, went all lengths. In its number dated October 16, it directed especial attention to and denounced the Common Council of London, which had questioned the acts of the Government, and encouraged the demands for parliamentary reform, and the free expression of political opinion. In 1814, the Review writer said, the Common Council of London had been a good council, proud of the glories of our arms. In 1816 it was on the side of the enemies of law and order; was in fact "Philip drunk," repeating the vile language of Burdett and Cochrane, and

even of that infamous Wilkes, and following "Orator Hunt" in his intense vulgarity and disloyalty. The position of the country Press was very curious. In many cases a single paper had been made for a long time to serve the interests of both the political parties in a district, till some struggle of unusual importance convinced one of the parties that it would not have fair play in the joint organ. Then the fight was generally terrific in scandal and abuse. This fact was brought home to Westmoreland, for instance, in the year of Mr. Brougham's first fight for the county representation. The Whigs and Radicals, a stout band, met and declared that they could not any longer submit to the political dictation of one family. The Tories then began to look for special representation in the Press, and found it; the common editor at first evincing great hesitation as to his proper course, but eventually becoming all Whig. Then the battle was waged with persistent attacks, lampoons, and all else that went to make up that electioneering armoury which Englishmen know only too well. The separation of the parties in the Press, however, was useful in many parts of the country, for it made the nominal Whig organ a little more than Whig, in order that it might be a little farther away from Toryism, and it gave to Toryism its true form and character. Journalism was to that extent the healthier for the change. We may well feel it a duty to deal gently and kindly with the men who were the "horror" of both the Whig and Tory newspapers. They were, though often most honourable men, stigmatised in terms which far exceeded anything that the one paper or the other applied to the vilest criminals. The exact pictures which Dickens drew of two rival papers—rival calumniators—and the pictures that many American journals still draw of themselves, may be safely and justly referred back to English Party, and chiefly to English elections. In other words, the two English political parties had rested on principles and a course of action purely immoral and meretricious; and a system of literature and calumny had taken its rise under the shelter of these parties, to be used or disowned as the purpose served. Of the nature of the squibs, the writer, some little time ago, had a curious example. An intelligent

auctioneer in the north of England, who reads as well as sells books, in making his catalogue preparatory to a sale at a fine old hall, the property for generations of a Whig family, found one room—a lumber-room merely—papered with squibs referring to the Pitt period, and chiefly to the enormous taxes. These, cut carefully from the walls, were sold for 70*l.* The land was inundated with such productions, the point of which was less in their venom than their truth.

As a slight evidence of the deeper depths of poverty, the poor-rates may be noted as having risen in fifty years (1750 to 1801) from, in round figures, 800,000*l.* to more than four and half millions; and in 1817 to close upon seven millions. The committals to prison in England and Wales in 1816 were 9,091, the largest number then ever recorded in one year. In 1817 they were 13,932—a fact that needs no explanation. To wages reference has been made elsewhere; and the general rule holds good the nearer we come to our own time. Education, however, had made immense progress during the twenty years now ending. The British School of Joseph Lancaster had given a new and invaluable educational system to Dissenters, and the National School Society, formed on the noble initiative of Dr. Bell, an equally great power to the Church. Both systems had been in full operation and healthy rivalry for twenty years, and their influence was felt mightily, even where it was not seen, and perhaps not suspected. Infant schools began about a couple of years later.

CHAPTER XII.

WILLIAM HONE, PUBLISHER AND "PARODIST."

The Life of Mr. Hone as illustrating certain Social and Political Influences of the French War—Autobiography of Mr. Hone the Elder; his "Conversion;" his Opinion of his Son's Trials and Parodies—Bath—Lady Huntingdon and her "Boys"—Mr. Hone the "Parodist"—The London Missionary Society, 1796—Baptist Missions—William Carey—The Catholic—The Moravian—The Propagation Society—Church Missionary Society—Scotch Societies; the "Scottish" and the Glasgow Societies—How these Societies were Viewed by the Poor.

THE three trials of William Hone, the publisher, and his subsequent numerous contributions to literature, seemed to point to his life as one of the best available as an illustration of the condition of at least one class of workmen, possessing traditions of the American Revolution, and carrying down those traditions, through all the Great War with France, to the time when an entirely new order of social affairs had begun. Mr. Hone himself edited and published his father's autobiography, which appears to have been carefully preserved and pruned with a view to public usefulness. It is a mere pamphlet, purporting to be "The Early Life and Conversion of William Hone, born at Homestead Farm, Ripley, Surrey; afterwards of Hammersmith, and latterly of Clerkenwell, where he died, aged 76." Taken in connection with a like narrative of "the life and conversion" of his son, this autobiography is a singularly instructive production, indicating, as the life of the younger Mr. Hone indicates, an almost overmastering sense of self-consciousness, a remarkably quick intelligence, and the influence of religious and other principles on the life of a man otherwise untaught as to the foundations of ideas. Mr. Hone the elder

enters minutely into the circumstances of his birth, and of sundry preservations, such perhaps as every human being could record if he cared to record them, but in which Mr. Hone, converted, saw a marvellous interposition of Providence in his behalf. He was born in 1755, the eldest of ten children, and at fifteen years of age was apprenticed to a law-stationer in London, and, according to his own account, learned everything that was immoral, besides defying the law-stationer to his teeth. At length he determined to run away, and was so successful in his plan of operations that he subsequently enforced his own freedom and that of his fellow apprentices. Then he fell among play-people, and was thinking of the stage, when he says "such a strange thing happened as completely struck me dead to at least the desire for either reading a play or seeing one acted." The strange thing was the appearance of a stage devil one night at the Haymarket Theatre. This led to the flight of the would-be actor from play-work for ever. Still, he says, he was not "chased from the devil." He gave himself up to all manner of profanity, lodging the while with a hatter in Chancery Lane, and resolving never to marry, but to have his full run in vice. At length he providentially strolled into St. Dunstan's Church, where he was "struck" by a text, and perturbation of mind followed. Striving to leave London, he was, at the very time of his need, engaged to go to Bath as clerk in a solicitor's office. On the eve of starting he was robbed by a comrade, and had to take the journey on common carts or on foot, selling his clothes to provide food, but hearing mysterious voices and seeing visions, one of which had directed him, before the journey, to a place where he found his late robber-comrade. The result was many reproaches on Mr. Hone's part, but no acquisition of money. He arrived in Bath on a Sunday in September 1778, and found lodging with a widow lady, whose daughter he married at Bristol in May the following year. On "the 3rd June, 1780," he says, "my wife brought forth our first-born, whom I named after myself, William. The word signifies a conqueror; this was verified by my being made a conqueror over Satan, the foe of

God and man, and being turned from darkness to light. Oh! that the like conquest may be verified in William, my son, who by an unexpected appearance of the hand of God towards him was favoured with great deliverances and triumph over Lord E——borough by verdicts of acquittal on his three-days' trials, &c. Herein was the significance of his Christian name, William, answered, and as Hone signifies a stone, may he be a lively stone built up in the spiritual house of God." It will be observed that the writer speaks of the "deliverances" without any remark whatever as to the nature of the productions for which his son had been tried. After his marriage Mr. Hone quitted the service of the solicitor for that of a carriage-builder and corn-factor. Believing also that he had a gift for preaching he applied personally to Lady Huntingdon, at that time in Bath, and she graciously handed him over "to two of her boys, as she called them." The "boys" were appalled at their visitor's expressions, asked him what books he had been reading, and finally forced upon him the conviction that whatever gospel they might have for others they had none for him "but mere darkness, barrenness, the contents of Mount Sinai which gender to bondage." He began, therefore, to preach on his own account, and with such "acceptation" to one poor woman that she would see no other spiritual adviser on her death-bed. "Satan," Mr. Hone says, "wrought powerfully to get the parish clergyman to visit her by the entreaties of her husband," but Satan was unsuccessful, and in the end, when all was over, the wicked husband sent the unordained teacher "a silk hatband and gloves for the funeral." Mr. Hone now found that he had a "call" to London, and in due time he turned his back on Bath, leaving his family for the time behind him. Arriving in London, he made his way to his brother, who was in a solicitor's office, and was soundly rated by him for having obeyed the call and left his work in Bath. This, Mr. Hone thought, one of the hardest things in all the world's history. In fact he had a rare gift for making mountains of troubles not larger than mole-hills. Very soon, however, he found a clerkship, and here the autobiography ends. The continuation is by William Hone

the younger, and chiefly consists of a detailed account of an attempt made by that gentleman to unravel the past history of his family, with sundry other accounts of his father's occupations as a manager of lime works, and overseer of parochial work in Clerkenwell, the latter of which posts he held while his strength enabled him to perform the duties it involved. He died, his son says, in 1813, leaving behind him "two hundred and thirty hymns fairly copied out," and having preached often, and done sundry like duty, in the country villages around London. The autobiography does not appear to picture a healthy school of thought in any sense of the term, but an exceeding morbid, though at the same time an honest, one, which could not fail to have an influence on the future life of the son, who was destined from one notable circumstance and some hard and meritorious literary work, to leave a name so much better known.

Mr. Hone the elder must have carried away with him from Bath not merely recollections of Lady Huntingdon's sect, whose services he long afterwards attended, in London, but of the pomps and vanities of the foremost of watering-places, and perhaps most beautiful of English towns. There were people living who remembered the great Beau Nash pining away in poverty, dying worth only a few invaluable trinkets—the gifts of princes and princesses, and lords and ladies of high renown; and then, having a funeral for which the Corporation of Bath voted fifty pounds, so that the king of Bath and of Beaus might be buried with royal splendour. Sable plumes there were, three clergymen and three aldermen to precede the coffin, and six senior aldermen to bear the pall, with solemn music and hymns, and housetops crowded with people—the great sight of the age to Bath, and perhaps to many a place around. A little earlier the poor Beau, trying hard to stave off the approaching signs of age, had been found out, by the appearance of his silk stockings, on the public parade, to have legs that were not what they seemed, and the news had gone through all the fashionable saloons that the man who had "made" Bath and ruled it with such marvellous genius—who

had done more for it indeed than its great Prince Bladud, whose name belongs to the misty ages—was failing to preserve that soundness of limb which had once been the glory of Bath. George III. had been a few months on the throne. Pitt and Bute were fighting for the mastery; events of world-wide importance had transpired and were transpiring, but no event could be to Bath what the funeral of Beau Nash was. Of Mr. Hone the younger it may be said that he was thirteen years of age when Louis XVI. was beheaded; seventeen at the time of the Mutiny at the Nore; nineteen in the year of the Irish rebellion; and twenty at the time of the union of Great Britain and Ireland. Men of sixty years of age when he was ten would remember the rejoicings for Minden, for the capture of Quebec, for Culloden, for Dettingen, for the fall of Walpole's ministry, for the rise of the Great Commoner who for so long a period was destined to fill the whole world with his fame. Many persons then living, and some possibly living in Bath, had seen the rebel heads bleaching on Temple Bar, and might have known persons who remembered the wild march of Monmouth, the Bloody Circuit of Jeffreys, and the landing of the Deliverer at Torbay. Grave recollections like these, and of Lady Huntingdon, mingled with reminiscences of stage-coaches, coming in as regularly as the sun rose, from Bristol and Wells, from Andover and Devizes, from Windsor, and indeed from London, amid unrivalled churches and shops, afforded a curious series of contrasts to a lad when he began to digest the recollections of his father, which might grow into day-dreams, with facts collected on his own part, from reading and investigation. The autobiography, unhealthy as it may seem, affords very vivid glimpses of the influence of religious teaching of a certain kind on a morbidly sensitive and self-communing temperament like that of the father of William Hone the Parodist. As the Doncaster or Malton boy begins with the first dawn of intellect to make wagers on horse-racing, and the Manchester boy to hear traditions of the days when politics involved questions of life or death, and the Liverpool boy to hear of privateering and press-gangs, so must the influence of those Lady Huntingdon

Chapel days, forming for a long time almost his entire mental food, have sunk deeply in the mind of a boy like William Hone. His father's violent prejudice against the clergy of the Established Church, and his habit of preaching and writing out hymns, seem to have almost foreshadowed the double character which in his son perplexed many persons in after years. It may be said to supply the key to two distinct phases of the life of the man who was at one time shunned as a profane parodist, and at another eulogised as a brand plucked from the burning.

There were, however, other classes of influences rising; and among them, and of a kindred character to the teachings of Wesley, the missionary societies may be named. In the year 1800 the London Missionary Society had been about seven years in existence, and three years after its formation had sent twenty-nine missionaries down the Thames for the islands of the South Sea. A man of clerical gifts and character had risen in Gosport, and pointed to the old methods of teaching known to Peter and Paul. England, not knowing exactly how to reach its own poor effectively, had grasped at the idea of reaching some poor; and the South Sea Islanders were believed to be poor enough. It was said indeed that they ate human flesh. The London Society gave speedy effect to the missionary idea. Money and men both were forthcoming, and the tidings went forth of Him who so many long centuries before had come to save the poor and the lost. It was, look at the subject as we may, the birth-time of one vital form of Christianity among Protestants in England. The Baptists caught the fire first, but their work began in the northern counties, and so was less known to London and the cities most readily reached from London. In October 1792, a few persons held a meeting at Kettering, in Northamptonshire, to devise means for reaching some heathen people somewhere, and at the end of the meeting they made a collection amounting to 13*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* A man named John Thomas had been to India as surgeon of a vessel, and had preached and prayed with his own countrymen in Bengal—people in constant danger, and hence in many cases believing in prayer. Mr. Thomas had remained in India from 1787 to 1792, learning the Bengalee

language. He then came to England, and the Baptist Society invited him to go back as its representative. The society was justified in speaking with confidence, for had it not the money-chest, 13*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.*, collected at Kettering? Then, to find a man to accompany Mr. Thomas, who was ready to return. There was a Baptist minister named William Carey in Leicester, formerly a "cobbler" in Northampton, who had both talked and written about missions; would he go? Yes, William Carey would go, with or without money-chest. So the first Baptist missionaries, Mr. Thomas and Mr. Carey, went out with their families. They suffered, and were oppressed, and were separated; but Mr. Carey lived to be Dr. Carey, Professor in a Government College, co-founder of a great missionary school, and the owner of, some say, the finest botanical garden in India. Flying from the stern edicts of the Honourable Company against interlopers, he settled among the Danes. The site of his house is now part of the bed of the Ganges, but the chapel in which he preached is that which Havelock attended when in Bengal, and the "Mission" that he founded is a great fact in Anglo-Indian life. The Roman Catholics, the Moravians, and the Church of England in its Propagation Society (dating with a royal charter 1701), had long preceded these voluntary efforts of England, but in the voluntary efforts consisted the influence on the public mind. The Church Missionary Society was formed in 1799, and in 1804 it sent a little missionary colony to Western Africa, with stores, seeds, artisans, and all other provisions as for a settlement. Two societies had also been begun in Scotland at an earlier date—the "Scottish" and the "Glasgow" societies, and had sent out men to Africa in 1797. So that from 1796 to 1804, in the midst of war and the sufferings of war, the network of missionary operations now represented by the May Meetings in Exeter Hall, had been formed. It was a new fact, but time has shown that it was not a mere passing zeal. When the history of Missions is written by an impartial hand, it will be a very mixed history indeed. The so-called privation will be seen in many cases to have been no privation at all. It will be found also that missionaries have frequently talked and acted foolishly

in view of the faiths, and the habits and customs of uncultured or unchristianised races. But it will not, on the other hand, be forgotten that missionaries have often, against all odds, represented Christianity, Humanity, and the great mercifulness of the civilisation based thereon, and have forced the so-called civilisation that is too frequently based on a real though polished barbarism, to unloose its victims. In other words, the name of missionary will not be taken as evidence of sacrifice and devotion, while the facts of sacrifice and devotion, wherever they exist, will be taken to ennoble the name of missionary. Considerably more than half a century has only deepened the lesson of that ardent and clear-sighted man who sent out the true word from Gosport, and pointed to the duty which, rightly performed, no one can doubt is worthy to be classed among the great efforts of men.

We might imagine, however, even if we had not the means of knowing, how the vast scope of these societies was viewed by unemployed workmen, in a time of bread riots, of criminal actions with regard to the Press, of suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act. In reality the men who were directing their attention to Africa, and India, and the South Seas, were not by any means directing their attention from England. Many of them were working hard to do at home what they were so ready also to do abroad. That there was rivalry among the societies need not be disputed. The Scotch Church was not inclined to have its vitality, as compared with that of the Baptists questioned; and so in other cases. The Church of England asserted a foremost place, as accorded with its wealth and scholastic position, and certainly it maintained that place in the common-sense character of the arrangements made for the colony to Western Africa. How these facts would appear to men from whom William Hone was learning, a circumstance related by him in his *Reformists' Register* in 1817 shows pretty conclusively. He says:—

"In the year 1793, being very young and inexperienced—little more than twelve years of age—I wrote and composed a small tract, in prose and verse, in praise of the British Constitution, which I caused to be printed, and

enclosed a copy thereof to the chairman of the 'Society for Preserving Liberty and Property against Republicans and Levellers,' at the *Crown and Anchor* tavern in the Strand. This tract furnished the design for a woodcut or engraving in the said Loyal Association papers, and for the communication I received a letter from the Secretary of the Association, as follows :—

"'CROWN AND ANCHOR, *April 27th*, 1793.

"'SIR,—I received the favour of your letter, addressed to the Chairman, of the 25th instant, and am requested to make known to you the high opinion the committee entertain of your abilities, and the good use you make of them. It is with peculiar pleasure they perceive a spirit of loyalty in a person so young as you represent yourself to be, and have no doubt but a continuance in the same sentiments will make you a valuable and useful member of the community.

"'To Mr. William Hone, Old North Street, Red Lion Square.'"

The Chairman referred to here is the Mr. Reeves to whom reference is made on page 212, as the defendant in a stupid action against a stupider libel, and as giving good advice to William Cobbett, on that gentleman's return from America in 1800. Mr. Hone describes him as "one of the patentees of the office of King's printer, and under and by virtue of his patent proprietor of a number of editions of the Common Prayer edited by himself." Hone goes on to say:—

"Being then a purchaser and reader of all the loyal association papers, which contained much varied matter, in a lively style, I went on buying and admiring until I had the curiosity to read some of the articles which the association papers were answers to; when all on a sudden, in spite of my flattering letter from Mr. Secretary M'Dowall, still in my possession, I began to perceive a rapid 'discontinuance of the same sentiments' praised by that gentleman, which I could no more help than the shining of the sun. But I very well recollect that a Parody of the Church Catechism was actually published in a penny political tract, at the expense of this 'Association for Preserving Liberty and Property against Republicans and Levellers.' This was the first parody I ever saw; but, about the year 1796, a parody on the third chapter of Daniel appeared in a daily newspaper; since when I have seen many, published both before and afterwards, and I have the authority of Earl Grey for saying that a parody of the Litany was written even by a dignitary of the Church!"

When Mr. Hone's age is remembered, his precocity as "a purchaser and reader of *all* the Association Papers" will be admitted, even where it may not be admired. Certainly it

showed a remarkably sharpened intelligence, and a disposition on the boy's part not to hide himself, or suffer any one to hide him, under a bushel. It seems very evident also that his ideas, such as they were, had altogether a tendency in favour of those who held power at the time.

In selecting Mr. Hone as illustrating certain phases of cottage life, it is not intended to represent him as illustrating the most rugged phases of that life. Unlike Cobbett, he remained in the ranks; he never was, nor ever seemed capable of being, a leader. Unlike such men as Thelwall, Carlile, and Gale Jones, he did not succeed in directing political organisation by personal intercourse. Till his trials, Hone was a simple shopman, who understood market wants, and met them, often with large pecuniary gains, though never with lasting benefit to himself. "The money went" again in some way, but simply from his inaptitude to "husband" or utilise what he earned; no one ever charged him with putting his earnings to a base use. Again, Cobbett was the teacher where Hone was the learner in politics, though in a wide knowledge of literature Hone was as clearly Cobbett's master as Cobbett was his in politics. Hone, in fact, was one of the best read men of his time. He could repeat from memory vast passages, which he had thoroughly made his own, from Jeremy Taylor and other of the best authors. He could write squibs which brought the newsmen to his shop door long before dawn for large numbers of copies for the country; and his publications were intended to have, and did have, the ordinary market success. Apart from this his influence was merely local. Samuel Bamford, the Radical, had a direct and great personal influence in Lancashire, and used it, while William Hone, apart from his pen, was of small account in London. Yet while Cobbett mainly represented himself and his own views, Hone reflected the views of vast numbers of persons whom, nevertheless, he did not personally lead. Then he was admittedly from first to last a moral man, with honest motives and generosity of views. His latter end is said to have been tinged with a faith strongly intermingled with mysticism; but it was mysticism of the kind of the latter days of Robert

Owen, not of that of the latter days of Richard Carlile, and it never seems to have been more than a crude fancy, for the basis of which, as the reader has seen, we have not far to seek. His writings did not in the main possess high literary value. He wrote hurriedly, for bread; but where convictions were concerned he was true to his own perceptions of fact, and where intimidation was in question he was beyond anything at all resembling cowardice. In a time of hack-writing, he had a pen which no minister of state could have bought, though it is not equally clear that in catering for the literary market he was proof against providing what was in demand; that his productions though strictly conscientious, are free from the charge of being in their general character what the people who looked to his shop for literature were readiest to buy. It is clear that down to the time of his three trials no one had the remotest idea that in the oral application of his reading he could have confronted two judges, including the most terrible judge of the age, and two distinguished members of the Bar, and have borne away the palm.

Another reason why attention will now be directed to William Hone is that his life is one of a single event, and that that event was the last episode in a remarkable series of Government humiliations that broke the baneful spell of those *ex-officio* informations which had been directed chiefly against the Press, and by means of which an incalculable amount of suffering had been entailed on a vast number of persons, against whom no other fault is now alleged than that they endeavoured, in some cases mistakenly, in some otherwise, to contribute something to a correct knowledge and righteous control of public affairs. Of Mr. Hone's suffering in consequence of the informations against him very little will be made in these pages. When we consider what a castaway sailor may suffer from being one night on a spar in the sea, or a wounded soldier from being left one night on a battlefield, or an unemployed artisan from seeing his family taken to the workhouse, one is not inclined to make over-much of anything that William Hone suffered in connection with the informations granted against him by Lord Ellenborough. He certainly lost

money in the first instance, and had pecuniary difficulties; but all this was amply made up to him by a munificent subscription after the trials, and by the approval of men whose goodwill must of itself have been beyond price. A subscription of more than 3,000*l.* enabled him to extend his business; but still he drifted downward, till at last, in sore distress, he found his way to a debtors' prison, and subsequently became the keeper of a coffee-house, furnished for him by his friends. In all these respects Mr. Hone's life ought to picture even more of the peculiar character of the time in which he lived than the lives of more distinguished men.

His keenest suffering was long after his trials. To the day of his death, even in the quiet retreat of the monastery of the Weigh House Chapel, he was "Hone the Parodist." He wrote dedications to men like the Earl of Darlington, signed himself the friend of Charles Lamb, heard sermons from the Rev. Thomas Binney, preached sermons on his own account, wrote of his father's conversion, and talked of his own, in the exact phraseology that is most approved by the good people who need no repentance; but he was "Hone the Parodist" after all. Turn where he might, for years, the same foolish and ungenerous charge met him, and met his family. In bitterness of spirit he wrote words which carried with them the sting that few persons cared to face. Then his enemies said, "You see how little he is changed." It was enough to madden any one. It was more than enough to madden this strangely-constituted sensitive man. To Richard Carlile it was nothing to be called infidel or revolutionist, for he was both, and gloried in the terms. When society denounced Gale Jones, the denunciation was accepted and laughed to scorn. Mr. Jones had no wish to meet at least a portion of society other than in battle. With William Hone it was different. He wanted people to understand him, and bear with him a little, even though they treated him in the spirit of a spoilt child. He yearned to be received into the great sympathies of humanity. Would his countrymen listen to him if he gave up politics, and began to pick up for them nosegays of literature? Would they let him cull for them fresh wild

flowers from crevices and rocks, from under mountain cascades which only he knew? Would they let him gather primroses and buttercups and daisies for their children, and put the hateful parodies for ever aside? Such really were the pleas; but people paused, and looked at their children; and took the flowers, for they were pretty, and well arranged; and then they passed on—the gatherer was "Hone the Parodist."

It must be granted, as will be shown later, that Mr. Hone, after he decisively cast in his lot with the Congregationalists, was much too ready to allow his new friends to speak and write of him as a former atheist. Even in referring to himself, he wrote as if he adopted as a correct designation of him some remarks in a then new edition of Simpson's "Plea for Religion," in which he is referred to as having held "sceptical, if not atheistical opinions," with the further remark that "though at the time of his celebrated trials his opinions may have been less extravagant, neither his intellect nor his heart had submitted to the authority of *revealed* religion." Some one, probably Mr. Hone, in reproducing the passage, has italicised the word revealed, with the evident intention of making a distinction between religion itself in the broad sense of a relation to the Supreme Being, and religion in the sense of an acceptance of the verbal inspiration of the Bible. Nothing, certainly, can be more distinct than Mr. Hone's own statement during his trials, that, though he would make no confession of faith as to dogma, he was a Christian. This will appear markedly in the ensuing chapters, and perhaps would appear still more clearly from private papers in the possession of Mr. Hone's family, and destined at some not distant time, we may well hope, to be given to the public. Of that material the present writer has not seen one line, nor directly or indirectly become acquainted with one fact, hoping and believing that these glimpses of Mr. Hone and his work may lead to a desire on the part of the public to know more of facts which never can be repeated in England, and in that way, while adding an instructive chapter to history, may be of service to the family Mr. Hone left behind. In all respects, therefore, what is said

here, and what will follow, with respect to Mr. Hone, has either appeared in print in some form, or has been obtained from private sources quite apart from Mr. Hone's family, and all that the writer claims for it is that in some cases it has been far-sought and in all cases has been honestly compared, statement with statement, with a view to the simple truth. On many subjects there can hardly be a doubt that Mr. Hone's children can throw light valuable for a complete life. In this hope, and in the hope, too, that a work of pecuniary value to them may be the result, the present writer has avoided encroaching on their knowledge in any way whatever. The main object here is to show the nature of some of the influences which were in the times with which we are dealing brought to bear on the youthful and the adult mind of England.

In 1824, writing, at his shop in Ludgate Hill, an introduction to certain pamphlets, to which reference will be made, Hone put forth a half-comical, half-earnest plea that people would once for all take it as a settled matter that he intended to write no more. "A notion prevails," he says, "with many that I am usually engaged in preparing something or other for the press, and few are persuadable to the contrary:—

> "'Why am I asked what next shall see the light?
> Heavens! was I born for nothing but to write?'"

He now "publicly declared, what he had frequently affirmed in private, that, with the exception of finishing one work at his entire leisure, he would withhold his pen from every purpose but that of cataloguing books." He was induced to activity by duty to his family; "and, perhaps," he quaintly adds, "I am qualified for the business of a book-auctioneer in particular by the knowledge I possess of the nature and value of literary property, obtained from long experience in every department of the bookselling business, and intimacy with books themselves. . . . I have made arrangements, and fitted up my present premises accordingly. Few, I presume, will blame me for not desiring to be a 'rocking-stone' or a 'rolling-stone.'" Burns, it will be remembered, once took a kindred resolution. He

wrote, and the words have a ring of more than poetic reality:—

"I backward mused on wasted time,
How I had spent my youthfu' prime,
An' done nae thing
But stringing blethers up in rhyme
For fools to sing.

"I started, mutt'ring, 'Blockhead! coof!'
And heav'd on high my waukit loof,
To swear by a' yon starry roof,
Or some rash aith,
That I henceforth would be rhyme-proof
Till my last breath—
When click! the string the sneck did draw,
And jee! the door gaed to the wa'." * * *

The muse of the poet's country had entered to cheer his loneliness, and to tell him that, come what might, he must neither rule a market nor "clark" his account in any bank, but that he would be bound to the last to the wheel of sorrow and to the destiny of an undying fame. William Hone had no promise at all like that, but he had the unseen hand laid upon him, turning him, whether he willed it or not, to his pen. "Parodist!" rang in his ears to the last, even in that Weigh House Chapel; even in the congenial employment of the "Every-day Book," of the gossip about Old London, among the manuscripts in the British Museum—everywhere: "Hone the Parodist!" If he had lived fifty years later, he might have heard from the Conservative side of the House of Lords stronger terms than all but the strongest of his on political subjects. The trials were simply one event among many. Mr. Hone did not win the day by his eloquence. The nation won. It had resolved that the Government was in the wrong, and that if possible every *ex-officio* information should be defeated. To defend the parodies, would now, even on the score of good taste, be simply pronounced an absurdity. Mr. Hone defended them on the ground that they were not profane; and he failed. He defended them on the ground that the informations against him were not in the least influenced by the alleged profanity, but altogether by the admitted political

satire; and there he succeeded. Indeed, before he had spoken a word in his defence, the whole country had instinctively decided that he was right. He had made, and he again made great errors as to his estimates of men and motives. Many of the Whigs, whom he had denounced, came to him in his difficulties, and bade him be of good courage, when once they had seen that he was a true workman in literature, and not a boy playing with edge-tools. Like his father, he also hated what he deemed priestcraft, and often mistook for priestcraft what was genuine Christianity, yet some generous clergymen supported him against Lord Sidmouth's prosecutions.

Again, if Mr. Hone were taken solely as an illustration, he would present but an imperfect picture even of the struggles of poor men in that exceptional time. In the very same year in which he was tried, Samuel Bamford, a man poorer, less known, hardly at all educated, save by nature, had some curious interviews with Lord Sidmouth; interviews of which some particulars will be given in a later chapter. Mr. Hone was inferior to Mr. Bamford in that keen observation of life which will cause the books of the Radical poet—the man who gave the Lancashire cottage a voice in song, to live for perhaps ages to come. Henry Hunt, with his loud voice, and blustering manner, and bombast, would have been less known if fate had not thrown across his path that curiously impatient, wonderfully forbearing, Lancashire workman, who had had more real physical difficulties crowded into a year than Mr. Hone had into a life-time, and who rose over them in a light-hearted manner which has yet its charm in history. The prosecutions of Horne Tooke, of the *Times*, the *Chronicle*, and the *Examiner* will show, among other like facts, the dismal state of affairs that existed during the war. The sufferings of the Puritans and of the Non-Puritans have shown the action of despotic laws wielded at different times by different classes of persons; now by the Divine Right clergy, now by the Republican Nonconformists. But with the year 1817, we say the spell of despotism was broken, and from that year henceforth the principles of the glorious Restoration began to lose ground. Victory after victory

—the repeal of the Tests, the emancipation of the Catholics, the great successes of 1832, and of the Anti-Corn Law League—attest the triumph of the popular interest in the State. To say that these victories were in any special degree owing to any one man were absurd. A host of agencies had prepared the way for Cobbett, as a host of different agencies had prepared the way for Mr. Fox and for Earl Grey. It was men like Hone and much more so men like Robert Burns, who rendered the influence of Cobbett powerful. The ground was prepared in every case, where success followed any kind of popular action. To show how it was prepared will be one of the main objects of the chapters that will follow here. Perhaps, too, some little good may result from the digging up of these old facts for use in less dangerous times, but of times also which never can be safe till the whole nation is educated to the knowledge both of its rights and duties. How marvellous a change has already taken place since the years with which we are dealing may be seen in the peculiar characteristics of the tempest of popular indignation that has rolled over the land since the doings of the Bashi-Bazouks in Bulgaria were made public. Tories have thundered out that Toryism shall neither signify nor shelter murder, and the Radical Economists and former Russiaphobists have professed themselves ready to face any danger rather than allow the acts to pass unpunished. Foolish and rash speeches have of course been made, and great interests spoken of in ignorance of what those interests involved; but the way in which political parties have joined hands for humanity shows how great an advance has been made in political knowledge, how much nearer we are drawing to the patriot's ideal of nationality. If we bear this in mind we shall have one trustworthy key to the facts about to be recorded.

CHAPTER XIII.

SUSPENSION OF HABEAS CORPUS IN 1817.

1817—Meaning of Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act in 1817 as compared with Former Years—England at Peace with the World—The Men to whom the Nation would not Surrender its Liberties—How Mr. Fox would have met Discontent—Political Judges and Jurists; Mansfield; Loughborough; Ellenborough; Eldon; Thurlow, and others—Private Character no Guarantee for Public Virtue—Opening of Parliament, January 8th—Alleged Outrage on the Prince Regent—The *Times*, the *Courier*, and the *Morning Chronicle*—Hone's *Reformists' Register*, First Number, February 1st; Last Number, October 25, same year—Ridicule of the Alleged Outrage—Hone's *Weekly Commentary*—Cobbett's *Register*—His *Twopenny Trash*—Burdett's Notice of Motion for Reform—Lord Cochrane presents a number of Petitions for Reform—Sir William Garrow Declares a Petition a Deliberate Libel on the House—Mr. Brougham's Reply—Melbourne, Romilly, and others—The House as compared with that of 1793—Amendments to the Address—The Lords—Earl Grey; Lord Harrowby; Marquis Wellesley; Lord Sidmouth—Assertion that the Distresses were Consequent on the Peace—Promised Message from the Prince Regent—Mr. Canning's "Stand"—Mr. Brougham and the Whigs—Their Political Error—Hone's Denunciation of Brougham and the Whigs—Royal Message—Secret Committee—Thanksgiving for the Prince Regent—Hone's *Register*, March 1st—Hone's Defiance to the Government and the Tories—His Poverty and Apparent Helplessness—Spirit of Parliament and the Law Courts—Impending Events—Hone's Vulnerability on the Score of Parodies—The Lords—Lord Sidmouth's Motion for Suspension of Habeas Corpus—Lord Wellesley; Lord Liverpool; Earl Grey; the Duke of Sussex; Lord Grenville—The Commons—Lord Castlereagh—Bills Against Sedition, &c.—Mr. Ponsonby—Sir Francis Burdett—Sir S. Romilly, Mr. Brougham, and Mr. Canning—Suspension of Habeas Corpus—Mr. Bennett on Lord Castlereagh—Personal Charges against Castlereagh—The Lord Advocate of Scotland—Lord John Russell—Habeas Corpus suspended March 4th—Seditious Meetings Bill—Army and Navy Seduction Bill—Treasonable Practices Bill—The Blanket Meeting—Samuel Bamford—William Lovett.

It will be evident that the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act in 1817 had quite a different meaning from that of

any former suspension of the Act from the time it became law. William III. had both foreign and domestic enemies to contend against. The reign of Anne was a reign of war. The first and second Georges were disturbed by the House of Stuart. The third George was brought face to face with two events which, in their character and magnitude united, were unparalleled in history, the American War of Independence and the French Revolution. It may be reasserted that there had been, and will remain, this excuse for Pitt as against Fox, that he saw vast and destructive forces let loose at home and abroad, and that destructive forces are always more easily unchained than chained. People who possessed property and valued freedom, for others as well as for themselves, were, reasonably or unreasonably, startled into apprehension, and in many cases drifted to the side of those to whom property was everything, and in whose view general freedom and progress were undesirable objects. That is, the law of self-preservation had been paramount, and the national instinct had gone with Pitt during the crisis of the French War.

Where now, it was everywhere asked, was the danger, unless the nation itself could not be trusted? Was there not universal peace? Had not the disturber of Europe been secured in a prison from whence escape was impossible? Had not France seen her revolutionary fires burn out in wars for an all-absorbing despotism which had eaten up the devourers of Moderatists, Girondists, Septembrists, and Terrorists; and finally which had itself been eaten up by the universal sense of Europe, or of those portions of the nations of Europe which held and directed administrative policy? Had not the "Crowned Heads" formed a Holy Alliance, based, as they said, on the New Testament, that wars and rumours of wars should henceforth be to state polity what the Ptolemaic system was to Science? If there was any longer danger it could only be from within; and if there was danger from within it could only be because there were sound reasons for discontent; because there were bad laws to repeal; classes of persons to resolve into nationality; privilege to make bend to the general well-being.

Again, granted that there was danger from within, and that the causes of discontent could not, as indeed it might be granted they could not, speedily be removed, had the men at the head of political affairs, and at the head of the law courts, inspired sufficient public confidence in their ability and rectitude to justify the nation in placing its liberties in their hands? If the chapter preceding this is not incorrect, there were no such grounds for public confidence. The bitter and vindictive State prosecutions of 1794 were yet fresh in men's minds. The fierce cruelties in Scotland, in Ireland, and in many parts of England were as of yesterday; and the same spirit had been carried on from year to year as the perfection of a system of administration that knew nothing higher than government by fear, government in that state of siege which all great statesmen have abhorred, and to which all little statesmen have clung. In one of the finest passages of one of the finest speeches of Fox, delivered at the end of 1792, before the Terror had set in, a reply is given to the question—What would you do to remove popular discontent?

"What," he said, "it may be asked, would I propose to do in hours of agitation like the present? I will answer openly. If there is a tendency in the Dissenters to discontent, because they conceive themselves unjustly suspected and cruelly calumniated, what should I do? I would instantly repeal the Test and Corporation Acts, and take from them thereby all cause of complaint. If there were any persons tinctured with a republican spirit, because they thought that the representative government was more perfect in a republic, I would endeavour to amend the representation of the Commons, and to prove that the House of Commons though not chosen by all, should have no other interest than to prove itself the representative of all. If there were men dissatisfied in Scotland, or Ireland, or elsewhere, on account of disabilities and exemptions, of unjust prejudices and of cruel restrictions, I would repeal the penal statutes, which are a disgrace to our law-book. If there were other complaints of grievances, I would redress them where they were really proved; but, above all, I would constantly, cheerfully, patiently listen; I would make it known that if any man felt, or thought he felt, a grievance, he might come freely to the bar of this House and bring his proofs; and it should be redressed; or if not that it should be made manifest. If I were to issue a proclamation, this should be my proclamation —'If any man has a grievance, let him bring it to the bar of the Commons' House of Parliament, with the firm persuasion of having it honestly investigated.' These are the subsidies that I would grant to Government."

If, then, for some reason, the liberties of the nation were to be suspended, at least, people thought, the suspension should be in hands different from those of men like Lord Castlereagh, Lord Sidmouth, and Lord Ellenborough, who had shown no conception of any rule of government higher than that of fear. The power of *ex-officio* informations had been seen in full operation, and had been felt to the very marrow of the national life. There was a determination to prevent in peace a repetition of the scenes which even in war had been viewed with horror.

Looking to the law-courts, no one could well miss the fact, previously noticed here, that the judges were appointed on political grounds and for political purposes, and no one who looked a little below the surface could doubt that many of the characters most eulogised in such history as was taught at schools were by no means so lofty as they appeared on a mere cursory examination. The story of Lord Chancellors and Lord Chief Justices, as told by Lord Campbell, is almost uniformly of the same character. A smart and gifted young man, with useful college friends, arrives in London to push his way at the Bar. He works hard, dresses well, seeks introductions to drawing-rooms which have the power to stamp a man as of "society," makes a name in politics by means of some one eloquent speech, pointless possibly, but to all appearance pointed, and carefully adapted to incline to the direction to which the political weathercock has turned for the passing hour. He notes which of the two parties in the State is likely first to need a Solicitor-General, and which seems to command the clearest path to the woolsack. Then he decides —on political principle? No one can imagine so, after studying the career of these distinguished lawyers. On high judicial grounds? That idea were still more absurd. He decides on the principle of self-interest. Few names have stood higher than that of Lord Mansfield. Among effective speakers he had few rivals, and, in many respects, no superior in his time. Yet we have seen that not only was Lord Mansfield a thorough and devoted partizan, but that he was spoken of as having "no force or elevation of character," and "no idea of truth

whatever." To Lord Loughborough the reader's attention has been still more markedly directed; and few careers are more instructive either as a study of character or with a view to the solution of historical problems. Through a great portion of his first few years at the English Bar this successful lawyer presented all the characteristics of a fish out of water. His aim, like that of the fish, was direct enough; the one seeks the water, and the other sought the woolsack, and the wrigglings towards the latter are mournfully suggestive. Now Mr. Wedderburn was Tory, now Whig; now opposing Lord North as if he had been opposing a pickpocket, now supporting Lord North as if he had been the saviour of England; at length becoming Lord North's Solicitor-General, and the subject of Lord Camden's bitter remark to Lord Chatham, "I am not surprised, but grieved." Lord Ellenborough began life as a Whig, and became a Tory. His intellect and acquirements were unquestioned. His political tendencies were of the most repressive character, and if an attempt to break the power of the political lawyer was necessary, no better selection could have been made for the experiment. That the attempt was necessary the general sense of the country affirmed. When questions such as those connected with Junius or Wilkes, or Horne Tooke had arisen, the first inquiry had been, "Who is to be the judge?" or "Is the trial to be before the King's Bench, or in the Court of Common Pleas?" According to the judge the issue of the trial was predicted. If Justice Abbott had presided at the three trials of William Hone, some legal historian would certainly have said, "Ah! if Ellenborough had been there you would have seen a different affair;" as Lord Campbell said, in the case of Chief Justice Kenyon and Horne Tooke:—"If Lord Mansfield had presided . . . . Horne Tooke would have left the court not only defeated, but disgraced." There is good reason to question this. Great lawyers seldom have appeared to much advantage when confronted by anything like ability and courage, unfettered by "rule of fence." Lord Camden as a Whig and Lord Eldon as a fierce and relentless Tory, were probably as sincere politicians as any of their con-

temporaries, and their decisions took the complexion of their principles. In Lord Thurlow we see a man who, with great powers, had neither principle in politics, nor faith in human rights; a man too who, like Lord Eldon, would have crushed out every free impulse of "the common herd." Of course there are fine traits of character recorded of most of these distinguished men. The solicitude of Lord Northington, then Mr. Henley, to prevent Mr. Pratt, afterwards Lord Camden, from leaving the Bar in despair, is a fine picture, honourable to private gentlemanliness. Lord Loughborough, "a second father" to his niece, who writes of his affection and kindness with a filial hand; and Lord Eldon stopping in the midst of his ambitious struggle to write to his brother William, and to his "dearest life," his "dearest Betsy"—every letter with some new brain-coinage applied to his wife by a man to whom that wife was as "the light of life"—will never be passed over in a fair estimate of character. Yet all this is nothing in view of the important questions at this time before the public. There were cottage Betsys, and nieces, and daughters of infinite importance to poor people. There were children growing up in barbarism, in vice, without a hope in the world. "Do you think political reform will amend this?" shouted the minister of state, the clergyman, and the lawyer, as with one accord. From the depths of the dim, uncared-for population there came, with like accord, and with a torrent and whirlwind of passion, an affirmative answer which became the key to political action.

Parliament was opened by the Prince Regent on the 28th January, the speech from the throne expressing in ominous terms the resolution of the ministry "to omit no precaution for preserving the public peace, and for counteracting the designs of the disaffected." The Commons then went to their own House, and were about to begin what promised to be a vigorous debate on the Address, when a message from the Lords arrived with intelligence of a gross outrage that had been offered to the Prince Regent on his way from Parliament, and requesting an immediate conference in the Painted Chamber. The Commons on arriving there found that the Lords had already agreed to an

address, expressing their "deepest concern and indignation that there should be found any individual in His Majesty's dominions capable of an attack so daring and flagitious, and desiring that measures be taken without delay to discover and bring to justice the aiders and abettors of the atrocious proceeding." The reference to "aiders and abettors" accorded so entirely with passages in the speech evidently directed against prominent political men whom no one heretofore had dared to charge with abetting sedition, that public feeling and opinion almost immediately took the form of disputing that there had been any outrage at all of a more serious character than a stone flung through the windows of the state carriage, and that perhaps an accident. The *Times* allowed that there had been some expressions of disapprobation among the people who lined the road along which the Prince passed to Parliament; and though there had been nothing to excite alarm, it was noticed that the delivering of the speech by the Prince betokened spirits somewhat depressed. The *Morning Chronicle* suggested that the outrage was a pure accident. The *Courier* denied that there had been any want of firmness in the Prince's tone when reading the speech, and as for disapprobation or discontent in the crowd, nothing of the kind reached the royal ears, while what there was of such a vile nature was drowned by huzzas. The *Examiner* said that "the hissing and groaning continued more or less during the progress to and from Parliament, and the only attempt at applause was at the back of Carlton House, where about six hats were waved, and about as many cheers given .... The mob followed on both sides of the carriage with hissings and groanings both loud and deep." Hone's *Reformists' Register*, the first number of which was published on February 1st, in time to reflect the popular feeling of the week, turned the alleged outrage into ridicule. Upon what evidence, Mr. Hone asked, were people invited to believe that the Prince had been fired at? Why, "on that of the Duke of Montrose, Master of the Horse, and Lord James Murray, a Lord of the Bedchamber." The number of italicised words, and in capitals, with notes of exclamation, in these and, indeed, in all Mr. Hone's writings, are wonderful to behold.

Half way down the Mall, the writer goes on to say, the window on the left of his Royal Highness was broken, and "alarm was excited that it might have proceeded from an air-gun. The state carriage was struck three times, and was broken, and his lordship had said, 'not the least doubt it was fractured by bullets.' Some allowance must be made for the noble lord being so confident, when it is recollected that in answer to the first question put to him he said, 'I am a Lord of the Bedchamber.'" Mr. Hone was satisfied that the noble lord was frightened because it was in evidence that "the noble lord thrust his hat into the broken window, and kept it there till the carriage drove into the stable-yard, to keep out bullets. Bravo! Lord James Murray." All this must have been very vexatious to the court, and more especially since it beyond doubt reflected the opinions of Mr. Hone's readers.

The beginning and ending of the *Reformists' Register* were curious. In the previous month, January 18th and 22nd, Mr. Hone had published two numbers of a serial entitled *Hone's Weekly Commentary*, which was now discontinued, or, as the advertisement stated, was "merged with the *Reformists' Register*, which, from the difference of its plan, is altogether a new work." The price of the *Commentary* had been sixpence; that of the *Register* was only twopence; so that the change of plan evidently involved a great increase of power. From what transpired afterwards it is clear that Hone was aware of Cobbett's determination not again to be sent to prison, and that in the case of the threatened suspension of Habeas Corpus, he would put the Atlantic between him and Lord Sidmouth; as he did, with a completeness of arrangement that could hardly have been hastily made. Cobbett's *Weekly Register* had been started almost at the beginning of the century, but for a time had a very uncertain sound politically. In 1803 a change began to pass over the journal, and in 1804 Cobbett was found guilty of a libel on Lord Redesdale and other members of the Irish Government. In 1810 he was again convicted for a pamphlet on the flogging of some militiamen, and sentenced to a fine of 1,000*l.* and to two years' imprisonment. In November

1816, he published his famous "Twopenny Trash," which all at once had a weekly sale of 50,000 copies, and an influence on the large body of the people greater than any publication ever had before, or perhaps has had since. It was the text-book of workshops and mills, and by its bold and unsparing language was fast creating a power which the ministry and others viewed with dismay. That Cobbett would be one of the first persons apprehended in case of suspension of Habeas Corpus was certain; and Cobbett, who acknowledged that he passionately prized freedom and fresh air, quietly arranged for his passage to America, leaving his character to his friends, and, among them, to William Hone.

On the first day of the meeting of Parliament, and before the Address had been voted, Sir Francis Burdett gave notice "that, on this day month, I shall bring forward a motion for the reform of this House." On the 29th, Lord Cochrane said he had several petitions to present, praying for a reform of Parliament. One, numerously signed, stated that "the gaols were filled with insolvents, the poorhouses with paupers, the streets with beggars; that the enormous amount of taxation and debt were the real causes of the nation's misery, and, combined with the objects of placemen, pensioners, and sinecurists, the enormous civil list, the military establishment of 150,000 men in profound peace, were a gross insult to the understanding." Sir William Garrow declared the petition, "from the beginning to the end, a contrived, deliberate, and determined libel on the House." Mr. Brougham, in reply to this, made one of his neatest home-thrusts. The petition, which had been declared a libel on the House, began, he said, and ended, with a demand for Parliamentary reform. It was not very happily worded certainly, and possibly the petitioners might have escaped some errors if they had enjoyed the benefit of the Attorney-General's help, "especially if he were a sincere friend to the cause, as he might have been some years ago." This blow was evidently given with great good-will. Lord Brougham could not resist the temptation long afterwards in his "English Statesmen," to remind his readers that Garrow was known at the Old Bailey as "Old Filch," from

his tendency to steal ideas; and these are not the only occasions on which Sir William felt his keen satire. Mr. Lambe (afterwards Lord Melbourne), Sir William Geary, Sir Samuel Romilly, and others, suggested that it would be tantamount to a violation of one of the simplest rights of the constituencies if the House refused to receive the petition. On the other hand, the sentiments of the petition were by common consent declared outrageous. Eventually the House declined, by 135 to 48 votes, to allow the petition to lie on the table. It will be observed that the temper of the House of Commons had changed considerably for the worse, since, in 1793—in the most intense excitement of the French Revolution—Mr. Grey had presented, among other petitions for reform, that famous one from the "Society of Friends of the People," which occupied half-an-hour in the reading, and completely analysed the state of the popular representation in the House of Commons. Mr. Grey's petition stated facts which went quite as direct to the heart of the question as anything affirmed by Lord Cochrane. The petition of 1817 was written with the evident design of being made a political manifesto; and that, in spite of its rejection, it became. It roundly declared that "the public grievances could not be relieved by members who were the tools of an oligarchy of boroughmongers"—an assertion which must have vexed the House greatly. The other petitions were severally dealt with, and some were received.

A general amendment to the Address having been rejected, Lord Cochrane moved another, which contained this passage:—"And this House begs to assure your Royal Highness that not one single instance can be discovered in which meetings assembled for the purpose of petitioning for Parliamentary reform have been accompanied with any attempt to disturb the public tranquillity." This was "received with a loud laugh of derision," The amendment was not seconded. The spirit with which Ministers intended to legislate was shown best, however, in the House of Lords, where Earl Grey stepped to the front with great decision, and declared that the attack on the Regent called for nothing beyond the usual operation of the law as it stood. He

asked the House if it was not in human nature, when distressed to express its discontent. He had himself been denounced by public meetings, but it would be one of the last things in his mind to, on that account, restrict free speech. "Will you," he asked, "show the people that you are more anxious to limit their rights than to relieve their wants—to fetter the voice of complaint rather than attend to the prayer of their aggravated distresses?" Lord Harrowby significantly asked if there was not sufficient evidence before the House to show from whence the opinions which had led to the outrage on the Prince had come. "Was it astonishing, after the dissemination of so many publications tending to excite odium and hatred against the illustrious person at the head of the Government, that an impression of rancour was excited amongst misguided persons smarting under distress, and too prone to listen to calumniators?" The Marquis Wellesley pronounced "all the theories of reform that had met his eyes or ear as utterly subversive of the constitution. Thank God, they were as impracticable as they were unsound." To Lord Sidmouth, however, belonged the palm of originality in this memorable debate. "Retrenchment," he said, "had been carried as far as possible, consistent with the interests of the country. It would be for the House to consider whether it should be carried farther. The reduction in the army was lower than sound policy would perhaps allow, and it had in fact aggravated the distress, by increasing the number of persons out of employment." Mr. Hone printed this with an extraordinary number of capitals and italics. The whole drift of the argument on the side of the Government was to the effect that the distress was owing to the peace, while the Opposition held that it had been caused by the war. It would seem as if Lord Sidmouth hardly could have gone much farther than this in announcing a policy tending to the disintegration of all the relations of classes. Yet he went much farther, and with heartiness and zeal. In answer to the demands for economy and reform, he announced that in three days he would be prepared to present a message from the Prince Regent with reference to the disaffection of large bodies of men. No one affected to doubt for a moment what this meant. In the

Commons, Mr. Canning, who had been made President of the Board of Control, took his determined stand against Parliamentary reform. "Whenever this question should be agitated he was prepared to meet it—not with any objection founded on inconvenience, not with any suggestion of partial or temporary modification, but should be prepared to oppose the remedy by a direct denial of the grievance. He denied that the House was not, to all useful purposes, an adequate representation of the people." Mr. Canning appears to no great advantage in these debates. His eloquence, it is true, never flags, but when the mind recurs to the enlightened sentiments of Charles James Fox more than twenty years earlier, it is difficult to look upon the course taken by Canning in the interests of one of the least noble of English administrations as other than exceedingly melancholy. Lord Brougham has ably pointed out that of all men Mr. Canning had acquired a reputation for liberal statesmanship on the slightest possible grounds. To his high sounding declaration about calling a new world into existence to redress the balance of the old, and some like remarks, Lord Brougham ascribes an entire misconception of Canning's character as a statesman.

Brougham and the new Whigs on their own part clashed almost as markedly with the men who were demanding reform. The fiery orator roundly denied that the suffrage was an ancient right of Englishmen. The ancient right was one of villeinage, not of freedom; the latter was a privilege conferred. Hone's *Register* represents the violent feeling that was fast rising against the Whigs, and especially against Brougham; a feeling already referred to in a former chapter. If the Whig organ could have shown anything like real sympathy with the people in their distresses, it might have led them to good results. But no irony, or sarcasm, or denunciation of the Tory *Quarterly* surpassed the irony, denunciation and sarcasm of the Whig Review when it dealt with the mass meetings held for reform, and with the incendiary publications, the "Twopenny Trash" of Cobbett, the *Reformists' Register* of Hone, and like productions, which appeared without the Whig imprimatur. It is very clear indeed that the real grievance with men like Brougham and Sydney Smith was the refusal of the

untaught masses to accept Whig leadership. Wherever the leadership of Brougham was allowed, his language was rarely so conservative as it was at this critical time in Parliament, and was often to the last degree radical. It is hard to say of two men like Lord Brougham and the Rev. Sydney Smith that not only were the masses of the people opposed to them, but that they had reason to be so, and that if they were bitter in language and tone, they were treated with a refinement o satire that certainly did not tend to union, and that Brougham lived long enough to find react upon him still more bitterly, and certainly more effectively, when what he had contemptuously spoken of as a mob, and at the same time did such immense work to raise to a higher condition, had come both to possess and to use power. What the people, struggling with difficulties —nay, what the nation had a right to expect from the Whigs, as a great party, was an admission of what were known as reform principles. Then, such reservations against rash action and unwise speech as were deemed desirable might have been made without discrediting the party in history. The brilliant writers of the *Edinburgh Review* are condemned by the fact that they made no allowances where Lord Grey and Lord Holland were considerate, and in many cases led public opinion with statesmanlike power and decision. There is much injustice, it must be granted, to the more enlightened Whigs in the Radical literature of the period, beginning with the end of the Great War, and many of the men who produced this literature lived to see their error. But one position taken was no error. The Whigs, as a body, were far from inclined to deal gently with the mistakes of uneducated men. There were Whigs as liberal and great-hearted as Fox or Erskine, but they were exceptions to the rule. In the mass there was dull talk about 1688, while men contending with poverty and unjust laws were talking of 1789—of the wild uprising of France, rather than the prepared decorous Whig Settlement. Hone's denunciation of Brougham in the *Register* of February 8th presents a good picture of the writer on his political side, and also gives indications of that peculiar spirit which through all Lord Brougham's career could

see in him no motive higher than self-seeking. It was a great error, but it was not an unnatural one, that he should have been distrusted from the first, and that he was distrusted to the end by the Third Party in the State, and by the great mass of workmen. History will rectify this, but will, while allowing Lord Brougham's great qualities, point out defects both in his character and his policy with respect to men who at one time would have followed him with unwavering confidence.

It would be idle, as it would also be unjust, to deny the great services that Lord Brougham rendered both to the men with whom he acted in politics, and to the nation. His fame is beyond the reach of his enemies, as it is beyond the still greater danger of the eulogies of his friends. But it will be said of him that he did not in his latter days awaken any enthusiasm among radicals. In their meetings his name, in the mildest cases, was received with silence. In a different class of meetings, as, for instance, those of literary societies, he was a favourite to the last. By politicians, among poor men of the radical school, he was at first mistrusted and then disliked. The associates of the closing years of his life were very different men from those of the days when his name was a power in politics. He was not a favourite either with the better class of politicians of high social rank, as Lord Althorp. They mistrusted his versatility and caprice, as well as his apparent determination at all risks to achieve an independent position. That they did him injustice most dispassionate people will now admit. He was not a radical, as neither was he a saint in sacrifice, but he went as far as all but a few of the Whigs in his views of reform, and it was his misfortune, so far as his popularity was concerned, that his rare gifts of satire and denunciation enabled him to put the Whig case as against the Radicals only too strongly and offensively. He could put it as the Whigs could not, and he made enemies by thousands. His latter days were embittered by the cool audacity and effrontery in Parliament of Lord Campbell, whose own life may be mentioned here—as the adjunct to the passages already quoted from his story of other lives—as an instance of a man, not by any means of the

highest order of intellect, making his way to almost the loftiest position in the State by an obstinate will, by great wariness of character and deportment, and by an utter contempt for any mere sentiment as to his own feelings or regard for the feelings of any one who stood in his way. "Plain John Campbell," as he at one time delighted to call himself, protected by the skin of a rhinoceros, and wielding a certain dry humour of the peculiarly Scotch kind, besides possessing an eagle eye and an inflexible resolve for his own interest, was beyond the reach of the satire and vituperation of Brougham, and was the delight of Brougham's enemies. A standing joke of some years was that each of the two law lords had a "life" of the other ready for publication, and there is no mistaking the absolute delight with which Lord Campbell, in narrating the circumstances of the famous false rumour of his rival's death, tells that a newspaper obituary notice of the event began, "And is Old Double dead?" Lord Campbell's literary works have always been pronounced inaccurate, but they show that, callous as he was, he never as a judge, would have made the same huge errors that were made by men like Lord Kenyon, Lord Ellenborough, and Lord Eldon. It must be granted also that the country owes him many valuable legal reforms. Between him and Brougham, as between Brougham and Macaulay, the feeling may be said to have been as that of dog and cat, or mongoose and snake, not a mere dislike, but something of the nature of inveterate repulsion. Lord Brougham made enemies of men of all classes, and appeared in his old days to prefer as friends his former political opponents, but no enemies will ever obliterate the memory of his impassioned eloquence for the freedom of the slave, for education, and for much besides that belongs to enduring history.

Nor would it be fair in any one who believes that the Reform Act of 1832 was beneficial to England, or that the final fifteen years' struggle for it was a patriotic struggle, to write with disrespect of Brougham's able co-reviewer, the Rev. Sydney Smith. The vigour with which the great wit hit the preservers of game, the bunglers in statecraft, the bishops, the House of Lords, and

the boroughmongers all round, and transfixed them on his harpoon of irresistible humour, would entitle him to national gratitude. His picture of the House of Lords as Mrs. Partington mopping back the Atlantic, would never be forgotten if only for the necessity it has laid upon every later satirist of the Upper House to repeat the simile on all occasions, proper and improper, from that day to this. We may imagine how in October, 1831, when the country was aflame with excitement, these strong, calm words, spoken at Taunton, were read:—

"As for the possibility of the House of Lords preventing ere long a Reform of Parliament, I hold it to be the most absurd notion that ever entered into human imagination. I do not mean to be disrespectful, but the attempt of the Lords to stop the progress of reform, reminds me very forcibly of the great storm of Sidmouth, and of the conduct of the excellent Mrs. Partington on that occasion. In the winter of 1824, there set in a great flood upon that town—the tide rose to an incredible height—the waves rushed in upon the houses, and everything was threatened with destruction. In the midst of this sublime and terrible storm, Dame Partington, who lived upon the beach, was seen at the door of her house with mop and pattens, trundling her mop, squeezing out the sea-water, and vigorously pushing away the Atlantic Ocean. The Atlantic was roused. Mrs. Partington's spirit was up; but I need not tell you that the contest was unequal. The Atlantic Ocean beat Mrs. Partington. She was excellent at a slop or a puddle, but she should not have meddled with a tempest. Gentlemen, be at your ease—be quiet and steady. You will beat Mrs. Partington." And again:—"Stick to your Bill—it is your Magna Charta, and your Runnymede. King John made a present to the Barons. King William has made a similar present to you. Never mind; common qualities good in common times. If a man does not vote for the bill he is unclean—the plague-spot is upon him—push him into the lazaretto of the last century, with Wetherall and Saddler—purify the air before you approach him—bathe your hands in chloride of lime, if you have been contaminated by his touch. . . . The thing I cannot and will not bear, is this:—What right has this Lord, or that Marquis, to buy ten seats in Parliament, in the shape of boroughs, and then to make laws to govern me? And how are these masses of power re-distributed? The eldest son of my Lord is just come from Eton—he knows a good deal about Æneas and Dido, Apollo and Daphne—and that is all; and to this boy the father gives a six-hundredth part of the power of making laws, as he would give him a horse or a double-barrelled gun. Then Vellum, the steward, is put in—an admirable man:—he has raised the estates—watched the progress of the family Road and Canal Bills—and Vellum shall help to rule over the people of Israel."

By appeals like these in a dangerous time, the men of the *Edinburgh Review*, won a place of honour in history. In 1816-17, however, their writing was characterised by a certain hesitation which on many vital points made them the most powerful enemies of the Radicals, who assailed them with all manner of satire, and whom they in turn cut to the bone. The reviewers did not lead the Radicals; they merely represented the Whigs, but in so doing they told brave truths which had their force in the formation of opinion.

On February 3rd the Houses of Parliament received the promised message of the Prince Regent, and it was referred to a Secret Committee, the names of which, selected by ballot, were read to the House. Mr. Hone made the error—one of his common errors—of at once referring to each member of the Committee, with some remark intended to throw doubt on his independence, and summing up the separate and total cost to the country of an appointment which he denounced. Lord Milton, Lord Castlereagh, Mr. Ponsonby, Mr. Wilberforce, Mr. Canning, Mr. Bragge Bathurst (brother-in-law to Lord Sidmouth), Mr. Dundas, Sir William Garrow, Attorney-General, and Sir Samuel Shepherd, Solicitor-General, were amongst the Committee of the Commons, and Lords Sidmouth, Shaftesbury, Powis, Grenville, Liverpool, Fitzwilliam, and the Lord Chancellor were among that of the Lords. Policy might have warned Mr. Hone that it was hardly advisable to quarrel with the Secret Committee in advance, but that is what he did; and it is characteristic at once of his boldness and his defects as a leader of opinion, when his friends in Parliament felt the need of all possible prudence and caution. February 16th brings us, in the *Examiner*, copied from the *Courier*, a form of thanksgiving to be used in the churches. It begins:—"Almighty God, &c., who in compassion to a sinful nation, hast defeated the designs of desperate men, and hast protected from the base assaults of a lawless multitude the Regent of the United Kingdom, . . . Shield him from," . . . "and from the madness of the people." These phrases from a solemn thanksgiving are not copied here for the purpose of turning a sacred subject

into contempt; but Sir Francis Burdett was not far wrong when he openly termed the thanksgiving "a solemn mockery, a gross insult to common sense." Meanwhile petitions for Parliamentary reform were being poured abundantly into the House of Commons; and ministers were evidently waiting for something which would shake ordinary Parliamentary procedure from its wonted grooves. Hone's *Register*, March 1st, contains this significant passage, which shows that the editor is about to find other work than attacking his friends the Whigs:—"To my utter astonishment last Saturday morning, it appears, that the night before, whilst I was at the printer's correcting the proof of my *Register* for publication, His Majesty's Secretary of State for the Home Department, Lord Sidmouth, was actually causing a Bill to be read in the House of Lords for suspending the Habeas Corpus Act; when it was read a first time, without opposition, and ordered to be read a second time on Monday; when the noble Lord passed it through the two remaining stages." Mr. Hone finds also that Parodies on the Holy Scriptures and the Book of Common Prayer have been specially referred to as requiring the notice of the Government, and that the Spencean clubs, the Hampden clubs, and sundry others have been mentioned.

The editor of the *Reformists' Register* is perfectly safe as to clubs and meetings; but he has been a dreadful parodist; and here it is certain the Government will smite him suddenly and surely the moment the Bill—now foreshadowed—has become law. He begins, therefore, to take alarm; only he has an extraordinary way of showing it. Instead of acting like a child of the political world in which he lives, and making as many friends as possible for the evil day, he attacks the Whigs all round, and Lord Holland and Mr. Waithman in particular. For the "oligarchical Parliament," and for Lords Sidmouth and Castlereagh, he has nothing but contempt, ridicule, and stern defiance. He abates not in the least his high tone of discussion; nay, he raised it higher, as if sporting with the storm. Most men, even of sound patriotism, would have hedged their position with such a danger in view. He was likely to need friends, and

all possible support, but he scorned to ask for either, and, in some senses, stood proudly alone till his great fight drew friends to him. Yet he dreaded prison, and appears at first to have been impressed with the conviction that in a law-court he would be no match whatever for Sir William Garrow, and especially for Lord Ellenborough. He was so poor that employment of an able counsel was out of the question. The Government had shown a determination to cut up sedition by the roots, and the House of Commons had voted with acclamation whatever the Government had pronounced desirable. Reform petitions had been laughed at and spoken of with almost unparalleled bitterness. Any reference to the Spa Fields riot had ended with a further avowal of the resolution of the high hand. The Prince Regent had had thanksgivings rising to high Heaven for his escape from a stone, from hisses and groans. Lord Sidmouth in answer to the demand for economy had coolly told the Whig Lords and the country that more expenditure was needed; and in answer to petitions for Parliamentary reform, had foreshadowed grim prosecution. Eldon, the type of gloomy despotism, had been nearly ten years Lord Chancellor. Ellenborough was Lord Chief Justice, a man before whose fierce sarcasm and denunciation some of the best lawyers at the Bar had been glad to give way, who had cut Erskine to the quick, treated Lord Cochrane in a manner against which the whole country had cried shame, and in whom the gall of early life had only become, as it were, double-distilled by age and ill-health. Such were the circumstances under which William Hone went on, in his big capital letters and italics—intended to intensify the fiercest possible language—to attack friends and foes alike, if friends stopped short of his standard of reform. It may have been foolish, headstrong, and dangerous, but it was of the nature of that indomitable pluck which never has been wanting in England, and that never in the end has failed to extort the admiration it scorned to beg for, and at times cared not to obtain.

In one respect Hone was about the most desirable man who could have been selected for the legal experiment on which the

Government had made up its mind at the end of 1816. He could be more easily brought under the ban of the religious feeling of the country than even Cobbett could. His parodies had been pronounced wilful and horrid blasphemy; and it was well known that when the charge of sedition had failed to convict men, that of blasphemy often had succeeded, even with the most public-spirited juries. Nay, more—there was, and ever will be, a natural and strong dislike in all sensitive minds to parodies, for whatever purpose, of any sacred subject, be it from the Bible, the Book of Common Prayer, or any other book relating to the laws or worship of God. Men of refined taste have, it is true, occasionally, but not frequently, written parodies on sacred subjects; but no such man ever did so without regretting it, and wishing that what he had written could be unsaid. To parody the hymn "Rock of Ages," or "Sun of my Soul," would, in the first place, be a vulgarism, and it would be worse, whether the parodist believed in Christianity or otherwise. Probably if William Hone had sat down for his first parody with "O God, our Help in Ages past" before him as a subject, he would have flung his pen aside, and never have thought of a parody again. As it was he wrote parodies, and if the Government could only fasten him to the blasphemy, keeping the sedition on the background—that is, fasten to him an insult offered to High Heaven, and not a cutting satire on a dishonoured prince, and on persons whom the parodist, rightly or wrongly, thought no better than state mountebanks—the prosecution would be safe to end in conviction. On the other hand, there was for Mr. Hone an element of safety which the Government did not perceive till too late. They attached too little importance to the facts that the parodist might possibly be able to shift the issue of the prosecution from blasphemy to sedition; that he was not a man of secret societies, necessary to be subjected to the skill and energy of spies, but that he courted publicity, and might be ready to save all the trouble of proving a publication by saying in effect, "I am the publisher; deal with the question on its merits, not on quibbles of law. If I am wrong, I prefer to be convicted on a broad fact which I can

take a pride in acknowledging. If I am right, I shall be right on that fact, and go away with a clear conscience." This, in effect, was really the position taken; but the Government could not as yet perceive the grounds of safety that the parodist would find in his need.

Observe the course of this poor bookseller from the time the above entry appears in his *Register* of March 1st. The Report of the Secret Committee was presented to the House of Lords on the 11th of February, and on the 19th to the Commons. On the 21st Lord Sidmouth moved the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, reserving his remarks for the second reading, February 24th, when he made a great speech. He said that libellous and blasphemous publications were scattered over the country, that many had been selected for prosecution; that ignorant people were pointed to defects in the constitution as the cure for distresses and grievances; that there had been riots in London, and that even "the sacred life of the Regent had been threatened." Lord Wellesley, who had previously spoken so strongly against reform, objected to admit that the ordinary existing law was not sufficient to meet all the evils pointed out. Lord Liverpool said the late peace had left Europe freer than ever it had been before. He valued Habeas Corpus, but he valued the constitution more, and the suspension was a necessity. Lord Grey held the proposal to be an uncalled-for attack on the liberties of the nation. Europe freer than ever! Look at Poland, Venice, Genoa, Lombardy, Saxony. Then, in spite of Government spies and Government agents inciting to sedition and treason, no such thing as insurrection had appeared. The Duke of Sussex took the same view. The subscription for the Spa Fields Riot, he said, had amounted to 10*l*. The ammunition waggon had contained fifty balls and a few pounds of powder, and these had not yet been paid for. Do not let the House make molehills into mountains. Lord Grenville believed the danger to be imminent. All the mischief in France had risen from clubs such as now existed in England. Lord Holland strongly supported Earl Grey. The Bill was read a third time, and sent to the Commons. The debate is in itself sufficient to

show that Mr. Hone was a little mistaken as to some of the Whigs, and indeed as to the temper and disposition of several statesmanlike men of both parties.

In the Commons, Lord Castlereagh stated that Government would shortly apply for suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, and at present asked for an extension to the Prince Regent of the Act of 1795 for the protection of His Majesty's person; for an embodiment in one Act of the provisions made against tumultuous assemblies, debating societies, secret oaths, or societies which had "fraternised branches" throughout the country, and finally, to punish with the utmost rigour all attempts to tamper with soldiers and sailors. Mr. Ponsonby, as a member of the Secret Committee, granted that that Committee had been unanimous in its report, and he believed that the hands of the Government ought to be strengthened, but he saw no reason for the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act. Sir Francis Burdett maintained that the only dread ministers had was of reform. He had no hesitation in saying that he was a member of several of the clubs. He was one of the "traitors;" but as he had taken no oath to the corruption of that House he owed no allegiance to the boroughmongers. Let ministers propose at once, that to speak of reform was treason. Sir Samuel Romilly contended that the laws were sufficiently strong for the need. Lord Brougham followed on the same side with a powerful speech. Mr. Canning, who had recently returned from a notable mission to Lisbon, of which he was destined to hear more, replied. Did the House, he said, wish to preserve the external grandeur and internal beauty of this glorious constitution? The House cheered its reply to a meaningless question. The Bills were then read a first time. A Bill for the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act was also read a first time, after an unusually warm debate. Mr. Bennett, one of the Secret Committee (and a son of Lord Tankerville, Mr. Hone discovered), protested against the suspension of the Act as a result of the Committee's report. "I will never consent," he said, "to surrender the rights of the people without necessity into the hands of such ministers as the noble lord, who would abuse the power entrusted to them;

who had already imbrued their hands in the blood of the country, who had already been guilty of the most criminal cruelty." Lord Castlereagh demanded a retractation. Mr. Bennett repeated that ministers had abused their trust, and then obtained a Bill to cover their delinquencies—the Irish Indemnity Bill. Lord Castlereagh said that if he was charged with imbruing his hands in blood it was a gross falsehood. Several members interposed, and the Speaker declared Mr. Bennett out of order. He explained therefore that when he used the word "criminal" he meant illegal, and that his charge applied to the whole ministry, "during whose fatal reign acts of such enormity took place in Ireland." Lord Castlereagh was satisfied, but repeated his charge of falsehood. Mr. Bennett also was satisfied, and repeated that the "cruelties were perpetrated in the Castle Yard, Dublin, under the eye of the Government." Lord Castlereagh was now again dissatisfied. Mr. Bennett was sorry, but he never would intrust such power as this suspension would give to such men. Later in the year Mr. Brougham again brought forward direct charges against Lord Castlereagh, and asserted that in 1798 atrocities of which he would suppose the noble lord to be ignorant, were committed in Ireland. "Victims by the score were flogged till their bones appeared; they were then rubbed with gunpowder and salt to add to the torture, and then were immediately flogged again." One person had actually stated in a court of law that he had used torture to extort truth. Sir Francis Burdett read a statement, to which Mr. Brougham referred, showing that on the arrest of Oliver Bond, Reynolds, the informer, went to Bond's house, dined with his wife, and in the course of the afternoon, while dandling one of her children on his knee, and talking of its father, who would, he said, soon be set free, tried to extort from the poor women statements for the purpose of bringing her husband to the gallows. Such were the facts against which men were at this time contending. Long before the year's end Mr. Bennett had ample vindication, though for the present he seemed defeated. Among the other speakers in the debate was the Lord Advocate of Scotland (Mr. Maconochie),

who said that inflammatory speeches had been made to men out of work in Scotland, and pamphlets of a fearful kind circulated. In fact a secret society had been founded, and the members bound by oath to obtain, by moral or physical force, annual parliaments and universal suffrage. This traitorous combination, many of whose members he was glad to say had been apprehended, had correspondence with societies in England. A noteworthy fact in the debate was the appearance of Lord John Russell as an opponent of the Government. On the Bill being returned to the Lords with some trifling amendments, Lord Grey contended "that the laws in force were sufficient to meet the danger, whatever it might be. If any danger was to be apprehended from irreligious publications, he was confident that it could in no way be met by the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act. He thought it, however, very extraordinary that this charge of infidelity should be so much insisted on. It was not long since the House had heard complaints of a very contrary nature. They had heard of danger to true religion and the Established Church from the increase of Puritanism and Methodism. The reverend Bench, opposite, had always appeared to apprehend most danger to the Establishment from that quarter. Indeed, when the number of Bible and Missionary Societies and Associations of every kind for propagating the Gospel which existed, were taken into consideration, nothing could seem more unfounded and unjust than this charge of irreligion. Instead of danger from the want of religion, or from an increase of infidelity, the only danger that struck him was what might be apprehended from superstition; for he believed at no former period since the Reformation had superstition so extensively prevailed in this country as at the present moment." The Bill became law on the 4th March.

On March 3rd, the Seditious Meetings Bill was read a second time, and the Treasonable Practices Bill and the Army and Navy Seduction Bill were passed. It will be seen at what a race-horse speed the Government had proceeded. The Conspiracy Bill was fought at every stage in both Houses; Lord Holland, Lord Grey, Lord Erskine, Lord Grosvenor, and

others, on the one hand; Lord Eldon, Lord Ellenborough, Lord Sidmouth, and others, on the contrary, in the Lords; and in the Commons—Sir Francis Burdett, Mr. Brougham, Mr. Bennett, Sir James Mackintosh, Sir Samuel Romilly (whose lamentable death soon followed), and others, against Lord Castlereagh, Mr. Canning, and a large party. The Habeas Corpus Suspension Act was passed on March 4th; the time stated for the suspension was till July, but it was then extended. The other Bills followed. Not to weary the reader with details which, however important, may not be equally interesting, it may be well to rest here as at a natural stage in the history of the year 1817. Nothing remained but to put the new powers in operation. How swiftly and fiercely this was done, how the spies and informers were encouraged to proceed with their vile work, how ruthlessly the prisons were filled, how readily the gallows was brought into requisition, will be seen in another chapter. Perhaps the reader may be inclined to ask—"Then you suggest that there was no danger—that there were no grounds for alarm?" On the contrary, it is beyond doubt that there were innumerable causes for alarm. There was imminent danger. The manufacturing towns were in such a state of excitement, that a spark might have sufficed to cause a general conflagration; and no ministers could have been other than apprehensive. It is merely suggested that ministers were not statesmanlike in their general policy, and that they helped to cause the danger. On the 11th March, a great meeting was held on St. Peter's Fields, Manchester; the fields where a more peaceful meeting would be dispersed by the sword, and with great loss of life, a little more than a couple of years later. On the present occasion every man carried a blanket for the purpose of camping out, during an intended immediate march to London. From this fact the meeting received the name of the Blanket Meeting. It was dispersed by force, and the ringleaders, about two hundred, were imprisoned. It cannot be doubted that ministers were by this time thoroughly frightened, and that much of the support they received in Parliament, and which was commonly set down to a simple love of tyranny, may now be seen to have been an indica-

tion of reasonable dread. Better ministers would have found better means for quieting the discontent, but no careful reader of history can at this date suppose that any ministers, however good, could have escaped putting the law in force, when secret societies existed in a great network which only required a definite object, and a recognised leader, to become a great power hostile to the throne and to the law. A good ministry would have been perplexed. A ministry with Sir Francis Burdett at the helm would probably have been carried away in a general inundation. The Liverpool ministry was not weak in the sense of flinching from bloodshed. It was simply weak in refusing to be just, and blind in never seeing that, though safety and justice might not at first go together, injustice persisted in would lead to ruin. It was a ministry to whose policy England, sober, looked back with intense dislike. A man of genius, again, might perhaps have swept away unjust laws as with a sponge from a black board, and carried the nation by one stride, to the position she attained after the passing of the Corn Laws. But there was a hidden power of wise and beneficent purpose using, we may well believe, even class insolence and injustice for the gradual growth of the nation in justice and more intelligent freedom. We owe little to the men who saw no cure for discontent but the gallows. Yet, possibly against their will, they gave the necessary breathing-time for struggles which were to end differently. No one ever put this fact more forcibly than Mr. Carlyle, writing of a later period, to which reference in connection with Mr. Carlyle's view has already been made. "These poor Manchester operatives," he said, "put their huge inarticulate question, 'What do you mean to do with us?' in a manner audible to every reflective soul in this kingdom; exciting deep pity in all good men, deep anxiety in all men whatever; and no conflagration or outburst of madness came to cloud that feeling anywhere, but everywhere it operates unclouded. All England heard the question: it is the first practical form of *our* Sphinx-riddle. England will answer it; or, on the whole, England will perish; —one does not yet expect the latter result! For the rest, that the Manchester Insurrection could yet discern no radiance of

heaven on any side of its horizon; but feared that all lights, of the O'Connor or other sorts, hitherto kindled, were but deceptive fish-oil transparencies, or bog will-o'-wisp lights, and no day-spring from on high: for this also we will honour the poor Manchester Insurrection, and augur well of it. A deep unspoken sense lies in these strong men,—inconsiderable, almost stupid, as all they can articulate of it is. Amid all violent stupidity of speech, a right noble instinct of what is do-able and what is not do-able never forsakes them: the strong inarticulate men and workers, whom *fact* patronises; of whom, in all difficulty and work whatsoever there is good augury! This work, too, is to be done: governors and governing classes that *can* articulate and utter, in any measure, what the law of fact and justice is may calculate that here is a governed glass who will listen." Mr. Carlyle combats an injustice which attached for a long period to the discontented workmen of England and Scotland; not so much to those of Ireland. It has often been asked ironically, why they did not strike with a will against the few military opposed to them. The reply was always clear enough to any one seeking for fact. First, they were not quite sure to what extent they were right when they expressed a belief that reform of Parliament would remove the causes of discontent. Secondly, they had no one to put the case as on some issue upon which general union was possible. Thirdly, they were men who had not yet acquired the power of intelligent cohesion. All old laws of leading and following had been overturned. New laws had not as yet been formed. Herein consisted one part of the great fact. The bewildered masses of the people could not at that time combine effectively. Now that they can do so the danger has passed, and a nobler order of life, independent we may trust of rebellion for ever, prevails.

One fact is worth recording here in Lord Sidmouth's favour. Reference has already been made to Mr. Samuel Bamford, the "Radical," and to his early difficulties. He was a poet and a real leader; although his education had been small. He had learned to write as well as to read at a Wesleyan Sunday School. His considerate conduct often made opponents listen to him with

respect. When the Blanket Meeting was spoken of, he asked the Middleton people, among whom he was, such questions, and put such cases, as—"Suppose you go to Manchester, ten to one the authorities will let you meet, and if they do they will probably refuse to let you depart in a body. Besides, the idea is altogether absurd. Where will you get food in such a body? How will you sleep if it rain? What if many of you are ill? Soldiers make ample provision." And so on, with the satisfactory result that no Middleton men went to the Blanket Meeting. The fact of the meeting and the refusal of the men whom Bamford addressed to join in it are alike a good comment on the remarks quoted above from Mr. Carlyle. Bamford, however, was deemed a dangerous man, and he was soon caught, and taken to London, where he was examined by Lord Sidmouth himself, and "ten or twelve other persons, at the offices at Whitehall Garden." At the first interview, Lord Sidmouth kindly inquired if the prisoners—there were several—needed anything, and they said, "Yes, linen," which they were at once promised. Mr. Bamford begged for pens, ink and paper, undertaking that he would write nothing to send out of the prison, and nothing but of the nature of a diary. The Secretary of State hesitated, but in the end hoped Mr. Bamford would not persist in his request. Like a sensible man Mr. Bamford took the hint and did not persist. At a second interview Lord Sidmouth said a remand would be necessary, the information not having been received. Mr. Bamford replied that if his Lordship was waiting for information on which to found a charge of high treason, he would have to wait long, for no such information could possibly be sent. He further expressed a wish that Lord Sidmouth knew a little more of the real condition of the poor in the manufacturing districts. At a third interview Lord Sidmouth, who appears to have taken a liking to the unaffected Radical, as well as to have wished to engage him loyally in the cause of the Government, said he trusted they were now meeting for the last time. Mr. Bamford should be at once released—on conditions. Mr. Bamford hoped he would not be asked for anything

contrary to his political principles. Lord Sidmouth replied:—"'Nothing will be proposed to you which an honest and a good man would object to. We are not averse to the subject of petitioning, it is the manner in which the right is exercised; a person may exercise a right in such a way, that it becomes a wrong. Mr. Bamford, there are three things which I would have you seriously to impress on your mind: the first is, that the present distress of the country arises from unavoidable circumstances; secondly, that His Majesty's Ministers will do all in their power to alleviate such distress; and thirdly, that no violence of whatever description will be tolerated, but that it will be put down by a very strong hand. I wish you well, I assure you, and I hope this is the last time I shall ever see you on an occasion like the present.' I sincerely thanked his lordship for his condescension, and expressed my gratitude for the kindness with which I had been treated whilst his lordship's prisoner, and after having asked for and very obligingly obtained permission to be at liberty the following day until the coach started, I bowed and retired." This picture of Lord Sidmouth is so very different from the one that Mr. Hone gives, and the fact of a prisoner meeting the Secretary of State is so peculiar, that the remarks may not inappropriately come here, as a prelude to the less favourable view. It is clear that Lord Sidmouth in this case, finding that he had a sensible practical man and not a play-acting babbler to deal with, tried hard to accomplish the statesmanlike feat of sending his then prisoner back to Lancashire with the conviction that the Government was not tyrannical from choice, but, on its own view, of necessity. He did not succeed in the main object, but he did succeed in impressing a sense of his gentlemanliness on one of the shrewdest of living men. Mr. Bamford was afterwards caught, and convicted in company with Mr. Henry Hunt, whose picture he has drawn with terrible severity. Even as a prisoner the Radical poet made numerous friends, and appears to have fared as well as a man could fare in such a position.

As Mr. Bamford presents us with a picture of Lord Sidmouth, which contrasts most favourably with the picture which we shall

see presented of him by William Hone, so another workman leader, Mr. Lovett, to whose newly-published autobiography reference has been made, and which will be referred to further in a subsequent chapter, presents an opinion which may be taken as, at least, modifying Mr. Bamford's view of Henry Hunt. The conflicting pictures, both the work of sensible men, are directly opposed to each other in Mr. Hunt's case. With Mr. Hone's view of Lord Sidmouth we shall be more immediately concerned, and it will be but just in the reader, as it will be in the writer, to remember as an adjusting view Mr. Bamford's very emphatic words. Of Cobbett and Hunt, William Lovett wrote:

"Few of the politicians of the present day are able to estimate how much of their own views and opinions they owe to Mr. Cobbett's long teaching of the multitude, and how many of the reforms that have been effected in England since the days of Castlereagh and Sidmouth, are justly to be attributed to the public opinion he helped to create. When Henry Hunt, too, first stood forward as the champion of reform, it needed a man of his nerve and moral daring to face the formidable phalanx of corruption everywhere allied against every one who presumed to talk of the rights of man. But he went nobly onward with his work of appealing to the good sense and sound feeling of the people, being deterred not by the sabres of Peterloo, nor by threats, sneers, nor imprisonment, till he finally obtained the verdict of his country against the corruptions of our representative system, though its provisions went rather to palliate than to effectually remove them; and greatly it is to regretted that Mr. Hunt, in contending stoutly for an efficient measure of reform in opposition to the shortcomings of that Bill, found himself abused and deserted by the great majority of those whom he sought to enfranchise. And from the last conversation I had with this warm-hearted friend of the millions, I am induced to believe that it was this injustice and ingratitude that struck him to the heart. . . . . The following sketch drawn by an opponent—*Blackwood's Magazine*—will give some idea of Henry Hunt's treatment in the House of Commons:—'A comely, tall, rosy, white-headed, mean-looking, well-gartered tradesman of, I take it, sixty; nothing about him could detain the eye for a second, if one did not know who he was. His only merits are his impudence and his voice, the former certainly first-rate, the latter, so far as power goes, unique. In vain do all sides of the House unite, cough, and shuffle, and groan, and "Door, door!" and "Bar, bar!" to drown him; in vain "Spoke, spoke!" "Mr. Speaker!" "Order there!" "I rise!" "Spoke!" "Question, question!" "Chair, chair!" In vain is it all; he pauses for a moment, until the unanimous clamour of disgust is at

its height, and then, repitching his notes, apparently without an effort, lifts his halloo as clear and distinct above the storm as ever ye heard a minster-bell tolling over the racket of a village wake.' "

Mr. Hunt's position must have been a somewhat unenviable one. He was the popular idol, and every Radical who needed money, or shelter, seemed to think that the great Henry was the man to look to for a supply. Even Mr. Bamford, when in London, was unreasonable enough to be offended that he was not invited to dine, and in fact lodge, with Mr. Hunt, and he naïvely compares London ideas of hospitality with Lancashire ones. One may imagine Hunt or Feargus O'Connor giving a general invitation to their Radical friends to dine with them, or Mr. Gladstone finishing his speech at Blackheath by hoping to see at Hawarden as many as possible of his audience. It would be pleasant certainly. It may be almost equally pleasant to note that Hone detested Lord Sidmouth, whom Bamford liked; that Bamford hated Hunt, whom Lovett liked; and that, finally, Lovett, one of the fathers of Chartism, as we shall see, could hardly find terms sufficiently strong for the expression of his scorn for blustering Feargus.

CHAPTER XIV.

GOVERNMENT IN 1817: *SPIES AND INFORMERS: ARREST OF WILLIAM HONE.*

1817—End of the Spa Fields Riot—Execution of John Cashman—Government Spies—Exposure by Mr. Baines—The Derbyshire Riot—Brandreth—The Spy Oliver—Defence of the Ministry—Oliver's Doings—A Plea for Lord Sidmouth—The Irish Spy Reynolds—The Case of Reynolds Presented to the Government—Hone's Work—His View of the Blanket Meeting—Parliamentary Reform—Borough of Gatton—A Constituency of One with Two Representatives—A Suggestion to the Prince Regent—Flight of Cobbett—His Farewell—The *Courier* and the *Examiner* on His Flight—Hone's Defence of Cobbett—Cobbett's Error—The One Triumph of the Government in the New System of Repression—Blasphemous and Seditious Libels—Lord Sidmouth's Circular—Public Outcry Against the Circular—The Circular Challenged in the House of Lords—What the Policy Involved—Mrs. Hannah More on Content—Recommendations to Content—Hone's Sympathies with Lowly Life—May 3rd, Hone's Arrest on an *Ex-Officio* Information—The new "Reign of Terror"—Hone Makes the Acquaintance of Lord Ellenborough—Mr. Wooler Charged with Libel—The Black Dwarf—The Jury System—Retirement of Sir William Garrow from the Bar—Lord Grey on Hone's Arrest—Hone Declines to Plead to an "Illegal Information."

ONE of the principal political subjects before the country, when the year 1817 opened, was that of the Spa Fields Riot. Another was the spy system, which ministers had used with an audacity very little understood at the present time. The riot in the Spa Fields was magnified into a great uprising, though only two persons could be found guilty; one, an Irish sailor, named Cashman, whom chance more than malice aforethought had led into the affray. The particulars of his execution are circumstantially given in both the Whig and Tory papers. In order to produce a more lasting impression, the *Courier* said, the

man was hanged in front of the house which he had "entered burglariously in search of arms." The opponents of the Government told of how he had willed away 200*l.* prize money which he said was due to him; of his mother, who lived near Cork; of two brothers, for whom he had touching farewells; of his earnest petitions that he might not be dragged on a cart (hurdle) to execution—as, however, he was, in his sailor's blue jacket and white trousers, the sight of which roused the people to fury; of his wish to see to the last, and be spared the white cap; of his "Don't bother me" to the Chaplain; of the wild cry—"Now, my hearties, give me three cheers when I trip," and then, "Come, Jack (Jack Ketch), let go the jib-boom, hur"—. There it ended; but there followed an attempted riot, and deep popular disgust. No execution of which the newspapers of the time have any record, and the records are numerous, seems to have created a deeper impression than that of this Irish sailor, twenty-eight years of age, and, according to his own account, "one of seven brothers, all of whom had served the King." Mr. Hone was much too busy with Parliament to register with care the little events of the day, but the newspapers of the time had seldom an issue without an account of executions, often carried out in groups.

We have already seen some of the grounds that existed for believing that Castles, the spy, was the real originator of the Spa Fields riots; but the history of the spy system was destined this year to a more searching exposure. On the 16th June Earl Grey in the Lords, and Sir F. Burdett in the Commons, called attention to a charge made in the *Leeds Mercury* against a person named Oliver, of having been through the midland counties, Yorkshire and elsewhere, exciting the people to sedition and treason. The story is well told by Mr. Baines in his "History of the Reign of George III." Early in June there had been a disastrous, though puerile and effete, outbreak in Derbyshire, ending with the apprehension of the captain of it, an illiterate man a pauper, it was said, named Brandreth, and forty-nine other persons. The outbreak was proved to have been to a considerable extent caused by Oliver. But Brandreth and two others were executed,

fifteen persons transported, and five more imprisoned. The trial was at Derby, before a special commission of Justice Abbott, and three other judges. The evidence as to the guilt of most of the prisoners was too simple and direct to admit of any useful defence. They were mostly young farm labourers, who in the main hardly knew what the term politics meant; and whatever might be the evidence as to their guilt, the whole proceedings were most pitiful. The case of Brandreth was taken first; the jury in returning the easily-found verdict of guilty added, "and that he had no goods or chattels, funds or tenement, when the crime was committed." After trial the pauper captain was placed on a bench, where one of the bystanders gave him a short pipe and tobacco, for which he bowed gratefully. Then, some female servants connected with the prison, brought him a glass of negus and a paper of sandwiches, for which again he looked the thanks he seemed incapable of speaking. This little picture presented, and not by any means over-pictured, by the reporters of one of the London papers is perhaps worth this special notice, as showing the kind of man and the nature of the circumstances—the state of absolute destitution in which he went into this mad riot. It was one of many mournful scenes of this year 1817. Brandreth and two others were executed on November 7th. In Brandreth's case the most noteworthy fact was his hardihood—the utter absence of contrition for what he had done, and the cool determination with which he requested an evidently intrusive clergyman not to trouble him with religious advice. He prayed to God; but he had no message for the King, nor any of the wonted advice for the King's subjects. If he could have been induced to say, "I deserve my fate; my career downward began with Sabbath-breaking, and neglect of my duty to his majesty," all had been well; but all that the clergyman could elicit was "Let me alone," and Brandreth went to his fate, it was said, like a wild beast, but to the very last laying his death, and the rioting that led to it, at the door of the spy.

The same spy, it was most clearly shown, had stirred up

several other districts where a number of infatuated and untaught men were ready to put their lives on the cast of a die in some of the wildest schemes ever known. Mr. Baines disclosed a strange history of Oliver's doings in Yorkshire. The scoundrel had made several vigorous attempts to induce a respectable printer, a Quaker, at Dewsbury, to join in seditious proceedings, but had failed, and had even excited suspicion. He went from thence to Thornton-lees, and made ten dupes, who in due course were captured by a magistrate, Sir John Byng, and carried, with the tempter, to prison at Wakefield. Some days later Oliver was seen by a Dewsbury man leaving Wakefield, and the fact was at once challenged as a curiosity; for this man too had been tempted by the spy. How was it, he asked, that the agent of all the London societies had been allowed to go free?—a question not easily answered. Meanwhile a footman of Sir John Byng arrived, and spoke confidentially to Oliver. Suspicion then seemed to have been turned into proof, and the footman on being questioned admitted that Oliver was in his master's service. These facts came to the ears of Mr. Baines, and he pursued them with unremitting ardour till he was able to present to the public a complete chain of evidence with respect to the spy system in Yorkshire. The lord-lieutenant of the county, Lord Fitzwilliam, now acted with equal decision. He carefully investigated Oliver's proceedings, and wrote to the Secretary of State full particulars of important facts elicited. Lord Sidmouth was then engaged in a project for a new Secret Committee and the letter of Lord Fitzwilliam was quietly put aside. The Thornton-lees prisoners were spiritedly set free by the magistrate. Moreover, whatever Lord Sidmouth wished, Mr. Baines had no intention of keeping the base secret, and by his means it came before Parliament. In both Houses ministers defended their conduct. It was necessary, they said, to have spies. That Oliver was a Government agent they at length admitted, but they affirmed the necessity of using such men. Of this particular spy, Mr. Baines says that he was a carpenter or builder, and that after having been

imprisoned for debt in 1816, he had discovered the new and grand means of bettering his fortunes by exciting men to treason, and bringing them to the gallows. His address and adroitness appear to have been considerable, but with certain weak links in the chain of villany, such as those which eventually led him into an open trap in the Dewsbury case. While the spy was in Yorkshire a high-spirited magistrate, Mr. Parker, of Sheffield, had written to Lord Sidmouth that a man, "apparently above the lower ranks," was going about creating sedition, and Lord Sidmouth had written back that this man was a Government agent. In the Life of Lord Sidmouth, it is stated in his defence that he never sought out spies; that they offered themselves to him; "and if, which is not probable, they in any instances instigated the conspirators to crime in order to betray them, the treacherous act must have been entirely their own, as nothing would have excited more his lordship's indignation than the bare idea of so base a proceeding." Mr. Charles Knight, who quotes this, in his history adds, "This opinion is supported by a letter of Lord Strafford (formerly Sir John Byng), written in 1846. Sir John was perfectly incapable of turning the spy into a tempter." Lord Sidmouth said something similar on his own behalf, but all the same Sir John and Lord Sidmouth brought men to prison, and in the case of the latter, a number of men to death by means of paid suborners to sedition, and traitors to the suborned; of men guilty of baseness against which all human feeling revolts. The admission of Mr. Knight, therefore, cannot be allowed to pass as history. It was villany of the rankest dye that was in question, and not for all the ministers or lords lieutenants that ever were, or ever will be, should it be allowed to pass with any doubtful designation. Several persons at the point of death laid, and properly laid, not their death, for that was patent, but their guilt as traitors to the charge of Oliver.

In the same day's parliamentary proceedings (June 16th) we have references to another spy—to Reynolds, the infamous actor in the Dublin tragedies, on those notable occasions when

Lord Castlereagh neither bribed—certainly not with his own hands, Lord Brougham says—nor exercised cruelty; anyone who asserted the contrary, Lord Castlereagh affirmed, was guilty of falsehood; but when noble lives were taken ruthlessly away by the fact that the Government hired and supported these infamous men. Had the spy Reynolds since been employed by Government? it was asked. Why, yes, Lord Castlereagh replied, he had been employed in Portugal and in the post-office at Dublin, and had performed his duties well. As to his character in other respects, if giving evidence for the Crown was infamous, Reynolds certainly had given that evidence. Had the spy a pension from Government? Sir F. Burdett asked. There was no answer. Lord Brougham pronounced Lord Castlereagh's eulogium on the spy, revolting and disgusting, and the employment of such a man in the general affairs of the nation an outrage on public morals. Turning back in the parliamentary reports to an earlier day we find further information with respect to Reynolds. In one case of a debate on an Irish Insurrection Act, General Matthew, who strongly opposed the Act, stated that Reynolds, who by his own confession, had been one of the "United Irishmen," was in receipt of 1,500*l.* or 2,000*l.* a year, Government pension, and was now not merely "Thomas Reynolds, Esq., of Welbeck Street, a freeholder of Middlesex, but had lately been one of the Grand Jury by whom the Bill of Indictment was found against the unfortunate men at present under trial in the King's Bench Court." It will seem to the reader almost incredible that this informer should in the case of Watson, Thistlewood, Preston and Hooper, to whose trial we shall come, have been able to sit as a grand juror, and receive the evidence of his brother informer Castles; but this simple fact faces the reader of history in this year 1817. Yet certain writers are anxious that no wrong should be done to the memory of the men who allowed, nay, who caused this gross and scandalous injustice—to Lord Liverpool's Government, to Lord Castlereagh, to Lord Sidmouth, to Mr. Canning. It will not be forgotten with reference to these spies and informers, that each of the principal persons had as many subordinate suborners to treason as he

pleased. Each spy therefore, was a centre of a spy system; the whole formed a complete network.

We left Mr. Hone, the tenant of a little dingy book-shop, on the 1st of March, preparing for the impending prosecutions. We find him again busily engaged in supporting reform petitions, collecting all the parodies he can find bearing the names of distinguished men, but yielding nothing with respect to the principles at stake. In a short time he has a vast array of parodists in persons of high distinction in Church and State; clergymen, statesmen, and others. March the 15th brings intelligence that what was intended to be an important meeting in Manchester and a march therefrom to London to "undeceive the Prince Regent," has been stopped by military force; "a party of dragoons appeared and, with adroitness and decision almost electrical, surrounded the erection, and conveyed the whole of the intending speakers to prison." Mr. Hone's chief article in this number of his *Register* is a letter to Mr. Maconochie, Lord Advocate of Scotland, whom he solemnly reminds that though the Suspension of Habeas Corpus "enforced by the military can disperse a petitioning body of 30,000 men, it cannot alleviate the distress of one man." In the same number there is a vigorous passage on the subject of parliamentary reform, which is illustrated by the peculiarities of the borough of Gatton. This borough, the writer says, which sends two members to Parliament, was at one time the property of Sir George Colebrooke, by whose assignees it was sold to Sir W. Maine, from whom again it was bought as a speculation by Mr. Percy, a sugar-baker, and by a Mr. Graham, from whom it passed, also by purchase, to Mr. Ladbroke, a banker; then to Mr. Petrie, for 100,000*l.*, one half of which was to be kept in hand to meet some claim of the Government against the estate of Mr. Colebrooke. Finally that it became the property of Mr. Mark Wood, who since the purchase had been made a baronet, "not," however, it must be understood, "because he is a borough proprietor," but because of something else which wise men probably understood. The borough consisted of six houses; and as the right of election was in the freeholders, and in the

inhabitants paying scot and lot, and as Sir Mark Wood was the only freeholder, occupying one house and letting the other five by the week, and so paying for them the taxes, he was the sole elector. The case therefore stood:—"Borough of Gatton: Candidates at last election, two, Sir Mark Wood and his son, M. Wood, Esq.; Votes, one, Sir Mark Wood; Representatives returned, two, Sir Mark Wood, M. Wood, Esq.; Proprietor, one, Sir Mark Wood; Magistrate, one, Sir Mark Wood; Churchwarden, one, Sir Mark Wood; Overseer of Poor, one, Sir Mark Wood; Vestrymen, one, Sir Mark Wood; Surveyor of Highways, one, Sir Mark Wood; Collector of Taxes, one, Sir Mark Wood." This may not perhaps be interesting to all readers, nor is the case a fair example of the borough system. It is, however, a good example of the borough-mongering system. It also exhibits the kind of argument which ministers with all their enactments could not stifle or refute. An amusing rendering of these facts is given in a later number of the *Register* (August 9th). Mr. Hone suggests, in a long and at times tedious article, that the Prince Regent should go through the country on a tour of observation, which he might make both interesting and instructive. He might, on arriving at Gatton, for instance, say to Sir Mark Wood,—"You are the proprietor of this borough, Sir Mark?"—"I am, may it please your Royal Highness."—"How many members does it send to Parliament?"—"Two, Sir."—"Who are they?"—"Myself and my son."—"You are much beloved, then, in the borough, Sir Mark?"—"There are not many tell me otherwise, your Royal Highness."—"Were there any opposition candidates?"—"None, Sir."—"What is the qualification for an elector?"—"Being an inhabitant and paying scot and lot."—"Only six electors, then! for I see you have only six houses in the place?"—"Only one elector, please your Royal Highness."—"What, one elector, and return two members; how is that? But what becomes of the other five householders?"—"By buying the borough, I am the freeholder of the six houses; I let five by the week, pay the taxes myself, live in the other; and thus, being the only elector, return myself and my son as members, at the election!" In a further address

to the Lord Advocate, Mr. Hone refers to the severe statutes passed, and to cruelties that must ensue from the refusal of the House to insert a clause securing by law to prisoners fresh air. He concludes with these fierce words:—"I have a blush of shame for humanity on my cheek which will rekindle if I ever suffer the foul dishonour of hearing one creature who sanctioned the rejection of that clause called by the name of man; if called Briton, and so recognised by Britons, to such of my countrymen I should say—'Your breath I hate. . . . as the dead carcases of unburied men do corrupt the air.'" This is in the worst style of the editor of the *Reformists' Register*. The reader is not asked to admire it; but simply to take it as the wild raving of a sincere man whom the times and the laws seem to have been on a fair way to driving mad.

On April 5th the *Examiner* has a farewell address from Mr. Cobbett, dated Liverpool, March 6th, and beginning:—"My departure will deceive nobody but those who do not reflect." Then pointing out the sacrifice he is making in giving up many literary profits and leaving his "property scattered about in all manner of ways," and finally stating, in effect, that life would be unendurable, and the very song of the bird and the sweet smell of the fields alike hateful to him, if he felt that he was from morning to night at the mercy of a Secretary of State's warrant or information. Mr. Cobbett leaves his name to his countrymen and seeks the shelter of the American flag. The *Examiner* introduces the farewell with a few lines beginning: "Mr. Cobbett has really fled to America." The *Courier* in a merry and jubilant article declares that Cobbett has fled from the Stamp Office, which had issued a service against him, and not from the Suspension of Habeas Corpus Act. He had fled, the writer said, from fear of a money penalty, and, it was reported (this was a vile stroke), had left a considerable amount of debt behind. It is strange that in an article like this bitterly splenetic, and, of course absurdly stupid, there are no opprobrious epithets directed aganst the retreating foe. The fugitive is "Cobbett." That is the worst, so far as calling names was concerned. The object was to catch the arch-delinquent

if possible, not to frighten him away. The *Examiner* of the following week says:—"Mr. Cobbett has left England, and is now scudding with a favourable breeze across the Atlantic, far from troubles and special juries, and Suspension of Habeas Corpus Acts. . . He makes no allusion (this is in reply to the *Courier*) to the Stamp Act, but he says, 'I do not retire from a combat with the Attorney-General, but from the combat with a dungeon, deprived of pen, ink, and paper.'" No causes however "assigned or suspected could leave" the *Examiner* "free from a regret that Mr. Cobbett had acted as he had. . . He was to be sure liable to the irresponsible and German despotism of the Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, and so were all, so was every writer, whether answerable otherwise or not, but did these persons, or even the best known among them conclude themselves justified in ceasing to write and to remain?" And again: "When Milton was abroad and heard of the troubles of his country he was anxious to return and share the grandeur of the danger. When Mr. Cobbett"—is in danger he runs away.

Hone, on the other hand, immediately began to address Cobbett's readers on Cobbett's behalf. "Fellow countrymen," he said, "every one of us who feels he has a country now feels his mind distressed, his heart heavy, his courage fail him." The writer's object was to vindicate Cobbett, but the state of the country for a time ran away with his pen. The *Times* had been telling the Government "The people are a drug on your hands," and that though they may "rot at last, they will ferment before they rot, and burst their repository, and burn your habitations." The article of the *Times* was nothing to boast much of, but Mr. Hone entirely missed the drift of it, and went on in language of wild derision to ask the people if they, the drug, any longer knew themselves to be men. Was it to be wondered at, after this, he asked, that Cobbett should leave England? that he had left it, and that Mrs. Cobbett and his two daughters would follow him? The great man's last address, Mr. Hone said, remained, and would be read with the interest that attached to the slightest memorial of such a man. "The last time I saw Mr. Cobbett," the writer went on to say,

"was on Saturday, March 15th, at his house in Catherine Street" —so exact was he as to the minutest particular. Miss Cobbett, too, was there, and there was much conversation, first jocularly as to the two writers meeting once more in the free air; then seriously about the pamphlets and the *Registers*—Cobbett's, partly suspended; Hone's coming into being. Mr. Hone continues: "I seem to have the sound of his voice in my ear. I see his very attitude, as he sat down in his chair, when I left him by his fireside in Catherine Street. I cannot get these little incidents out of my head. We attach importance to such trifles when they are connected with recollections of those whom we esteem or admire, and whom we perhaps shall see no more." There can be little doubt that William Hone was a veritable hero-worshipper, and that his hero at that time was Cobbett. There does not, however, seem to have been any attempt on the part of Hone to make profit out of Cobbett's departure. The language of the letters to Cobbett's readers is curious for the liberties it takes with all manner of subjects and persons. Looked at from this time it also seems often illogical, and frequently incorrect in its portraiture of men and its representation of motives. But the simple sincerity and candour of the writer is shown in the absence of anything direct or by inference, like such an expression as "I am now Mr. Cobbett's representative." The spirit of the letters is equally indicated, both by what is said and what is not said with respect to representing Cobbett. Hone promised to make his *Register* the vehicle for Cobbett's thoughts; he would defend Cobbett; he expected that Cobbett's readers would be his readers, Cobbett's news-agents his news-agents; he was proud to say that Cobbett's ideas and his had run in the same groove. The entire letters, in fact, are those of a man zealous for his friend, and to keep that friend in public notice, altogether oblivious of the mercantile considerations involved in the fact that the field of their especial sort of publications was left open by Cobbett's departure from England. There is no word on the subject unworthy of gentlemanliness, no word of the nature of huckstering, or of the sale of

principles. There was simply very much to be done in defence of Cobbett; and there was Hone, in his dull little shop, "63, Old Bailey, three doors from Ludgate Hill," to do the needed work, in the face of ministers or lawyers or whoever else might gainsay it. He knew well enough that as a political writer he would not compare with his exiled hero; that his words did not as a rule fit in, as Cobbett's did, to one compact piece of literary work. He knew also, however, that he was sincere, and though he was ardent beyond most men to publish what people would buy, his mind was too much occupied with Cobbett's exile to think of what might accrue therefrom in trade.

The persons who watched these writings for the Government were evidently deceived by them. A man who could "detest the very breath of any person who applied the term Briton" to one who had voted for a certain clause in an Act of Parliament, seemed a suitable person for the meshes of a legal web. There was no apparent self-restraint or even ordinary caution in such a man. They only saw the one vein—the wild unreason of indignation, finding expression in, at times, not over-refined words. They evidently missed the vein of concentration of purpose, of extensive reading, that ran through the whole. Of Cobbett's flight there cannot now be a doubt that it was an error, and one from the effects of which he never thoroughly recovered. It was a time for men to stand their ground. All odds, it is true, were against Cobbett, and he had been punished so severely, both in person and in purse, that he had good reason to decline the martyrdom that assuredly was intended for him. Still, in a time of danger he had chosen his own post. He had not been sent to an outpost. To send writings as he promised he would, and as he did, from America was simply to lead other persons into danger, while he wrote in safety. Hone must have seen this long before the end. It may be said that no man is bound to sacrifice himself and his family for the general good; and the subject so far is not worth arguing. While time endures that undoubtedly will be the common view—a view, too, in which every man's own conscience must be his guide. While time endures there will be men to take a widely different

view, and assist by sacrifice the welfare of humanity. There is another point that is worth arguing. The man who can take and maintain the latter view expressed here has a right to lead men. The man who rests on the former view has no such right. Cobbett's right had been splendidly asserted, and was subsequently re-asserted and maintained. A hundred instances of his courage might be counted up in half-an-hour. At a later period, in 1823, he was present at a county meeting held in Norwich to devise means for the relief of the prevalent distress, and the usual platitudes were moved as resolutions. Cobbett at once proposed, as amendments, and carried triumphantly, that a part of the revenues of the Church should be appropriated to pay the National Debt; that the standing army should be reduced; that sinecures and undeserved pensions should be abolished, and the Crown lands sold; and that taxation should be reduced. The proposals were startling and impracticable. Their only result was to upset the meeting; but they went forth as a protest against "parmaceti for an inward bruise;"—rose-water for a festering sore; they were of the nature of a storm sweeping through an atmosphere laden with fever. None the less true is it, however, that in 1817 Cobbett gave ministers bent on despotic acts their only triumph. Those who stood their ground were to a man protected, against Crown and Ministry, and even against Parliament, by the "twelve good men and true" who have so often rescued liberty from despotism.

How much there was to fear at the time is shown farther by the famous Circular addressed by Lord Sidmouth to the lord-lieutenants of counties on the subjects of blasphemous and seditious libels. The Circular began by informing the person to whom it was sent that the Government deemed it of the greatest importance to prevent as far as possible the circulation of libellous and profane writings. It then went on to say, that after consulting the law officers of the Crown, the Secretary of State had found that any person publishing, printing, or selling such writings "can be brought at once before a justice of the peace under a warrant issued for the purpose," and that "a

justice of the peace may issue a warrant to apprehend a person charged before him on oath with the publication of libels. If, therefore, the lord-lieutenant cannot himself be present at the general quarter sessions of the peace" he is enjoined "to send the Circular to the chairman of such sessions, that he may recommend it to the several magistrates to act thereupon in all cases where the person shall be found offending against the law in the manner above mentioned." Against this uncompromising and despotic paper there was an immediate and a loud outcry. Lord Grey grappled with the subject at once, and moved for a copy of the Circular. Lord Holland demanded in addition copies of the opinion of the law officers of the Crown, and adduced cases of great oppression under the Seditious Meetings Act with which ministers had been intrusted. The newspapers favourable to reform put forth every energy to expose and defeat an edict which they knew would place every printer and publisher, hawker and shopkeeper, at the mercy of magistrates unskilled in the law—not to speak of officers only too well skilled in the law, and of magistrates whose opinions were almost proverbially created and warped by the influences of a society altogether opposed to free expression of opinion by poor men. It is not necessary now, nor would it be just, to say the harsh things that were said in 1817 of the magistrates of that time. There were among them fine Englishmen who acted from the purest motives. But it may be useful to repeat that educated persons, persons of wealth, never discovered how offensive satire was till it fell into the hands of men like William Hone. The satire of Swift, of Bolingbroke, of Pope, nay, of Junius, was endurable. Canning might write as satirically as he pleased. There was no very great objection to the *Courier*, and the *Chronicle*, and the *Times*, or even the *Examiner*, but that a private soldier converted into a demagogue should send out "twopenny trash," and an obscure bookseller of whom society knew nothing should write indignantly that people had no bread, was unendurable. In this spirit the magistrates acted throughout the kingdom, with honourable exceptions, and in many cases they believed what

they inculcated. Often clergymen, and always persons of wealth and position, they rarely understood what was involved in that fierce cry for bread by men whose wives and children were perishing for want of food. Their spirit had to be met and beaten from the field, as it was in the end. Anyone who has seen anything of a real famine, especially among a hard-working class of men, will know how Hone must have felt when he wrote, "While tens of thousands are out of work in London, the following ballad, written by Mrs. Hannah More, is hawked about the streets to the tune of 'A cobbler there was, and he lived in a stall,'—

"The parliament men, altho' great is their power,
Yet they cannot contrive us a bit of a shower;
And I never yet heard, though our rulers are wise,
That they know very well how to manage the skies;
For the best of them all, as they found to their cost,
Were not able to hinder last winter's hard frost.

"Besides I must share in the wants of the times,
Because I have had my full share in its crimes;
And I'm apt to believe the distress which is sent
Is to punish and cure us of all discontent,—
But harvest is coming—potatoes are come!
Our prospect clears up; ye complainers be dumb.

"And tho' I've no money, and tho' I've no lands,
I've a head on my shoulders, and a pair of good hands;
So I'll work the whole day, and on Sundays I'll seek
At church how to bear all the wants of the week.
The gentlefolks, too, will afford us supplies;
They'll subscribe, and they'll give up—their puddings and pies."

Hone had been engaged for weeks in opposing some fashionable recommendations to contentment, and here Mrs. Hannah More came in to drive him almost wild. Most people would have imagined the verses to be keen satire. He accepted them at once as grim teaching, and treated them as worse than pocket-picking. "The late Rev. W. Paley, D.D.," had been made to retell a great lesson of "contentment for both rich and poor," with the approval of the former. Hone designated the argument of Dr. Paley, so used at such a time, as "wicked

falsehood," and "trifling with distress," and declared, that a man who could after reading such a tract deem it "excellent for present distribution" was "fit for deeds of black and midnight treachery." Again, it may be said, the language is fierce. Again, also, it must be added, the provocation was of an extreme kind. Hone was better acquainted with common life, with the wants and woes of the poor, than Cobbett was. His sympathies were more truly than Cobbett's with the wretched, ill-fed people in the back lanes of London. Cobbett began life with a hatred which never left him, not only for "the democrats' clubroom," but for all the scenes of life which it represented. Hone had something of the feeling of George Eliot's Silas Marner, the most perfect picture ever drawn of a poor man of the class and occupation represented. He knew that these poor people, too, were of the work of God. He believed they had souls, and believed also, wrongly in some cases, but sincerely, that the clergy had no such faith, preach as they might of the Carpenter's Son. Hone was unfashionable, but strip from his views and sympathies certain faults of language (not, however, all that would be termed faults now—the time, circumstances, and indignation must be allowed for), and he will be found in spirit, and in these particular cases at least, not very far from the spirit of the best men who have laboured to counteract the inequalities of society by the enunciation of principles that do not readily pass away.

Hone is in the midst of a discussion on the subject of "Political Priestcraft," when all at once he has to attend to that other business which he has seen foreshadowed. On the 10th May his chief article is headed, "My Arrest on Three Judge's Warrants; Three *Ex-Officio* Informations filed against me by the Attorney-General." This is dated from the King's Bench Prison. The article is in itself well worth perusal, and at all events portions of it should be read as a key to the subsequent proceedings. The following are the chief parts. The writer begins:—

"I wrote my last *Register* at home in the midst of my family. Since then the Reign of Terror has commenced, and I now write from prison. I am the

first object selected by the Attorney-General, Sir William Garrow, as a victim and an example. He has filed three criminal informations against me, and, assisted by the Court of King's Bench, put me into confinement. The reader shall be circumstantially informed how this has been effected. On Saturday last, in the afternoon, not having been out during the whole of the day, I left home about half-past four o'clock. On my return, I purchased two articles from the catalogue of Mr. Major, bookseller, in Skinner-street, one of them written by Samuel Johnson, in the year 1692, entitled, 'An Argument, proving—First, That the People of England did actually Abrogate or Dethrone King James II. for Misgovernment, and Promoted the Prince of Orange in his stead; Secondly, That this proceeding of theirs was according to the English Constitution, and Prescribed by it.' Just before I got to Fleet-lane in the Old Bailey, walking towards my own door, I opened this pamphlet to look at it. At the corner of the lane, two men rushed upon me, and one taking hold of me, said, 'You are my prisoner—I have a Judge's warrant against you.' I was at that moment reading these words in the pamphlet:—'Shall a poor pickpocket or a highwayman be hanged for a little loose money, and these wholesale thieves, who strip a nation of their lives, liberties, and estates, and all they have, not looked after?' I shut to the pamphlet, and putting my finger between the leaves that I might not lose the place, said to the man, 'Very well; walk home with me, and I will go with you.' *Officer.* 'No, I shall not suffer you to go home.' *Myself.* 'We are going past the door. You will surely step in with me, and let me speak to my wife?' *Officer.* No, you must go with me.' *Myself.* 'Why did you not call upon me at home? Why take me in the street?' *Officer.* 'I did not expect to find you at home.' *Myself.* 'I am almost constantly at home; I am very seldom out; I have not been out the whole of the day, till lately.' *Officer.* 'I did not call, I tell you, because I did not expect to find you. *Myself.* 'Well, I am willing to go with you; but I, of course, wish to apprise my family of what has happened.' *Officer.* 'I tell you I shall not let you go home. The bail is very large; you must not go home at all.' *Myself.* 'What has the bail to do with my going home or not going home? Go along with me; I shall not detain you, or run away from you.' *Officer.* 'It does not signify; you shall not go home.' *Myself.* 'Very well. Do as you please. I am in your power. Where are you going to take me to?' *Officer.* 'Here is the judge's warrant—Lord Ellenborough's warrant. Read it.' *Myself.* 'No, not here. I will read it at the place you take me to.' *Officer.* 'No—read it at once—here it is.' *Myself.* 'There is no necessity for it now, in the street.' *Officer.* 'Yes—you had better read it here.' *Myself.* 'Very well.' (I stood against a post, and having read the warrant, returned it to him. It was dated April 28th, five days before, and signed, Ellenborough.) *Officer.* 'There, now go with me.' *Myself.* 'By all means. Where are you going to take me to?' (We now crossed the way, toward Newgate-street.) *Officer.* 'To a lock-up house.' *Myself.* 'Whose?' The officer named one or two near the Bank.

I objected to going to a lock-up house in that direction ; telling him I preferred Hopwood's, in Chancery-lane, or some other, towards Temple Bar, it being nearer my friends. *Officer.* 'I will take you to the Compter, if you do not choose to go where I tell you.' *Myself.* 'I am in your power, and therefore you will do with me as you please.' A coach being called, I got in, and the officer followed."

Mr. Hone here describes the drive, and the arrival at Wilson's lock-up house in Warwick Court, Holborn. He wished to procure bail at once, but was told that that was impossible, since, though he was apprehended on one warrant, there were two others against him, and that forty-eight hours' notice must be given of bail. On Monday morning he was taken to Westminster, "placed on the floor of the court, and ordered to plead to three criminal informations." The Attorney-General read the first information, which charged the defendant with having published "the late John Wilkes's Catechism of a Ministerial Member," with the object of scandalising and bringing into contempt the Book of Common Prayer. Hone before pleading wished to address their lordships on the illegality of his detention since Saturday night. Lord Ellenborough thought he had better first hear the information read. As part of it, the libel itself also of course was read, and "at one whimsical part of it Sir William Garrow stated that he had refrained from bringing this libel before the court sooner that their ears should not be offended" by the blasphemy. Mr. Hone complained that owing to the mode of his arrest he had had no opportunity of consulting any one as to the right course to be pursued. The following conversation then ensued :—

"*Lord Ellenborough.* 'You are not required to plead immediately ; you may imparl to the next term.' *Mr. Hone.* 'I wish to have advice what step I shall take. I have not had a moment to consult with any friend.' *Lord E.* 'Do you claim imparlance to the next term ? You must make your election.' *Mr. H.* 'My Lord, I do not know what imparlance is ; that is, the legal effect of it.' *Lord E.* 'It is a liberty not to plead till next term.' *Mr. H.* 'I do not know that so much time is necessary ; I am not desirous at all of impeding the course of justice.'"

The Court then informed the defendant that "a short time would be allowed him if that were necessary ; he might be

brought up again on that day sen'night." Mr. Hone said, that provided he were furnished with a copy of the information he should no doubt be prepared to plead by to-morrow morning.

"*The Attorney-General.* 'I have already stated that the offence with which this person is charged, is the printing and publishing of a wicked and blasphemous libel. He is now called on to plead either guilty or not guilty to that charge; and his pleading either one or the other will not prevent him from withdrawing that plea, and substituting any other on a future occasion. But he has no right to a copy of the information till he has pleaded.' Mr. H. said that it was impossible for him to answer on the sudden, when he was so unprepared. *Lord E.* 'The time of the court must not be occupied in vain discussions. If you want time, you may have until next term; or a shorter time, if you think that sufficient. If you now plead not guilty, it will not prejudice you; because on application at a future time, you may be allowed to retract that plea, and to plead otherwise. The court, of course, cannot decide now what would be the result of that application; but in all probability you would be allowed to retract your plea. In the meantime, if you wish for a copy of the information, your attorney may obtain it at the proper office.' *Mr. H.* 'I have no attorney, my Lord. In the first place, I submit that the whole of the information has not been read to me.'"

The Attorney-General said he would now move that the whole of the information be read, and if the defendant did not afterwards plead, the Court would be asked to commit him. Mr. Hone stated that he did not wish the remainder to be read; he only wanted a copy of it. *The Court.* "You may have a copy upon the usual terms at the Crown office after you have pleaded." The Attorney-General moved that the remainder of the information should be read. The defendant was charged with printing and publishing a blasphemous libel, and the only question propounded to him now was, whether he was guilty or not? Surely he could have no difficulty in giving an answer, yes or no. *Mr. Hone.* "The consideration is whether this is a libel or not." *Lord Ellenborough.* "We can't go into that now." The Master then began to read, but the defendant interrupted him, and said that notwithstanding the reading he would still persist in his request for a copy of the information. *Lord Ellenborough.* "The Court has no power to give it to you. We have no funds out of which to pay for it." Mr. Hone assured their lordships that he had no funds either.

"*Lord E.* 'The Court cannot make a law for you which does not exist for the rest of His Majesty's subjects.' *Mr. H.* 'There may be parts of the information to which, upon due consideration, I may plead guilty, and to the rest not guilty.' *The Attorney-General.* 'You cannot plead in part; you must plead to the whole.' *Lord E.* 'You may certainly plead to a part, or to the whole, as you think fit.' *Mr. H.* 'Then I submit, with the utmost deference, that this is a still stronger reason for my claiming a copy of the information, that I may consider it, and determine the nature and extent of my plea to it.' *Lord E.* 'If a copy of the information were given to you, by the same rule every person charged with a crime might claim a copy of the indictment.' (Here Mr. Hone bowed assent to the propriety of every person charged with crime urging such a claim.) 'Such a claim has never before been preferred, that I know of, and certainly such a claim has never been allowed. There cannot be one law for you, and another for the rest of His Majesty's subjects. The Court is willing to grant every reasonable indulgence, if you wish for time to make up your mind as to your plea.'" The remainder of the information was then read. "*Mr. H.* 'I appeal to your lordships, as men, whether I, a man, or yourselves, in my situation, subject to human infirmities, could be expected to remember the different counts in this information, and all their technical charges and varied allegations, with such a power of recollection as to be enabled to say to which to plead guilty and to which to plead not guilty?' *The Attorney-General.* 'The defendant has been told what course he may pursue, but he declines to adopt it. If the defendant does not plead, I shall move that he be charged with another information.' *Mr. H.* 'If there are others, I am certainly most anxious to know all the charges the Attorney-General has against me; that is a piece of justice that I expect from the Attorney-General.'"

The second information was then read. It charged the defendant "with printing and publishing a blasphemous libel, entitled 'The Political Litany,' to the great displeasure of Almighty God, scandalising the service of the Church of England, as by law established, and bringing into contempt and ridicule a part of the service in the Book of Common Prayer called the Litany." The information being in part read, Mr. Hone said, "Will the Court permit me to sit whilst the remainder of the information is reading, as I am unwell; I am much disordered?" *Lord Ellenborough.* "No!" The Master now finished reading the information, and called upon the defendant to plead guilty or not guilty. *Mr. H.* "My lords, I submit the same application to the Court as in the last case. I ask for a copy of the

information." *Lord E.* "We can only give you the same answer as we did before." The Attorney-General then charged a third criminal information, "that the defendant had printed and published another blasphemous libel, entitled 'The Sinecurist's Creed, or Belief,' tending to scandalise and bring into contempt another part of the service in the Common Prayer, entitled the Creed of St. Athanasius." Mr. Hone here renewed his application for copies of the informations. The Attorney-General moved that he be committed. Mr. Hone then addressed the Court at length, and concluded "by imploring and demanding (if he might use such a phrase, meaning it in no disrespectful sense) copies of the informations; and whether," he said, "the Attorney-General file three or three hundred informations, or whether I sink on the floor of this court through weakness whilst hearing them read, I shall persist in my demand." The Attorney-General moved for committal. *Lord E.* "Let the defendant be committed till the first day of next term." Mr. Hone again complained of the manner in which he had been detained in custody. He was informed that the present was not the time for the agitation of that question. Mr. Hone desired to know for what and how he stood committed. "The Court remained silent, and he was removed by the tipstaffs." Lord Ellenborough stated that though the defendant was now committed to the first day of next term, yet he would be liberated, in the interim, on putting in sufficient bail. *The Attorney-General.* "Perhaps your Lordship would intimate to the defendant what bail will be required." "*Lord E.* For the first libel the defendant must be bound himself in 200*l.*, and two sureties in 100*l.* each; the same security must be given on the second; and in the third, himself in 100*l.*, and two sureties in 50*l.* each." Mr. Hone, being recalled into court, was informed of the extent of bail required. He said—"My Lords, I request to have copies of the warrants on which I was apprehended." *Mr. Justice Bailey.* "The Court has no power to grant them." *Tipstaff.* "You will have that in the copy of causes." What follows Mr. Hone has recorded. He wrote:—

"After these proceedings in the Court of King's Bench, I was taken to the King's Bench Prison, in St. George's Fields, where I bespoke the Copy of Causes, which the tipstaff told me in Court would contain copies of the Judge's warrants whereon I was arrested. The Copy of Causes has been furnished me. It contains no copy of the Judge's warrants; and on application to the office of the Marshal of the prison, I am informed the warrants are not lodged with him: but the Copy of Causes is a most important document:—'Monday next, after one month from the Feast-day of Easter, in the fifty-seventh year of King George the Third: London—The King against William Hone (for the late John Wilkes's Catechism of a Ministerial Member). On the motion of the Attorney-General. By the Court. Monday next, &c.—(2): London. The King against William Hone (for the Sinecurist's Creed).—(3): Monday next, &c. London. The King against William Hone (for the Political Litany). And is detained for no other cause, as appears by the books.—6th May, 1817.' Now these Rules of the Court state what is not the fact. I did not pray for time till the first day of next term to plead. I prayed no day to answer. I craved a copy of each information, as each was read to me, and on each a copy was denied me. I refused to plead until I had a copy. I respectfully, but peremptorily, refused to plead, and stated why I refused to plead."

A notice appears in the same *Register*, to the effect that the legal action is against the parodies, not against the paper, which would be undisturbed by the result, whatever it might be. Mr. Hone found that he had now a companion in guilt in Mr. T. J. Wooler, who was charged with having published a libel on his Majesty's ministers in a periodical publication called "The Black Dwarf." Mr. Wooler asked for free access to the information, which was allowed. The reader will find this trial worth a little notice, as illustrating a very important difference between the jury system at that time and at the time of Mr. Hone's trials. After Mr. Wooler had been "removed from the court," Sir William Garrow, the Attorney-General, took what was called an affectionate leave of the Bar. He spoke feelingly of the thirty years during which his voice had been heard "for others," and of the pride he felt in having made his way, without aid or patronage, step by step through the various grades of his profession. On being called now (he had been made a judge) to another place, he bade his brethren a brotherly good-bye. Then Sir William Garrow disappeared from the scene, apparently to his own satisfaction,

though in utter unconsciousness perhaps of his success in having as Attorney-General made his name durable in history. On the following Saturday, May 17th, Mr. Hone again appeared before Lord Ellenborough, and repeated his complaint that the means of giving bail had been denied him. The Lord Chief Justice said he had understood that the prisoner had a motion to submit to the Court As it appeared he had not, the next case must be called.

"*Mr. Hone* (to Mr. Serjeant Hullock). 'Sir, I entreat pardon for interrupting you. My Lords (to the Court), I have a motion to submit to the Court, for which purpose I obtained the rule, and of which I gave notice.' *Lord Ellenborough.* 'What is it? Now let us have a motion.' *Mr. H.* 'It *is* a motion. My Lords, when I was in the court before, I applied for copies of the warrants——' *Lord E.* 'Your better course is at present to state your motion.' *Mr. Hone.* 'My Lord, what I am about to say applies in the way of explanation.' *Lord E.* 'Yes; but then it must be relevant matter. State your motion in the most perfect manner you can.' *Mr. H.* 'I will, my Lord—relying upon the Court to be heard shortly, by way of observation, afterwards. My motion is, that I be immediately discharged out of the custody of the Marshal of the Marshalsea, upon grounds which are stated in an affidavit I now hold in my hand.' *Lord E.* 'Not having prayed a day to plead, the Court infers that you are indifferent about the day. If you do not plead when called upon, you in fact ask further time; further time is allowed you, and you are told you may come in to plead immediately, if you have any intention to plead. After that statement, by your not pleading, you implicitly consent to imprisonment. Really the Court cannot have its time taken up so.' *Mr. H.* 'Really, my Lord, if your Lordship will please to recollect, I did not ask for time. I did not plead, and I stated why I did not plead. I wish to state nothing offensive; but the Court will surely remember——' *Lord E.* 'Do you mean to plead, or do you not?' *Mr. H.* 'I did not imagine that question would have been asked me.' *Lord E.* 'Then remand him.'"

Mr. Hone makes, in his *Register*, this indignant protest: "I have said that I will repel and refute this scandalous and senseless charge of blasphemy. In my present situation, with the purse of the Treasury, and all the power of an administration, 'the cut-purse of the empire,' against me, I must be allowed to choose my time and place for doing it; but I will do it, and, I repeat it, to the confusion and dismay of my enemies." In the same publication Mr. Hone's readers have

lists of the House of Commons, purporting to show that 487 of the 658 members are nominated more or less directly by peers and other wealthy persons. This, it will be again observed, is at a time when the influence of the House of Commons might be all-important to Mr. Hone. In the same spirit he published some letters, not his own, on "Tithe-loving Priests," and like subjects, clear evidence how little anything at all like conciliation was in his mind. The arrest was on Saturday, the 3rd of May. On the 12th, in a further debate on Lord Sidmouth's Circular, which had been several times before both Houses, Lord Grey called attention to the case of Mr. Hone, and asked, since the Government had all at once been moved so strongly against profane parodies, if there was not a disposition to go a little farther, and deal out equal justice to persons on the other side. He read the following from the Anti-Jacobin, which, among other productions, had, he said, passed without the slightest notice:—

"Couriers and stars, sedition's evening host,
Thou Morning Chronicle and Morning Post,
Whether ye make the rights of man your theme,
Your country libel, and your God blaspheme,
Or dirt on private worth and virtue throw,
Still blasphemous or blackguard, praise Lepaux!

"And ye five other wandering bards that move
In sweet accord of harmony and love,
Coleridge, and Southey, Lloyd, and Lambe and Co.
Tune all your mystic harps to praise Lepaux!

"Priestley and Wakefield, humble, holy men,
Give praises to his name with tongue and pen!
Thelwall, and ye that lecture as ye go,
And, for your pains, get pelted, praise Lepaux!

"Praise him, each Jacobin, or fool, or knave,
And your cropped heads in sign of worship wave!
All creeping creatures, venomous and low,
Paine, Williams, Godwin, Holcroft, praise Lepaux!

"And thou, Leviathan! on ocean's brim,
Hugest of living things that sleep and swim;
Thou, in whose nose, by Burke's gigantic hand,
The hook was fixed to drag thee to the land,

With ——, ——, and —— in thy train ;
And —— wallowing in the yeasty main,
Still as ye snort, and puff, and spout, and blow,
In puffing and in spouting, praise Lepaux ! "

Of these verses Mr. Hone says : "They are a parody on the Benedicite in the Common Prayer-Book, and are attributed to the Right Honourable George Canning. I entreat the Attorney-General that he will send Mr. Canning here to bear me company. But, alas! I have no hope of this; for Mr. Canning is a Cabinet minister, with places for himself and pensions for his relations, whilst William Hone is a humble bookseller, with a large family and scarcely means to keep them. 'This comes of aping one's betters.' If the Attorney-General will not listen to my call, I invite Mr. Canning to exchange places with me. I have really the vanity to believe that were he in the King's Bench prison and I in the Cabinet, the affairs of the nation would not go on the worse because one parody-maker became a minister instead of another." The term Leviathan was a reference to the Duke of Bedford. It would be idle to either controvert or support the position here taken by Mr. Hone, and maintained by him throughout the trials. When the full facts of the libels are stated, the reader will perhaps see little difference between this parody of Mr. Canning's and the parodies made by Mr. Hone, save in the spirit manifested, in which Mr. Canning certainly was the worse and more vindictive of the two. The political object of securing the minister as a fellow-culprit was a darling object of the poor bookseller. Hone was again brought before the Court on the 18th of June, immediately after the acquittal of the persons charged with high treason, and was again called upon to plead. He again declined, on the ground that the informations were unconstitutional and unjust. The following fight then ensued:—

"*Mr. Justice Bailey.* 'Do you plead?' *Mr. Hone.* 'My Lords, if you will hear me, I shall show you why I ought not to be asked to plead.' *The Court.* 'You must plead. We cannot hear you. You must plead directly. *Mr. H.* 'My Lords, I entreat to be heard——' *The Court.* 'The time of the Court cannot be wasted. You must plead instantly. *Mr. H.* 'My Lords——' *Lord Ellenborough.* 'Plead at once. Say whether you will

plead or not. The Court cannot have its time taken up in hearing such stuff; if he refuses to plead, he must be taken away.' *Mr. H.* 'My Lords ——' *Lord E.* 'Let him be committed.' *Mr. H.* 'What will be the consequence if I do not plead?' *Clerk in Court.* 'You will be brought up hereafter to receive judgment.' *Mr. H.* 'Since, then, I am forced to plead, I will plead. As the Court forces me to plead, I plead.' *Clerk.* 'Are you guilty, or not guilty?' *Mr. H.* 'Not guilty. I protest against these proceedings as arbitrary and unjust.' The Clerk then required me to plead to the second information filed against me for the Sinecurist's Creed. *Mr. H.* 'My Lords, I ask for copies of these informations. How can you expect me to plead to I know not what?' *The Court.* 'You cannot be allowed copies—you must plead.' *Mr. H.* 'My Lords, you are doing me injustice by refusing me copies of the charges against me, and—' *Lord E.* (very vehemently). 'You must plead one way or the other. Our time cannot be thus wasted.' *Mr. H.* 'My Lord, your Lordship yourself told me that I might plead guilty to some counts and not guilty to other counts, and yet you require me to plead without the least possibility of becoming acquainted with the informations, to enable me so to plead—(Lord Ellenborough here became very impatient)—I say, my Lord, your Lordship calls on me to understand what you yourself, in my situation, could not understand. How can I, or how could you, my Lord, plead to parts of an information without knowing its parts?' *The Court.* 'If you do not plead, you will be remanded.' *Mr. H.* 'Then I say to this information, as I did to the former—if the Court forces me to plead, I will plead.' *Mr. Justice Holroyd.* 'You are not forced to plead. You must say whether you are guilty or not guilty, one or the other; but use your own pleasure.' *Mr. H.* 'My Lord, the alternative of the Court is too cruel. If I do not plead, it proceeds to pass sentence upon me as being guilty.' *Lord E.* 'You may plead, or let it alone; but unless you do, you will be remanded immediately. The public time cannot be consumed by altercation with you.' *Mr. H.* 'Then as the Court forces me to plead, I plead.' *Clerk.* 'Are you guilty, or not guilty?' *Mr. H.* 'Not guilty. I again protest against these proceedings as unconstitutional and unjust.' The Clerk, in like manner, required me to plead guilty or not guilty to a third information against me for the Political Litany. *Mr. H.* 'If I plead, I plead by force.' *Mr. Justice Bailey.* 'You are not here for the Court to advise you; do you plead or not?' *Lord E.* 'The Court cannot parley with you any further—plead, or go away.' *Mr. H.* 'Being forced by the Court to plead, I plead.' *Clerk.* 'Are you guilty, or not guilty?' *Mr. H.* 'I protest against all this as unjust; and being forced to plead, I plead not guilty. My Lords, having now pleaded, I hope the Court will order me copies of the informations.' *Lord E.* 'You can have no more than every other subject is entitled to. The Court has no power to order copies of the informations to be given to you. *Mr. H.* 'If the Court will not furnish me with copies, I trust it will permit me to go to the Crown Office, and make copies of the informations myself.'

Mr. Justice B. 'No; you cannot be suffered to do this.' *Lord E.* 'You must withdraw.' *Mr. H.* 'My Lords, in this case I stand on my right, and protest against the proceedings of the Attorney-General, and the proceedings here, as illegal and unconstitutional. *Lord E.* 'Well, then, protest or do what you please—but go about your business.' *Mr. H.* 'I do protest then—I protest, my Lords, against the whole of these proceedings as illegal, unconstitutional, arbitrary, and unjust.' I then left the court and returned to prison in custody of a tipstaff. In the evening a clerk from the Treasury served me with Rules of Court obtained by the Attorney-General to nominate juries to try the three *ex-officio* informations filed against me :—'Wednesday next, after fifteen days of the Holy Trinity, in the fifty-seventh year of King George the Third. London—The King against William Hone (for the late John Wilkes's Catechism). At the instance of the prosecutor according to the form of the Statute in such case made and provided, it is ordered that the Sheriffs of the City of London do attend the Coroner and Attorney of this Court with the Book or List of Persons qualified to serve on juries within the said city; and that the said Coroner and Attorney, in the presence of both parties, shall nominate forty-eight free and lawful men out of the said book or list; and that the agent, attorney, or solicitor for the prosecutor, shall strike out twelve; and the agent, attorney, or solicitor for the defendant shall in like manner strike out twelve of the said forty-eight; and that twenty-four, the remainder of the said forty-eight, shall be returned for the trial of the issue joined in the prosecution.' This evening, therefore, I go in custody of a tipstaff to the Crown office to attend the nomination of three special juries; and if I get sensible and impartial men upon my jury, I shall get a verdict upon each information."

It will not have escaped the reader that, whatever Mr. Hone's talents might be in other respects, his peculiar gifts were for a free-hand fight, with skill of fence and quickness of perception on questions of fact. But it ought also to be remembered that both he and Mr. Wooler, after the manner of Mr. Wilkes and Mr. Horne Tooke, had, in some respects, a license which no barrister would have dared to take. The trained lawyer in each of these cases was beaten by the defendant maintaining his ground, regardless either of rules or consequences. Lord Ellenborough was beaten by the fact that not only were the untrained advocates in possession of the field, within the scope of well-defined rules which they skilfully avoided breaking, but that they had with them simple right which the Court had resolved to set aside and could not. It was not, therefore, so much a trial of skill as of right and equity. It will be observed also that

the Lord Chief Justice appeared already to have imbibed a hearty dislike of the persistent, obnoxious bookseller, and that the bookseller was not likely to have any consideration if once the case could be removed from a war of preliminaries, and from the decisions of juries to the "mercy of the Court." He would be sent to prison for as long a time as Lord Ellenborough could give him; and if he should come out broken in spirit and health, why that would not be the business of the law. The entire circumstances had that aspect.

CHAPTER XV.

HIGH TREASON IN 1817: *WATSON, THISTLEWOOD, AND OTHERS.*

1817—The Spa Fields Riots—Trial for High Treason—Sir Charles Wetherell and Serjeant Copley—The Spy Castles—Confessions as to His Connection with the Rioters—Hatred Towards the Spy—Not Guilty—Lord Ellenborough—Mr. Wooler and the Black Dwarf—Verdict of the Jury—Wooler Objects to a New Trial—His Strong Language—Danger of Playing with Lord Ellenborough—The Crime not Criminal—Hone's Declamation—Denunciation of the Government in Parliament, and in Public Meetings—Trial by Jury—Struggle of Mr. Charles Pearson and the "City" Against the Packing of Juries—The Subject Before the Common Council—Mr. Pearson's Account—Mr. Pearson and Mr. Wooler—Application of Mr. Hone's Rejected—Trial of Mr. Roger O'Connor—Evidence of Approvers—Action of O'Connor for Perjury—How Defeated—Mr. Gale Jones and Mr. Richard Carlile—Carlile as a Book Hawker—His Later Views—Robert Owen—His Character and Aims—An Adverse View of the Reformers—Death of The Princess Charlotte—The Prince Regent.

ARTHUR THISTLEWOOD, James Watson, Richard Hooper, and Thomas Preston were taken from the Tower to the Court of King's Bench on May 17th, to plead to an indictment for high treason. The trial began on the 9th June, before Lord Chief Justice Ellenborough and the Justices of the Court. The case of Dr. Watson was first taken. The prisoner was defended by Sir Charles Wetherell and by Serjeant Copley, who had his first mark yet to make at the Bar, but who would in time win a great name. Lord Ellenborough, though in ill-health, was in his high place—Lord Campbell suggests, from a sense of duty, and that he left the Court after the verdict with a profound conviction that the prisoners were guilty of the crime for which they had been arraigned. Several members of both Houses of Parliament were on the Bench—Earl Grey, Lord Holland, Lord Grosvenor, and

others. The Attorney-General, in stating the case, said that in October, 1816, Castles, whom he should call as a witness, "got acquainted with Watson, and Preston, at a meeting of the Spenceans, held at the 'Cock,' in Grafton Street, Soho;" and that the three afterwards met together at different places, and also met the other prisoners. Then followed a detail of preparations for a great outbreak, and considering the violence that led to the riot on the Spa Fields, it is not improbable that a wild and insane purpose did pervade the councils in which Castles played so prominent a part. At the end of the third day's trial the Lord Chief Justice began to show symptoms of great weariness. Loud cheers, too, with which the prisoners were each day greeted outside, must have been as gall and wormwood to the dispirited judge. The mass of evidence connecting Dr. Watson with a design to at least use physical force for some purpose was overwhelming; but Sir Charles Wetherell and Serjeant Copley argued strongly, and in the case of the latter with such lucid power as to take the Court by storm, that a riot is not necessarily treason. There was no proof of a concerted rebellion. That arms and ammunition had been found was admitted; but was there not reason to believe that they had been designedly placed by the informer—the suborner for whom no terms of opprobrium were deemed sufficiently bad? The cross-examination of the spy by Sir Charles Wetherell was not only successful in eliciting from the witness undoubted evidence of his own bad character, but also of his active efforts to cause an outbreak. A whitesmith by trade, he was made to confess that he had not worked at that trade for twelve or fourteen years. Before making the acquaintance of the prisoners he had been, he admitted, in great distress, and—well, yes, if the learned counsel would have it, he had been convicted. "Were you ever at Guilford?" "Yes." "Were you under commitment at Guilford?" "Yes." "What for?" "I daresay you know very well." "Perhaps, but tell me." "For putting off bad notes." "That is, for forgery?" "I never understood it so." "Were you under commitment at Abergavenny?" "Yes, once." "Were you tried at Guilford?" "No." "Why?"

"I was admitted as evidence." "What, the same accident happened there as on this occasion?" "It did." "What became of the man against whom you gave evidence?" "He suffered by the laws of his country." "Did he die on the scaffold as a victim?" "I was informed he did."

It must have been evident to the Court by this time that there was little likelihood of a conviction. Then followed a series of questions which exposed a private history, illustrating on the spy's part, but by a process of negation, nearly all the Decalogue, and the Seventh Commandment in particular. Towards the close the witness was asked: "After Preston was apprehended I believe you endeavoured to take care of any little property or furniture he might have?" "The goods were not his when Preston was taken before the Lord Mayor; his daughters assisted me in taking away a table and a flock bed that belonged to the committee. I took the things and appropriated them for my own use, for the committee had left me without anything." "Was the committee" (the committee he betrayed, it will be remembered) "obliged to support you?" "They had supported me before, and Thistlewood had always said that there would be some money to take me out of the country if anything happened." This is the third of the spies-in-chief to whom the reader's attention has been directed. Probably nothing more astounding than the evidence, of which the foregoing is a small, though the most important, part, ever was heard in an English Court of Justice. At the close of the seventh long day the Lord Chief Justice summed up, with certainly no leaning to mercy. If, he said, an opportunity had been given to examine the history of the witnesses against Castles, perhaps their character would have stood the test no better than his. At another time this charge might have had weight. Now it had none. The public mind, embittered by the enactment of bad laws, by the exposure of other spies, who had led men to the scaffold, was ill-prepared to brook these last confessions of Castles. "Would the jury like a little refreshment before they left the court?" the Lord Chief Justice asked. The foreman, "in a tone," Lord Campbell says, "which made the Lord Chief Justice's countenance visibly

collapse, said, 'My Lord, we will not be long.'" The mere form of the withdrawal of the jury only seems to have been necessary; but still they had a private talk of two hours, probably about the fearful character of the spy system, which had gradually become one of the "cherished institutions in Church and State." Then they returned a verdict of Not guilty. A barrister, the *Examiner* says, drew back the green curtain of the Bar, and said, "Acquitted." Then cheers burst forth from all sides of the Court, and the verdict was borne by popular acclamation to every part of London. The carriage that was waiting to carry the prisoner back to the Tower, and the troops that were ready to escort it, were dismissed. Watson escaped the crowd for a time, but he was at last found, and the horses taken from his coach, which was drawn along Holborn and Fleet Street in triumph. Next day the other prisoners were set free, and the Spa Fields tragedy came to an end. For some time—indeed a pretty long time after—we find strenuous attempts made in the journals and periodicals to describe and set a mark on the spies, so that anyone finding them might take measures to secure them the benefit of Lynch law, which was in several notable cases the result. A short time after the trials, Lord Ellenborough, while in Paris, in the hope of re-establishing his health, wrote a prayer of thanksgiving for the mercies vouchsafed to him during a long life, and asking that by the mercy of God these blessings might be used for the "benefit of my fellow-creatures and Thy honour and glory." It is a solemn prayer to come from Lord Ellenborough. It carries the mind back, through many crooked channels of political life, to the parsonage house in the little village of Salkeld, in Cumberland, where Edward Law first learnt, and from example, it is said, as well as from precept, of truths which will remain when such policy as prevailed in high quarters in England in 1817 is covered with a nation's scorn. Thistlewood was caught at a later period in the Cato Street Conspiracy, from the consequences of which there was no escape, for it signified nothing less than the relentless murder of the ministers of the crown. He was condemned by Chief Justice

Abbott, and was executed with four of his chief accomplices at the Old Bailey in May 1820. In advance of this later trial the London newspapers received warning that any publication of the proceedings before the verdict would be punished with a heavy fine. The *Observer* disobeyed the injunction, advisedly setting-off the fine—500*l.*—against the benefit which the proprietors thought would accrue from the early publication of the intelligence. The sale of the paper was very large, and its popularity vastly increased; and, best of all, the fine was not enforced, so that there was the benefit all round.

Let us now turn to another trial in which centres great interest, though of a less tragic kind. Mr. Wooler's case came before the Court of King's Bench on June 5th, and was represented by Mr. Wooler himself with such marked ability, that what might have been a petty case became a great State trial. The charge was that the prisoner had endeavoured, in a publication called "The Black Dwarf," to excite a spirit of sedition, &c., and that he had further traduced and libelled the character of Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Canning; that is, the *Examiner* says, he had written the most bitter and galling truths of Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Canning. Two passages will show the nature of the charge under both heads. On the first we have these remarks:—"The Constitution which France could not assail, nor even wished to injure, has perished at St. Stephen's; perished ignobly, and without a struggle among the representatives of the people, the guardians of the public purse. We embarked in the last war to conquer France, and we have conquered ourselves; our ministers have scarcely breathed from the contest against freedom abroad, and they are already in full armed mail against liberty at home. They would destroy the very name of liberty, but it is immortal. Our apparent success has been purchased at the expense of all we have. We are like the German baron, who laid out all his property in the purchase of arms to defend it; like us, at last, he found he had nothing to defend. And yet our ministers dare talk of the glory we have acquired. Sad specimen indeed of glory, and dearly purchased, is the empty boast! Is this, then, glorious to have restored the

most oppressive systems of political degradation, and the most infamous control of religious opinions? Is it glorious to England that Lord Castlereagh and his ferocious friends on the Continent should have restored the Pope? Is it glorious for England that the wretched Ferdinand should remount the throne of Spain, under the protection of Lord Castlereagh, over the mangled bodies of those mistaken men who fought for his title, who bled for his defence, and who escaped a thousand deaths from his enemies to perish like felons by his orders?" On the second count we read: "The appetite of our statesmen for plunder seems to be increasing as the finances of the State diminish. The retrenchment to which they have been compelled to resort has consisted only in the unjust dismissal of the poor and meritorious servants of the State, that the salaries of their useless superiors might be increased; and such men as Castlereagh bribe such men as Canning to associate in a league for the oppression of their country. Such is the unblushing impudence of Canning's brazen features, that he dares to sit as a legislator in an assembly from which he ought to be dismissed with execration. What comparison can be made in point of actual guilt between the miserable being who commits a petty theft under the influence of distress, and the statesman who takes advantage of a sacred trust to betray the confidence of a nation, and prey like a vulture on the life-blood of the empire? When the gibbet is prepared for the one, the scaffold should be ready for the other; the sacred name of justice should not be profaned by the punishment of the one, while it is mocked by the escape of the other." This, of course, is dreadful language, and as unjust as it is dreadful; but history will hold that if the language had been more restrained and sober the criticism was not uncalled for, in the then state of public affairs.

Mr. Wooler's speech in his defence occupied two hours, and was characterised, one writer says, "by great natural powers of eloquence, and in some parts of such irresistible touches as to call for spontaneous applause." He attacked the doctrine "which of late years had obtained in this country of constructive libel," denied the justice and legality of *ex-officio* informations,

and outraged all the traditions and decorum of the silk gowns by speaking of the Attorney-General as "my learned friend." Mr. Justice Abbott several times interposed, but Mr. Wooler said that if he were not allowed to defend himself in his own way, he would consider that justice had not been done to him. The case therefore went on to the close. The decision of the jury was given with a reservation. Three jurymen, the foreman said, had consented to join the rest, on condition that they might hand in a written paper of special reasons. Mr. Justice Abbott declared that he *neither* could read nor listen to any such special reasons. The question for the jury was simply—Guilty, or not guilty? Well, in that case, guilty—yes, they would say guilty—"but"——. "Guilty," said Mr. Justice Abbott. Another information was brought against the defendant, but here the verdict was in his favour. "Guilty," however, in the first case, clearly; and with Sir Francis Burdett, among other obnoxious persons, listening in court. Guilty, but from many circumstances not quite a comforting verdict for the judge. It was afterwards found that the statement which the three jurymen wished to hand in was:—"As truth is declared by the law of the land to be a libel, we three are compelled to find the defendant guilty." This presented a hopeless prospect for the Attorney-General, who indeed was a somewhat hopeless personage for such a struggle. On the following day Mr. Justice Abbott said that he was informed that when he put the question, "*Guilty, or not guilty?*" in Mr. Wooler's case, on the previous day, all the jurors were not within court, nor could he be certain that they all heard the question. In that case Lord Ellenborough suggested that the defendant should have a new trial; the verdict of "Not guilty" was recorded. On the 19th June Mr. Wooler moved that the verdict of guilty against him be erased from the records of the Court, the Court having granted a new rule against him. The Attorney-General supported the rule. *Lord Ellenborough.* "Tell us now what you want. Do you wish the verdict set aside?" "Yes." "Very good." Mr. Wooler then began to give his reasons, and at last said: "I defended myself against the principles of oppression

and persecution acted upon by my prosecutors—against the splenetic malevolence of the Attorney-General." *Lord Ellenborough.* "This is not to be endured; speak more respectfully, or you shall go back to whence you came, to frame your argument with an amended sense of decency." "I complain of an act of injustice; I contend against a new trial as abhorrent to all principles of English jurisprudence," &c. *Lord Ellenborough.* "Have you done?" *Mr. Wooler.* "At present." *Lord Ellenborough.* "For ever, sir, on this point; let the prisoner be remanded." In the end the proceedings were quietly dropped, and Mr. Wooler was left to his editing and writing, part of which consisted in a denunciation of the traps which had been laid for him by the spy Oliver, who had professed to be, and who actually had seemed, an enthusiast for reform. Seven months elapsed before Mr. Wooler was finally set at rest by his legal tormentors, to whom he also was a terrible torment; but the case was decided when he that day parted from Lord Ellenborough. At a later period, in another case, he was not so fortunate. The new Attorney-General, Sir S. Shepherd, was under the disadvantage of being deaf, and Mr. Wooler seems to have carried his points in a somewhat high-handed way. How dangerous it was, however, to beard Lord Ellenborough, is shown by Lord Campbell in an extract from the diary of Sir Samuel Romilly. The entry ran: "Lord Lauderdale told me that after my pamphlet appeared in 1810, Lord Ellenborough said that it was sometimes, but not often, necessary to execute the law against privately stealing from shops, and that he had himself left a man for execution at Worcester for that offence." The man had counterfeited idiocy, lolling out his tongue, &c., though it was shown that he was not an idiot. So Lord Ellenborough left him for execution. "Upon which, Lord Lauderdale asked Lord Ellenborough what law there was which punished with death the counterfeit of idiocy in a court of justice." This anecdote, among many which could be given, shows that Lord Ellenborough was not a safe man to play with. It would be a poor object of any one to direct the drift of these proceedings into an argument for disrespect to be offered to the law, or the

officers of the law. Certainly there would be no gain to the nation in that view being established or taken. What is necessary to be observed is that the time and the circumstances were alike exceptional; that men like Wooler and Hone were not charged with immorality or anything of the nature of crime in any of those senses against which all human society is arrayed. In their case, what was criminal that day might be a virtue the next; and certainly in these times is not crime. There was no reason, therefore, why a man should speak to even a judge in any tone other than that which he felt the circumstances warranted.

The comment of Mr. Hone on the trials of Thistlewood and Wooler can hardly be called weighty. In that of the charges for high treason he brought out the hardest names in the dictionary, and applied them to Castles, but with the exception of a reprint of an excellent report of the cross-examination, the writing is purely declamatory. The same may be said of his account of Mr. Wooler's trial. We have no real light thrown on the subject by Hone's *Register*, save in the relation of the trial to Mr. Pearson's great efforts—to which we have yet to come—for the revision of the jury-lists. The mere statement of facts was almost out of the order of Mr. Hone's gifts; a dispassionate statement of facts was quite out of the order of his gifts where a special effort was not needed, as in the case of his own defence. It has been said that Mr. Walter of the *Times* was in the habit of saying to the members of his staff, "Gentlemen, let us have facts;" and the anecdote, correct or incorrect—and it is probably correct—illustrates a necessity of that declamatory time. Declamation was common; some of the most renowned speeches and pamphlets are pure declamation; a statement of facts was not deemed likely to "rouse men's blood." These and other trials, however, were watched closely by men of great social and political influence; by public-spirited Whigs, public-spirited Radicals, and, in spite of party laws, by public-spirited Tories. On numerous occasions in Parliament and at public meetings—as, for instance, at a memorable dinner to celebrate the return of Sir Francis Burdett for Westminster

—the action of the Government was denounced in language quite as unsparing as Mr. Wooler's, and as effective as Mr. Hone's.

An event of another kind, and of the first importance, occurred about this time. It has been stated in an earlier chapter that the freedom of the people, abandoned by the House of Commons, and attacked by the court and the administration, was preserved by the ancient institution of Trial by Jury. We must not forget how this victory was achieved. Trial by jury never in itself required any defence in England, and never has needed a man to maintain its glorious position as one of the mainstays—and indeed, as often the mainstay—of English freedom; but that it was in danger in 1817 is not to be doubted. There had been discovered a great art of making the jury-lists to only carry certain classes of names, from whence special juries were, by the same high art, selected. When the fierce laws of 1817 were foreshadowed, and it was evident that they would be passed, patriotic men—not men of mere noise, but practical lovers of freedom—began to look to the London jury-lists, and to the mode of selecting juries. Among these men was Mr. Charles Pearson, solicitor, afterwards solicitor to the City. Mr. Pearson, in common with many others, saw at once that if the ministers were allowed to make their own jury-lists, justice was out of the question, and the solicitor set to work after a thorough and resolute fashion. As a member of the Common Council, he brought the case, thoroughly studied and prepared, before that Court in July, and stated that the mode by which the list from whence special juries were taken was made up had existed for eighty years and that the officer chiefly concerned agreed that it was illegal, and ought to be radically amended. Mr. Pearson's own account, given after Hone's trials, epitomises the general facts. "When I went," he said, "to the Crown office with Mr. Hone to strike the jury, and to endeavour to abolish that system which has sent many persons as innocent as he to dungeons and death, I found there the ostlers of the Augean stable, with the hacks of the Court in waiting, and the Jehus of the law ready mounted to ride over the liberties of the people.

. . . . They said: 'Gentlemen, there shall be no selection—there shall be an indiscriminate taking; you may proceed to any part of the stable,' well knowing that the sorry jades in that stable, almost worn out in the service of corruption, were ready to give us the long trot the moment they were employed. I was fortunate enough to produce an opposition to that system. I stated my determination to attack in every way a system detested by good men in all times, a system reprobated on the trial of Mr. Horne Tooke, a system the principle of which those who have been the victims of it never took on themselves to investigate, because they felt so many strong prejudices embarked in favour of what appeared to be a fair jury. We, however, sent their hackneys back to the stable, and I am happy to say I have now secured stable and all, and have them in my possession." On the 21st November Mr. Wooler again appeared before the Court of King's Bench, and moved that the jury list in his case should be cancelled, on the ground that "the list had been illegally, improperly, and partially made by the King's attorney and coroner." Mr. Pearson, who acted for the applicant, gave evidence as to the proper and legal qualification of jurors. Lord Ellenborough, without hearing more, said that the allegation of partiality in the selection of jurors was quite sufficient to justify the granting of the rule asked for. It is unnecessary to enter farther into this spirited motion of Mr. Wooler's beyond saying that on the 27th November the rule was discharged, after a severe fight, in which Mr. Wooler seems to have had greatly the advantage. A like application of Mr. Hone's on the same day was similarly discharged. But the great battle was virtually won. On December 11th the entire circumstances were brought before the Common Council of London in a lengthy report. It was stated that on the plan now adopted Magna Charta itself was set at nought and nullified; that 485 names were taken by a system of nomination which consisted merely in the entry of names in a book which was left at the Crown Office for weeks, so that the packing of the special juries was a simple matter of manipulation. From this time it was certain that the juries for the trials of Hone could not be packed

by the Government. It was possible for ministers to carry measures through Parliament in the face of the Opposition, but it was impossible for them to carry out their first intention of breaking up the constitutional and legal associations for reform, and equally impossible for them to set at nought public opinion represented in Parliament by men like Lord Grey, Lord Holland, Mr. Bennett, and Lord Cochrane, and out of it by the lynx-eyed men of the city and a sleepless press.

Fierce language was used on all hands. There was no such thing as catholicity of opinion in 1817 among politicians. In fact catholicity in Earl Grey, with respect to the doings of Lord Liverpool's Government, would have been criminality. It was necessary to call a spade a spade, and sometimes to assume a violence when naturally the violence did not exist. When an Englishman resident in London in these less "extreme" times would shake off the bitterness and sadness that in reading or writing history are sure to rest upon him more or less, there is one sanctuary yet in Westminster, sacred to peace, and to the great lessons of great lives. From the Abbey to the Houses of Parliament is but a stone's throw. In the one place Pitt confronts Fox in cold marble; in the other "the mighty chiefs lie side by side." In both there is a dumb eloquence more potent than any words pleading for justice and for an oblivion of all errors, the story of which is not needed for warning to other men. And if the Englishman so inclined to deal with men and acts long gone should chance to have an American friend, proud of Franklin, and not too regardful of Franklin's foes, he might by turning into one of the cross lobbies leading from the entrance hall of the House of Commons to the committee-rooms, find means to deepen Mr. Thackeray's great lesson—"O brothers, ... enemies no more, let us take a mournful hand together as we stand by this royal corpse." In that short lobby there are a few pictures which ever retell Thackeray's story, and repeat his appeal. You see the Pilgrim Fathers leaving England—a grand historical conception;—the English church on the hill, the green fields to which the little band are bidding a last farewell; the flag inscribed "Freedom of Worship," high above

the little boat of the "Mayflower," the smoke from whose signal gun is curling in the distance. Close to this, on another canvas, stands Charles the First, with his hand on the shoulder of his boy, as if appealing even to the Republican that the green grass might at last be allowed to cover all. And there is Speaker Lenthal reminding the King that the Commons have "privilege;" and close at hand, on another canvas, are the train-bands, leaving London for the Civil Wars; the preacher speaking to them the last words from a pulpit which they are marching past in the street, and a fine female face on the foreground, with a big tear on the cheek and a look that seems to say there will be no return for some at least of the men of those train-bands. Then close at hand, and as if for the purpose of securing that the group of pictures should be English and not sectional in any way, there are the Fellows of the University of Oxford leaving their homes rather than sign the detested "Solemn League and Covenant." The Dissenter and the Churchman, the Cavalier and the Roundhead, the Englishman and the Founders of America, may meet there in the House of Commons, and find a lesson which they could not have found even as recently as sixty years ago. In 1817, so bitter was public feeling, that the mass of Radicals seemed ready to cast off and disown the grand traditions of England. They only seemed so, but still the appearance was a mistake, and one that it was necessary to remove.

One other trial to which the reader's attention might be given for a short time is that of Mr. Roger O'Connor, in the law courts at Dublin. The case is both curious in itself, and instructive for the view it presents of Irish life. The charge, reduced to simple terms, was that a man named Warring or Warren (now the approver), having on the 2nd October, 1812, robbed the mail, the prisoner O'Connor and another, also on trial, received the stolen goods knowing them to be stolen. It was also alleged that they incited the theft. There were three indictments, but the above form the gist of the whole. The interest the case excited in England may be judged from

the fact that Mr. Bennett went specially from London for the defence, and that Sir Francis Burdett, a ready witness, walked arm-in-arm with the prisoner from the gaol to the court, and sat with him during the trial. The witnesses for the Crown were three—the approver, a man named Owen under sentence of death, and a female servant of the prisoner's. Mr. O'Connor, who had himself been tried and persecuted for alleged disloyalty, was brother of the fugitive Arthur O'Connor, an avowed and unyielding opponent of the Government, and, as words were used at the time, a "lawless and abandoned traitor." The robbery of the mail-coach in the neighbourhood of the residence of Mr. O'Connor (or "O'Connor" rather, by his own claim, not Mr.) was admitted, and three of the robbers, one of them a brother of Warring, had been hanged for the crime, without having in any way mentioned O'Connor's name. Owen also had been tried with them and acquitted, but having been caught in another crime, had been sentenced to death, and in the ordinary course would have been hanged without delay. All at once, the case for the defence said, came the happy thought that persons under sentence of death had before that time been saved by condemning some other more obnoxious person, and at worst the evil day might be postponed. The confession was first made by Owen to his priest. In the course of his evidence the witness said that on the 1st January, 1812, he had been induced by the prisoner to take an oath of secrecy, and as a member of an association called the Carders (described as torturers), to swear "not to pity the moans of Orangemen, but to wade knee-deep in their blood." For the defence the prisoner's agent proved that the prisoner did not at the time need money, but had transmitted 500*l.* to witness. Sir Francis Burdett said, that having about the time of the robbery applied, in the usual way of business for 500*l.*, which he conceived Mr. O'Connor owed him, he had received a reply stating that the debt was nearer 1,000*l.* than the sum stated. O'Connor was acquitted immediately, with the full concurrence of the judge. He then began an action against the approver, Warring, but it was cleverly stopped in the following way. Justice, to O'Connor:—"What religion are you

of?" "It would puzzle me to answer that question." "Do you wish that answer to be recorded?" "I am of no sect, but I believe in the Supreme Being." "Do you believe in the doctrine of atonement by our Saviour?" "No." This was followed by several other questions, to all of which a like answer was given. The Judge, in summing-up, said he would not exactly say that the answers altogether destroyed the credit of the witness, but certainly his evidence should be taken with diminished credit. The jury in ten minutes acquitted the prisoner of perjury. The case altogether was one on which Englishmen seized as another instance of sinister action on the part of the Government; but the truth seems to have been that the plot was one of the approver Warring, who sought to make money, and of the man Owen, who played a game for life. There is no sound reason to suppose that the Government had anything to do with at least the groundwork of the information.

As an illustration of how effective the charge of blasphemy could be made, two striking instances may be taken in the lives of Gale Jones and Richard Carlile, men whose names were for many years of worse repute than those of poisoners and highwaymen. Indeed the reputation of Carlile was so bad, that down to the present time it is the commonest thing imaginable in some parts of England to hear intelligent and ordinarily educated people say:—"Thomas Carlyle? Ah, a dreadful infidel—imprisoned, you know, over and over again for blasphemy." Not more than twenty-five years ago the writer of these lines heard a respectable surgeon, a man who had passed well in his examination, and who certainly read the literature of his time, oppose the purchase of Carlyle's "Hero Worship" for a library, on the ground that it was the work of an utter infidel. Some who listened to him stared with amazement, but he was not to be shaken from his view, which of course rested on the name and character of Richard Carlile. In 1816 Carlile was a tin-plate worker in London and about twenty-six years of age, reading for the first time the works of Paine, annoying the newspapers with scraps which were pronounced too violent, troubling Hunt, Cobbett, and all other persons, till

at last he had the good fortune to alight upon Mr. Jonathan Wooler's "Black Dwarf," then just issued, and which had no objection to a little irritating violence. Carlile borrowed a pound and expended it in copies of Mr. Wooler's paper. When Lord Sidmouth's Circular appeared, and ordinary booksellers were frightened, the ex-tin-plate man became an energetic bookseller. In this way, selling only books he approved, and which went "far enough," he travelled all over London. Mr. Southey, now poet-laureate, and anxious to be on good terms with the court, sought to suppress the sale of his early republican poem "Wat Tyler." Canning's "Praise Lepaux," given on another page, shows how far Southey must have gone in republicanism before his name was put in that Tory Black List. All these things—all dreams calculated to excite Mr. Canning's ire—had passed away. Mr. Southey was a courtier. The point of the poem was in the fierce words:—

> When Adam delved and Eve span
> Who was then the gentleman?
> Wretched is the infant's lot
> Born within the straw-roof'd cot!
> Be he generous, wise, or brave,
> He must only be a slave.
> Drain'd by taxes of his store,
> Punish'd next for being poor. * * *

"Wat Tyler" would have been consigned to everlasting oblivion if its author had had his will, and Hone, in giving part of the verses, is not fair enough to say to whom Southey owed the absolute impossibility of the poem being bought up. It was Carlile (a man too obnoxious to be mentioned) who was determined to prevent the suppression, and in that one year he sold 25,000 copies of the poem. And so with reports of the trials of Wooler and Hone, with the parodies of the latter, and other like works. For the parodies he was imprisoned, but was set free on the acquittal of Hone. In 1819 he had six indictments out against him. In November of that year he was fined 1,500*l.*, and to be imprisoned for three years in Dorchester gaol. His wife then began bookselling, and was prosecuted for the sale of

copies of portions of her husband's trial, including the full text of the "Age of Reason," which he had insisted on reading in his defence. She was set free on promising to discontinue the sale, but was prosecuted again on other charges, and after a year of business on her own account she joined her husband in a county gaol. Her sister followed a few months later. Carlile was a man of a warped mind, soured by adversity and by seeing the adversity of others. On some points he was hardly sane. His zeal for the overthrow of Christianity was almost of the nature of a disease. He was persecuted time after time, till, as in the case of Prynne, people became tired of troubling him. His steps, when he was out of prison, were incessantly dogged by spies. One of them, named Edwards—a man concerned afterwards in securing the execution of Thistlewood and others of the Cato Street Conspirators—tried to take lodgings in his house, and that failing, hung at his heels almost without cessation for six months. His views, his biographer says, drifted from Paine to "a more than Swedenborgian mysticism;" nay, that before the end he even "was ever found using the names of God and Christ with all the pertinacity of a divine." Mr. Holyoake, from whom this is quoted, seems as if he cannot imagine that a man who has once doubted the being of a God can change that view, and he is shocked at this falling away of so resolute a man as Carlile. Mr. Holyoake, with a real capacity for sacrifice and devotion himself, never appears, at all events to those who differ from his views, to recognise the sacrifice of an opponent. To many a simple believer in Christ Mr. Holyoake's views seem very shocking, but to very few, it may well be hoped, do his convictions, and still less his sincerity, appear in the same light that theirs do to him. Carlile had a strange influence on his time. In better times he would have been an eager reader, and an industrious worker at his trade, wondering all manner of things about the strange world in which he found himself, but not striving to overturn aught of that faith from which his neighbours drew peace to the last. As it was he did with his might what his hands found to do, and all that is needful to ask

from his friends is a recognition that about the same time there was one Legh Richmond, who "with the pertinacity of a divine" did duty at least with as great a sincerity, with the truest humility, and with faith in God and in the Gospel of Christ; and that some of the best political work of that time was done by men who also, all through their lives, and in quite another sense, used the name of God and Christ, as Richard Carlile used the same names in some mystical sense in his latter days. These remarks are not in the least an attempt to claim Richard Carlile for Christianity in those latter days. He was what he was, and all that is of any importance to note is that he did not find "the blank wall" of atheism a very sure shelter when the night came on. His name will remain as illustrating one strange feature of a time when strange new forces were arising. Gale Jones was, in like manner, hustled back and forward from prison to prison, lecturing, organising, running great risks, and enduring not a little. He was the representative of a class of persons whose influence with large bodies of men out of employment, and otherwise in distress, was immense.

Then Robert Owen was busily before the public, exciting the hatred of the landowners and the clergy by his views of land tenure and "Christian communism," and of the politicians by his assertion that political agitation is altogether a folly; that the evils which afflict society are social, and only to be removed by education, by wise laws with respect to land, and other like measures, uniting the efforts of all classes in society. He succeeded in creating the most intense bitterness in the minds of the political men, and among others in that of William Hone. The teachings of Owen overturned all the projects of the political reformers. His proposal was to found human society on an entirely new principle of association; a science of society, of universal brotherhood and goodwill; and whether he stood, as in 1817, before an angry audience, denouncing "all the religions in the world," or as in 1819, with the Duke of Kent for chairman; whether, in other words, he was with admiring friends or with bitter and vituperative enemies, his calm spirit never quailed.

When we look back on those times we can see that our debt is of a varied kind; that we owe much to very different men. Jeremy Bentham had long been labouring, from the purely economical and philosophic stand-ground, to attain part of what Owen wanted to accomplish; and Sir Samuel Romilly, to attain another part; and Joseph Lancaster and Dr. Bell, with their noble educational systems, another part; and the political reformers another. Robert Owen thought he could accomplish all on one plan, and it was a plan of great kindness, of that unbounded charity which is the highest of all virtues. He was ready for any sacrifice, for any service—only show him that it was for human kind. "Write me as one who loves his fellow man" might be taken as the motto of Owen's life, and, perhaps, in the great future that lies before us, we shall find that his name overtops many other names among those who in living for men have lived for God. Perhaps the reader may be interested in a view of some of these men presented in a newspaper a little after the period at which we now stand. The writer presumes the devil visiting earth "to see how reform goes on." He finds—

> " . . . Gale Jones at his ancient trade,
> Mixing drugs in a poisoned bowl.
> Said he, No poison ever was made
> Like the froth of a Radical soul.
> He saw Carlile at his blasphemous pile,
> Man's laws and God's defying.
> Said Satan—I see they've no need of me,
> While such friends my oars are plying."

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE

While all these conflicting forces were arrayed in antagonism —royal George and his ministers, the whigs and the radicals, the philosophers and the sceptics, the clergy and the dissenters —an event occurred which for a time gave the nation outwardly an aspect of union such as might have been supposed possible only in the dreams of Sir Thomas More or Algernon Sidney. If a foreigner, in November 1817, chanced to take up almost any English newspaper published in London and in the country, excepting only those of the character of the "Black Dwarf," he would be almost certain to conclude that so true a union of

Throne, Altar, Palace, and Cottage never before had been known in the world's history. The Radical *Examiner*, on November 9th, begins its leading article—"What words to write! *Death* of the Princess Charlotte! The death of one who stood as it were on the very top of existence, and in the full bloom of life and enjoyment! The event has smitten the nation with sudden gloom, like the visitation of darkness." When these are Mr. Leigh Hunt's sentiments—and the italics and notes of exclamation are his too—what might not be expected of others? An event had occurred which, if the Prince Regent had been blessed with one spark of the nature that makes the world akin, might have made of him a true king and given him an honoured reign. The death of his daughter was his first very powerful reminder of the sovereignty before which he would have to succumb. He had no such pointed reminder again for more than twelve years. Then, on the 26th of June (1830), there dawned upon his hazy intellect a sort of conviction that he, too, was about to have a new experience; he who had paid money without stint for the latest and most exciting, the wildest and most voluptuous, gratifications. It hardly ever had entered his royal head that there was anything new on earth for him; but he found that there was. He tried, on that summer morning, to raise his hand to his breast, and could not. "Oh, God!" he said, "I am dying." Some accounts are slightly different as to the "Oh," but that is not important. A few seconds later, he said—"This is death." Yes, it was death. He never saw another day-dawn. It was the last of "the First Gentleman in Europe"—the man whose thoughts had run so long on the grossest pleasures, to which lives that might have been beautiful and happy had been ruthlessly sacrificed; it was George the Fourth, of ever-enduring memory, who had been summoned as a witness against himself to a High Court—a Court ever so much higher than even that of the King's Bench at Westminster, and with no need for anyone to cry "Silence in Court." In 1817 it was only the sweet young Princess who had been summoned, and she, it would seem, like Marguerite in "Faust," had nothing to confess, and little to fear. But there was

much to do on such an occasion; special messages to send all the world over; to the Duke of Kent at Brussels, the Duke of Cambridge in Hanover; it is difficult indeed to say where not—to tell of the royal father's bereavement; all over the world, save to the mother of the Regent's daughter. Nothing was said of her. There were any number of proofs of the mother's love for her child, of the child's love for her mother; but the father had too much to do at that time to think of his wife. Gradually it began to dawn upon the nation that there were other fathers in 1817, and some almost as pious and affectionate as George, who had lost daughters in that year and that month, who had mourning hanging on the heart as well as worn in the attire; and there came a reaction, a certain and a marked reaction. It was remembered that a number of people, accused of no crime, were in prison under the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act; that there were whole families without daily food. By the end of the year the newspapers were not so uniformly indicative of a happy family throughout his Majesty's realm of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. Prince Leopold, with his undoubtedly poignant sorrow, passed away, and the Princess, like all other princesses and all other persons, became a myth, while men and women pressed forward in the labour and strife of the passing hours, and while children grew up to a future which at that time had signs upon which men looked with dismay. It was a curious circumstance that the position which slipped from Prince Leopold by the death of the Princess Charlotte should have come back to his family in a splendid and enduring way by the marriage of his sister, the Dowager Princess of Saxe Leiningen to the Duke of Kent. When the Princess Charlotte was married in 1816, no such event was in contemplation as the marriage which took place two years later, and from which sprung a little child—the sole child of her parents—but destined to a greater and more honoured royalty than England had known before for ages. Of the Princess Charlotte, every new record—as, for instance, Lord Albemarle's Recollections—seems to bring new revelations of a fresh and pure young life.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE THREE TRIALS OF WILLIAM HONE: THE FIRST DAY'S TRIAL.

End of the *Reformists' Register*—Hone's Farewell Address—Public Perception of the Real Fact of the Prosecution—Hone's Position in the Trials—His Reluctance to Enter a Law Court—Withdrawal of the Parodies—Ministerial Mistake as to Hone—The Guildhall—Mr. Charles Knight's Account—Mr. Justice Abbott—The Attorney-General—The Charges Against Hone—Sir Matthew Hale—Hone's Defence—His Charge Against the Lord Chief Justice—A Political Squib—Mr. Burke on *ex-officio* Informations—Repudiation of Blasphemy—Parodies which had not been Prosecuted; "Blackwood;" Luther; Dr. Boys—Gillray—Justice Abbott Interposes—Hone's Rejoinder—Parody from the Somers Collection of Tracts and elsewhere—Hone's Appeal to the Jury—The Attorney-General's Reply—The Summing Up—The Verdict—Lord Ellenborough's Determination.

MR. HONE was set free from the King's Bench prison on the 2nd July, after a confinement of two months. His *Reformists' Register* died on the 25th October. It had had a feverish existence of not quite nine months. Hone ascribed its decline and death to his imprisonment, the dishonesty of his country agents, and his continued ill-health after his liberation from prison. One agent in particular he referred to as never having either returned the papers or paid the money for them. Several were mentioned as just and honourable men, and the Manchester agent in particular for "most honourable conduct." The unfortunate editor had one consolation, however, amid it all. He consoled himself with the reflection that of all he had written, there was

> "Not one immoral or indecent thought,
> One line which, dying, he would wish to blot."

"Nor," he continued, "can there be found a single paragraph or even sentence of a profane or irreligious tendency in any of my publications. With a lively conception of wit, and an irresistible propensity to humour, I have likewise so profound a regard for the well-being of society, and so great a reverence for public morals, that I know of no temptation capable of inducing me to pen a line injurious to social happiness or offensive to private virtue." This is what an American would probably call sufficiently "pronounced" to be written by a man of himself. It had scarcely been creditable to public taste and perception if Mr. Hone's writings had been taken at his own estimate of their character. In the parodies for which he was about to be tried there will be found much that one would not like to offer for imitation to young people. At the same time it is impossible for any dispassionate reader to doubt that what Mr. Hone states as to the character of his writings is what he intended it to be, and what, as an honest man, he strove to make it. All the same he produced and published many vulgarisms, made apparently reckless imputations of motives, and certainly it would have been to the last degree dangerous to allow it to pass as an unchallenged fact that sacred words may be parodied for political purposes, without involving anything disrespectful to the words, or the subjects they represent. Years afterwards, when Mr. Hone was a member of a Church, and when, as we have seen in a former chapter, he allowed his friends to describe him pretty much as they pleased, his relation to his former writings was curious. To defend the parodies would have been a species of apostasy, and the difficulty was to draw the line at what was proper and what was not. We have seen that he allowed one person to write of him as a former atheist, which he was not, unless his description of himself during his trials was incorrect. We have seen also that his father, whose life is given as that of a "converted man," saw only in the result of the trials his son's deliverance by God from Lord Ellenborough. Altogether when William Hone tried to undo the work for which he will be best known, he had a hard and difficult task. His new friends were exacting.

One man ventured, on one occasion, to congratulate him on his conversion, and mentioned as a proof of the sad state from which he had been rescued some eulogistic remarks he had once made on Shelley. Hone turned on him like a tiger, and told him bluntly and manfully that every one of the remarks on Shelley he was prepared to make again. At present, however, we are chiefly concerned with the fact that he did not, when his *Register* came to an end, conceive that he had written one line that, dying, he would wish to blot. We are not called upon to agree with him in this. Parodies are poor things at best. We are simply called upon not to forget that it was a time of fierce writing, and that a great many men of good repute wrote lines that, dying, they would have wished to blot. The character of Mr. Hone's writings will appear more clearly in a later chapter, and it need only be said that what he had done against power as a parodist, men in intimate alliance with his prosecutors had done for the assertion of principles which in these days have few defenders.

The two facts upon which public opinion rested with unerring certainty were:—first, that the object of the parodies was purely political, intending no reflection on the productions parodied, but using those productions as a means of depicting and denouncing presumed political evils and wrongs; secondly, that the new-born zeal of the Liverpool ministry for religion was assumed for the purpose of more effectually crushing out a daring and defiant political spirit. Unless all evidence on the subject is to go for naught, Mr. Hone was not acquitted because three juries concluded that his parodies were free from profanity, but because the juries, ignoring altogether the question of profanity, which they perceived was never intended, rested the issue as between the King and the prisoner at the Bar on the right of political criticism. From the very offset the Court and the Attorney-General took the false ground of putting the charge of blasphemy foremost, and making that of libel on the Prince Regent and the ministers a secondary consideration, while Mr. Hone for a time took the equally false ground of denying that the parodies were profane because they were not intended to be

profane. The jury and the intelligent and dispassionate part of the public found the wiser middle course, and rested on the intention without probing very deeply whether that intention had been exactly carried out. In the end Mr. Hone found his safeguard in that same dispassionate view. It was a question of freedom that was involved. Hone had avowed, over and over, since the question came before the public, that he meant to ridicule and denounce ministers to the very utmost of his power, and in every possible manner, believing the ministry to be radically bad, and on the grounds of statesmanship contemptible. He made no secret of this intention, and no one had reason to doubt that he meant to adhere to his resolution. That he had determined to bring into contempt the sacred Scriptures was unhesitatingly put aside, as a charge altogether untenable. The ministers said, in effect—You have written these parodies to mock sacred things. Mr. Hone in effect replied—Then it is certain that you must be sacred things, for I wrote to mock you, and shall continue to do so while I can hold a pen. There remained untouched the question of the good or bad taste of parodying sacred words. Whether, indeed, Mr. Hone believed or disbelieved the Bible and the Christian faith, the men who most effectually supported him never stopped to consider; nor had it the slightest bearing on the issue involved. Atheist, Deist, or Christian was a question by general consent ignored. Enough that the ministry had fastened on an obnoxious politician of the Cobbett school. To the religious point the *Register* afforded no clue. It had abundant evidence as to the political point. That the editor detested with a deep detestation what he believed to be priestcraft is apparent in almost every number. That he feared God might be believed by a few who saw that he at least did not fear man. He was no lecturer, no organiser of societies; he was simply known, where known at all, as a bookseller and publisher, with a taste for reading, a knowledge of out-of-the-way literature, a memory which was a storehouse of quaint and powerful sayings, and a propensity for writing savagely of persons in power, and making the words to reach the workshops and country villages. Had the jury-list

remained unchallenged, it would probably have been easy to pack a jury which would have convicted anyone whom the Court had directed it to convict. Once the list had been challenged, and independent juries secured, every point in the prisoner's favour was so much clear gain. The points in his favour were numerous.

In the first place, it was evident to all who saw him at the Bar that he was not there from choice; that he had no wish to be either a hero or a martyr; that indeed he was for some time diffident of his powers, and in spite of his preliminary skirmishes with Lord Ellenborough, Sir William Garrow, and Sir Samuel Shepherd, was far from confident as to what he could do in a fair stand-up fight with the practised word-pugilists of the Bar. In the next place, immediately he heard that his parodies had been brought before Parliament, he had withdrawn them from circulation. On the first trial two of the defendant's shopmen deposed that they had not after a certain date been allowed to sell any of the parodies, though a pound note had been offered in one case for a copy. The same evidence was repeated on the second trial, although the Attorney-General hastened to admit that there was no dispute as to the stoppage on the 22nd February. On the third trial Mr. Hone called only one witness, but this one gave fresh evidence. He said that "on the 21st February (a day he had reason to remember), he met Mr. Hone near Charing Cross, and learned from him that he intended to stop the publication of the parodies, as they had in the report of the House of Lords been called profane and seditious, or something to that effect. Witness remarked that their being called so did not make them profane or seditious, and he strongly recommended Mr. Hone not to take so ill-advised a step." It would, witness thought, be an admission that the House of Lords was right, with respect to the parodies, "while no one but the borough-mongers so considered them. Notwithstanding this advice, defendant stopped the publication, for which witness told him he was a fool." Mr. Hone's instinct, however, was right. A great point had been gained when it was placed beyond dispute that a trial in a law court

was not only repugnant to the feeling, but to some extent was the terror of the poor bookseller; that is, was dreaded both for its outrage on retiring habits, and as involving pecuniary loss. The idea of physical fear Mr. Hone declared he had never known; in which he may or may not have been mistaken. The assertion was not one of his strong points.

Moreover the defendant was fortunate in the fact that in a time of secrecy his doings were open as the day. The spy system could not be effectively brought to bear upon him, since there was nothing to spy. He was willing to save the Government any trouble as to proving the publication of the parodies; they were his, and for them, if they were illegal and blasphemous, he was responsible. So far he smoothed the way for the Attorney-General's eloquence. On the other points referred to he was not so complacent. He denied the justice and legality of his arrest, on an *ex-officio* information. He maintained that till now the Government had suffered parodies of sacred words to pass unquestioned; that is, had allowed them to pass while they were on the side of the Court and of despotic government, and had only pounced upon them mercilessly, when they were to maintain the rights of the people and expose the injustice of rulers; proving clearly, he maintained—and as we have seen, the public agreed—that the zeal against blasphemy was merely the cloak to cover the bitterness against a man who had rendered himself obnoxious in politics. The ministry and the Attorney-General had only seen a small part of the broad fact. They had ascertained, on all proper rules of prosecutions, that the parodist was a man of small account, the tenant of a wretched little shop. He might give some degree of trouble at the offset, but when once he was within the meshes of a trial, the judge would, of course, direct what was evidence, and what was inadmissible; and the difficulty of the prosecution would disappear. They had not calculated that the obscure bookseller, in addition to the knowledge to which reference has been made here, but of which no account had been taken in the preparations for the trial, would, where his honour and principles were concerned, confront any court and do so with perfect

gentlemanliness and self-respect; that they would find one of those men, who, under a humble exterior, had to some extent, that quiet, unconscious but unyielding pride of manhood, which in broader issues, in different times, had, more than any other quality led to heroisms and martyrdoms when opposed to unscrupulous power, and that decision of intellect which can strip from eloquence in special pleading that which is not genuine. To shallow observation, if a man and a set of circumstances had been made to order for ministerial purposes, no better design could have been given than that of the character and circumstances of the acknowledged parodist and his dingy little shop in "the Old Bailey, three doors from Ludgate Hill." The parodies it could not be doubted would be deemed profane. The parodist was poor, and had no political "following," and best of all he had been so little noted for successful management of his affairs in trade, that it was hardly likely he would manage a legal defence better. The Court would not be troubled with the cool and cutting satire of John Wilkes, the unendurable banter, pointed by the merry laugh, the wide range of thought and the admitted learning of Horne Tooke. Nay, looking to Mr. Hone's writings, on which he complimented himself so freely, and even to the parodies in question, there was no good ground for supposing that he had the power to follow out a long train of reasoning to its proper issue. The farewell article in his *Register* had seemed, and but for the opportunity now placed within the writer's reach of redeeming his error, would always have seemed characterised by rather poor conceit and vanity. Of his parodies, the best that could be said was that nearly all the wit and humour was in detached sentences, and that whenever the subject was pursued, as in the longer passages of the "Political Catechism" the writer became laboured, and often appeared to lose sight of his own key idea. In like manner, a critic looking to the articles in the *Register* would fail to find much humour, or any considerable amount of strength, in proportion to the large amount of bitter writing. The Every Day Book, the Book of Sports, the friendship of Elia, were yet in the distance, beyond the range of Sir Samuel Shepherd's vision. On

these and sundry other grounds the Court began somewhat darkly its operations on this dull, presuming man, who had already dared to look Lord Ellenborough in the face, and talk of laws and prescriptions of which he knew nothing.

Of the appearance of the court, one newspaper says, that on the first day it was crowded, but that the interest was hardly so much that of curiosity as to what the parodist would say or do as of dislike to the Government and its new system of terror. Mr. Charles Knight says:—"On the morning of the 18th December there is a considerable crowd round the avenues of Guildhall. An obscure bookseller, a man of no substance or respectability in worldly eyes, is to be tried for libel. He vends his wares in a little shop in the Old Bailey, where there are strangely mingled twopenny political pamphlets and old harmless folios that the poor publisher keeps for his especial reading as he sits in a dingy back parlour. The officers and doorkeepers of the court scarcely know what is going to happen, for the table within the bar has not the usual covering of crimson bags, but ever and anon a shabby boy arrives with an armful of books of all ages and sizes, and the whole table is strewed with dusty and tattered volumes that the ushers are quite sure have no law within their mouldy covers. A middle-aged man,—a bland and smiling man, with a half sad, half merry twinkle in his eye,—a seedy man, to use an expressive word, whose black coat is wondrous brown and threadbare, takes his place at the table, and begins to turn over his books which were his heralds. Sir Samuel Shepherd, the Attorney-General, takes his seat, and looks compassionately, as was his nature to do, at the pale man in threadbare black. Mr. Justice Abbott arrives in due time; a special jury is sworn, and the Attorney-General states the case against William Hone . . . Then the pale man in black arose, and with a faltering voice set forth the difficulty he had in addressing the Court, and how his poverty prevented him from obtaining counsel. And now he began to wax warm in the recital of what he thought his wrongs: his commitments, his hurried calls to plead, the expense of copies of the informations against him; and as Mr.

Justice Abbott, with perfect gentleness, but with his cold formality, interrupted him, the timid man, who all thought would mumble forth a hasty defence, grew bolder and bolder, and in a short time had possession of the audience, as if he were some well-graced actor, who was there to receive the tribute of popular admiration." Similar and perhaps even more pointed descriptions were given in some contemporary papers, and by several distinguished public speakers, but not till after the third trial, when there was no longer much place or need for pity for William Hone.

Mr. Justice Abbott, who next year would succeed Lord Ellenborough as Lord Chief Justice of England, and in 1827 would be Lord Tenterden, could look back upon a truly honourable career. His father had, Lord Campbell says, "performed the duties of a hairdresser in a narrow street near the cathedral at Canterbury," and the future Lord Chief Justice had himself very narrowly, but by modest scholarship and a winning deportment, escaped the same lot. Among his earliest recollections were a signboard marked "Abbott, hairdresser," and bills announcing a "shave for a penny, hair cut for twopence, and fashionably dressed on reasonable terms." Mr. Abbott had looked upon his son Charles as the natural successor to the shaving and the cutting of hair, but Charles, while conning over his loved books, and curling wigs, had fortunately won the attention and respect of persons of note in the Chapter and in Canterbury generally, and he was sent to the university by the aid of friends. It will be rightly supposed, therefore, that when the hairdresser's son became a man he would, wherever his lot might be cast, remain a true and loyal son of the Established Church, and a foe to all extremes, unless he chanced to have some extreme of his own. Of his learning, impartiality, clearness of style and thought, and his hasty temper on occasions, much has been written. Two facts, at this time far in the future, may be noticed as a key to what will follow here. In 1832, when the Reform Bill was before the House of Lords, Lord Tenterden not merely opposed it, but emphatically said that if the Bill was passed he

never would enter the House of Lords again; and he never did. His last speech there had been made. In the same year he was lying on his bed, talking wildly in delirium. Then, raising his head more composedly, he said, "And now, gentlemen of the jury, you will consider your verdict;" the last words of Charles Abbott, Lord Tenterden. As Napoleon died massing his battalions, and Goethe crying for more light, Lord Tenterden was busy sending out his last jury to consider a verdict he never would record. He had in his later years opposed Reform, Catholic Emancipation, the abolition of punishment of death for forgery, and the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts. At the time of this trial he had both written on law and had been concerned in many important cases which had been ruled on principles apparently applicable to the case of Mr. Hone. Of Sir Samuel Shepherd little more need be said than that he was counted an excellent lawyer; that it is certain he was very wise within the rules of the Bar, and well read in statutes, but, persons not at all unfriendly have added, about as little acquainted with the vital principle—the "inward part or thing signified,"—in all law, as any intelligent and educated man who could have been taken at random from the streets of London.

The line of argument adopted by the Attorney-General was to the last degree ill-judged, considering that he was not addressing a court but a jury. The first charge was made on the "Political Catechism," including the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments. In this parody Sir Samuel maintained there was nothing of a political tendency, but a production "avowedly set off against the religion and worship of the Church of England as established by law." Later, this statement was amplified by an admission that the defendant might possibly in his ignorance have meant the alleged libel as a political squib; but the first position, and the position all along maintained in a modified way, was that the parody was an attack on the Christian religion, and on the Church, which, in embodying that religion was, "according to one of the best and most purely religious men that ever lived, Sir Matthew

Hale, part of the common law of England." The word Sir Matthew Hale used was Christianity, not the special national Church, but there was no difficulty in showing that only the Established Church could be indicated. So far Sir Samuel Shepherd's position was impregnable, both in law and logic. Only, whither did the argument tend? "In the reign of Charles II.," the learned gentleman said, "the Book of Common Prayer was not composed, but collected and annexed to an Act of Parliament then framed for securing uniformity of worship." The issue therefore, although not referred to in that sense by Mr. Hone, must have been caught by him and by many others. It was, in fact, the very issue that throughout these pages we have seen again and again recurring—the simple issue of the principles of the Restoration against those of the Reformation and of freedom. The Christian religion to the Attorney-General in his legal capacity was the Church established by law; to carry out his argument to its legitimate issue would have been not merely to condemn Mr. Hone, but every Nonconformist who spoke or wrote against the Established Church. The mistake therefore first of all was one of tactics, and it lost nothing in the putting. The Government evidently intended to array against the culprit all the churches, to make a verdict certain. The Attorney-General shifted the point to begin with, and so set Church and Nonformity in antagonism. "I think it," he said, "impossible that any twelve men who understand the law of England and the precepts of Christianity, which are part and parcel of that law, can read this production of the defendant's without being decidedly of opinion that its necessary and obvious consequence must be to bring into contempt the Liturgy of the Church of England." A few passages from the alleged libel will probably convince the reader that Sir Samuel Shepherd might have made a better case by saying, 'I discard the mere question of the Church of England, though that has a bearing on the issue of the law, and rest the charge on the ground of public morals;' that, in fact, he made a real error when he sought to persuade the jury that the alleged libel had no political tendency, but had been written for the sole purpose

of bringing the Liturgy into contempt. His first step was to lose every juryman who was not a very devoted adherent of the Established Church. After the earlier parts of the catechism, not pleasant writing, had been read, we have this parody of the Apostles' Creed:—

"*Q.* Rehearse the Articles of thy Belief.

"*A.* I believe in GEORGE, the Regent Almighty, Maker of New Streets and Knights of the Bath.

"And in the present Ministry, his only choice, who were conceived of Toryism, brought forth of WILLIAM PITT, suffered loss of place under CHARLES JAMES FOX, were execrated, dead, and buried. In a few months they rose again from their minority; they reascended to the Treasury benches, and sit at the right hand of a little man with a large wig; from whence they laugh at the Petitions of the People who may pray for Reform, and that the sweat of their brow may procure them bread.

"I believe that King James the Second was a legitimate Sovereign, and that King William the Third was not; that the Pretender was of the right line; and that George the Third's grandfather was not; that the dynasty of Bourbon is immortal; and that the glass in the eye of Lord James Murray was not Betty Martin. I believe in the immaculate purity of the Committee of Finance, in the independence of the Committee of Secrecy, and that the Pitt System is everlasting. Amen."

The political aim of the writer was unmistakable, the profanity was not admitted, and as Sir Samuel Shepherd read the laugh passed from man to man till the whole Court was in a roar. In that laugh there was defeat for the Government.

"*Q.* What dost thou chiefly learn in these Articles of thy Belief?

"*A.* First, I learn to forswear all conscience, which was never meant to trouble me, nor the rest of the tribe of Courtiers. Secondly, to swear black is white, or white black, according to the good pleasure of the Ministers. Thirdly, to put on the helmet of Impudence, the only armour against the shafts of Patriotism.

"*Q.* You said that your Sureties did promise for you, that you should keep the Minister's Commandments: tell me how many there be?

"*A.* Ten.

"*Q.* Which be they?

"*A.* The same to which the Minister for the time being always obliges all his creatures to swear, I the Minister am the Lord thy liege, who brought thee out of Want and Beggary, into the House of Commons.

"I. Thou shalt have no other Patron but me.

"II. Thou shalt not support any measure but mine, nor shalt thou frame clauses of any bill in its progress to the House above, or in the Committee beneath, or when the mace is under the table, except it be mine. Thou shalt not bow to Lord COCHRANE, nor shake hands with him, nor any other of my real opponents; for I thy Lord am a jealous Minister, and forbid familiarity of the Majority with the Friends of the People, unto the third and fourth cousins of them that divide against me; and give places, and thousands and tens of thousands, to them that divide with me, and keep my Commandments.

"III. Thou shalt not take the Pension of the Lord the Minister in vain; for I the Minister will force him to accept the Chilterns that taketh my Pension in vain.

"IV. Remember that thou attend the Minister's Levee day; on other days thou shalt speak for him in the House, and fetch and carry, and do all that he commandeth thee to do; but the Levee day is for the glorification of the Minister thy Lord: In it thou shalt do no work in the House, but shalt wait upon him, thou and thy daughter, and thy wife, and the members that are within his influence; for on other days the Minister is inaccessible, but delighteth in the Levee day; wherefore the Minister appointed the Levee day, and chatteth thereon familiarly, and is amused with it.

"V. Honour the Regent and the helmets of the Life Guards, that thy stay may be long in the place which the Lord thy Minister giveth thee.

"VI. Thou shalt not call starving to death murder.

"VII. Thou shalt not call Royal gallivanting adultery.

"VIII. Thou shalt not say, that to rob the Public is to steal.

"IX. Thou shalt bear false witness against the people.

"X. Thou shalt not covet the people's applause, thou shalt not covet the people's praise, nor their good name, nor their esteem, nor their reverence, nor any reward that is theirs.

"*Q.* What dost thou chiefly learn by these Commandments?

"*A.* I learn two things: my duty towards the Minister, and my duty towards myself.

"*Q.* What is thy duty towards the Minister?

"*A.* My duty towards the Minister is, to trust him as much as I can; to fear him; to honour him with all my words, with all my bows, with all my scrapes, and all my cringes; to flatter him; to give him thanks; to give up my whole soul to him; to idolise his name, and obey his word; and serve him blindly all the days of his political life.

"*Q.* What is thy duty towards thyself?

"*A.* My duty towards myself is to love nobody but myself, and to do unto most men what I would not that they should do unto me; to sacrifice unto my own interest even my father and mother; to pay little reverence to the King, but to compensate that omission by my servility to all that are put in authority under him; to lick the dust under the feet of my superiors, and to

shake a rod of iron over the backs of my inferiors; to spare the People by neither word nor deed; to observe neither truth nor justice in my dealings with them; to bear them malice and hatred in my heart; and where their wives and properties are concerned, to keep my body neither in temperance, soberness, nor chastity, but to give my hands to picking and stealing, and my tongue to evil speaking and lying, and slander of their efforts to defend their liberties and recover their rights; never failing to envy their privileges, and to learn to get the Pensions of myself and my colleagues out of the People's labour, and to do my duty in that department of public plunder unto which it shall please the Minister to call me.

"*Q.* My good Courtier, know this, that thou art not able of thyself to preserve the Minister's favour, nor to walk in his Commandments, nor to serve him, without his special protection; which thou must at all times learn to obtain by diligent application. Let me hear, therefore, if thou canst rehearse the Minister's Memorial."

Here follows a parody on the Lord's Prayer, which one would not care to republish. Evidently it was not intended to bring the Prayer into disrepute, but still the sooner it dies as a parody the better; and none of the humour of the parodist is lost by the omission. Indeed, the aim here, without any undue prudery or squeamishness, will be to give a fair general idea, within reasonable limits of space, of the parodies, with simply as little as posible of those portions which might call up unpleasant ideas with respect to religion. Not a word will be omitted, either on Hone's account or on that of the subjects of his satire, which relates purely to politics. The time has come when it can affect no character whatever. Another passage runs:—

"*Q.* What is the outward visible sign or form of Passive Obedience?

"*A.* Dangling at the Minister's heels, whereby the person is degraded beneath the baseness of a slave, in the character of a Pensioner, Placeman, Expectant Parasite, Toadeater, or Lord of the Bedchamber.

"*Q.* What is the inward intellectual meanness?

"*A.* A Death unto Freedom, a subjection unto perpetual Thraldom: for being by nature born free, and the children of Independence, we are hereby made children of Slavery.

"*Q.* What is required of persons submitting to the Test of Passive Obedience?

"*A.* Apostasy, whereby they forsake Liberty and Faith, whereby they steadfastly believe the promises of the Minister, made to them upon submitting to that Test.

"*Q.* Why was the Test of Bribery ordained?

"*A.* For the continual support of the Minister's influence, and the feeding of us, his needy creatures and sycophants.

"*Q.* What is the outward part or sign in the Test of Bribery?

"*A.* Bank-notes, which the Minister hath commanded to be offered by the dependants.

"*Q.* Why then are beggars submitted to this Test, when by reason of their poverty they are not able to go through the necessary forms?

"*A.* Because they promise them by their Sureties; which promise, when they come to lucrative offices, they themselves are bound to perform.

"*Q.* What is the inward part, or thing signified?

"*A.* The industry and wealth of the People, which are verily and indeed taken and had by Pensioners and Sinecurists, in their Corruption.

"*Q.* What are the benefits whereof you are partakers thereby?

"*A.* The weakening and impoverishing the People, through the loss of their liberty and property, while our wealth becomes enormous, and our pride intolerable.

"*Q.* What is required of them who submit to the Test of Bribery and Corruption?

"*A.* To examine themselves, whether they repent them truly of any signs of former honour and patriotism, steadfastly purposing henceforward to be faithful towards the Minister; to draw on and off like his glove; to crouch to him like a spaniel; to purvey for him like a jackal; to be as supple to him as Alderman Sir WILLIAM TURTLE; to have the most lively faith in the Funds, especially in the Sinking Fund; to believe the words of Lord CASTLEREAGH alone; to have remembrance of nothing but what is in the *Courier;* to hate MATTHEW WOOD, the present Lord Mayor, and his second Mayoralty; with all our heart, with all our mind, with all our soul, and with all our strength; to admire Sir JOHN SYLVESTER, the Recorder, and Mr. JOHN LANGLEY; and to be in charity with those only who have something to give."

When Sir Samuel had done his duty, the poor bookseller in the threadbare coat, whom the learned Attorney-General had looked upon pityingly, began his defence, but with marked embarrassment, which he admitted and explained by saying that he never before had addressed any assembly whatever, and to which he hoped the Court would be indulgent. He was too poor to employ a counsel. He had been arrested as far back as May on *ex-officio* informations, which if just and legal at all—and he disputed that they were—could only be so in cases where they were immediately followed by trial. "There was, in these informations, no security for

honour and integrity and virtue, no presentment to a jury, no previous inquiry; the victim was taken in a summary way by warrants, and brought suddenly to answer to information of which he was utterly ignorant." The point of this is in the fact that Mr. Hone was here describing cases well known to the public. A month earlier the *Courier* had estimated that there were "only" fifty persons in prison under the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, and some of the informations were very harsh. The defendant then spoke of the treatment he had received from Lord Ellenborough, but was interrupted by Mr. Justice Abbott, who declared his remarks out of legal order. Mr. Hone was sorry to be out of order, and his voice it was remarked grew firmer, but the matters he mentioned had much to do with his case, and he could not omit them, and so he continued evidently to the end of the remarks he had intended on that head. The Attorney-General, he then went on to say, had asserted that the alleged libel was issued as a political squib. There the Attorney-General and he joined issue. If the jury "found it a political squib, they would deliver a verdict of acquittal. If they found it an impious and profane libel, they would consign him to that punishment from which he would ask no mercy. That was the question they were to try." In challenging the procedure by *ex-officio* informations, he quoted Mr. Burke as saying in the House of Commons, in 1771: "It is the ancient privilege of Englishmen to be tried by their equals, but that by the proceeding by information the whole virtue of juries was taken away," &c. In 1790, the late Mr. Fox brought in a bill which was called the Libel Bill (referred to in a former chapter), and it was under the authority of that solemn Act of Parliament, that the jury now sat to try this information. This bill had fixed the power of juries in cases of libel, and made it imperative on them to determine on the whole of the matters charged in the information. Taking a stand therefore on this law, what was the case for the jury? The information charged against him that he had intended to excite blasphemy and impiety. The crime therefore being one of intention, it was all the same whether he had printed one copy

or 100,000 copies. With respect to blasphemy and profaneness, "he spurned the charge." Beyond this the jury, he was satisfied, would not go. They were not there to ask whether he was a Churchman or a Dissenter. Suffice it that he professed to be a Christian, although he had been "held up as a blasphemer, a monster, a wretch who had kept body and soul together by the sale of blasphemous publications." In the course of some further earnest and impassioned words, Mr. Hone termed Lord Sidmouth "a man whose opinions were adopted by a great number of persons of the first rank and consideration and whose private character was reputed unimpeachable; (an opinion hardly in accordance with some of Mr. Hone's subsequent writings); yet Lord Sidmouth had fallen into error when he had, in his place in the House of Lords, denounced these publications as blasphemous." Here Mr. Hone approaches the uncertain ground on which he never convinced any large body of his countrymen; a ground, however, for which he had a strange predilection. He then passed on to the striking of the juries, and a polite skirmish ensued between him and Mr. Justice Abbott as to the relevancy of the subject in this particular trial. As usual, Hone carried his point. And now, he said, he would engage to conclude in twenty minutes, if the Attorney-General would waive the right of reply. "He saw no disposition of that kind, and he would therefore proceed. He should state nothing that was new, because he knew nothing that was new. He had his books about him, and it was from them that he must draw his defence. They had been the solace of his life; and as to one of Mr. Jones's little rooms in the Bench, where he had enjoyed a delightful view of the Surrey hills, they would afford him great consolation there; but his mind must be much distracted by the sufferings of his family. He knew no distinction between public and private life. Men should be consistent in their conduct; and he had endeavoured so to school his mind that he might give an explanation of every act of his life. If he had ever done an injury to any one, it was by accident, and not by design; and, though some persons had lost money by

him, there was not one who would say that he did not entertain a respect for him. From being a book-reader he became a bookseller; and, what was very unfortunate, he was too much attached to his books to part with them. He had a wife and seven children, and had latterly employed himself in writing for their support. As to parodies, they were as old at least as the invention of printing; and he never heard of a prosecution for a parody, either religious or any other. There were two kinds of parodies; one in which a man might convey ludicrous or ridiculous ideas relative to some other subject; the other, where it was meant to ridicule the thing parodied. The latter was not the case here, and therefore he had not brought religion into contempt."

The defendant then brought forth his vast store of parodies written by eminent men, and never, he said, in any case whatever prosecuted as profane. In October last a singular parody was inserted in the "Edinburgh Magazine," published by Mr. Blackwood. It was a parody, he said, on a chapter in Ezekiel, and professed to be a translation of a Chaldee manuscript found in a great library in Paris, but in reality it was a satire on certain persons whom defendant named. The parody began—"Now in those days there lived also a man who was crafty in council and cunning in all manner of working: and I beheld the man, and he was comely and well favoured, and he had a notable horn in his forehead, wherewith he ruled the nations," and so to some length. Mr. Blackwood, the defendant said, was a man much respected. The Judge doubted that that respect would be increased by such a publication. The Attorney-General said he had for the last few minutes been thinking whether he ought not to interfere, now that he found the defendant trying to justify one libel by reading others. He rose to make an objection in point of law. It will be observed that the main point throughout the three trials, on the part of the Court, was to prevent other parodies being read, and one of the main points of the defendant to read them. Sir Samuel Shepherd strove, and strove in vain, where a much stronger man failed. "Libel?" Mr. Hone replied; "what right had the Attorney-

General to call the parody a libel till the jury had found it so? What was he there to defend, if the parody was pronounced a libel at the offset?" The Attorney-General was silenced, and by this time had probably ceased to look quite so pityingly on the threadbare coat. Mr. Hone continued. In 1518 a parody of the first verse of the First Psalm was written by that very eminent man Dr. Martin Luther. It ran—"Blessed is the man that hath not walked in the way of the Sacramentarians, nor sat in the seat of the Zwinglians, nor followed the counsel of the Zurichers." Was Martin Luther a blasphemer? Assuredly he was if William Hone was one. Both were parodists. Then there was Dr. John Boys, Dean of Canterbury in 1613, and who thirteen years before that date delivered from the pulpit, and afterwards republished in his works, a parody on the Lord's Prayer, beginning "Our Pope, which art in Rome, hellish be thy name; give us this day our cup in the Lord's Supper." Mr. Justice Abbott thought it better that defendant should not read any more of this parody; it could only shock the ears of well-disposed and religious persons; and he must again repeat, that the law did not allow one offence to be vindicated by another. He wished the defendant would not read such things. Mr. Hone. "My Lord, your lordship's observation is in the very spirit of what Pope Leo X. said to Martin Luther—'For God's sake don't say a word about indulgences and the monasteries, and I'll give you a living;' thus precluding him from mentioning the very thing in dispute. I must go on with these parodies or I cannot go on with my defence." Again the man in the threadbare coat was master of the position, and was not shaken from it in the least. This was followed at great length by Bishop Latimer's famous sermon on cards. Hone then brought from the Harleian Miscellany an article entitled "The Plague of Westminster, or an Order for the Visitation of a Sick Parliament." The "long-abused people of this kingdom" are enjoined to repair to the Lord's House at Westminster, and there, falling on their knees, to say, "O Almighty and everlasting Lords, we acknowledge and confess from the bottom of our hearts that you have most justly plagued us for these full

seven years, for our manifold sins and iniquities," &c. The date of this, he said, is 1647. He would now turn to eminent lawyers. In a collection of tracts by the late Lord Somers there was a parody beginning—

"Ecce !—The New Testament of our Lords and Saviours, the House of our Lords and Saviours the House of Commons, and the Supreme Council at Windsor. Newly translated out of their own heathenish Greek ordinances, with their former proceedings ; diligently compared and revised, and appointed to be read in all conventicles. Chap. I. The Genealogy of the Parliament from the year 1640 to this present 1648. The conception of their brain, by the influence of the devil ; and born of Hell and Damnation, when they were espoused to Virtue. 1. The Book of the Generation of John Pim, the son of Judas, the son of Beelzebub. 2. Pim begat a Parliament, a Parliament begat Showd, Showd begat Hazelrig, and Hazelrig begat Hollis. 3. Hollis begat Hotham, Hotham begat Martin, and Martin begat Corbet ; and so on the article goes parodying the whole of the genealogy of Christ, as given in the first chapter of Matthew."

The different headings of this parody, Mr. Hone held, were much more extreme than anything he had written; but of course they also were of royalist origin, and therefore must be right. The next book to which he should call their attention was one, the circulation of which had been very great. It was composed of the papers published by the Association for Preserving Liberty and Property against Republicans and Levellers, which met at the Crown and Anchor, in the Strand. It was entitled "The British Freeholder's Political Creed."

"*Q.* Who are you ?

"*A.* I am a freeholder of Great Britain.

"*Q.* What privilege enjoyest thou by being a freeholder of Great Britain ?

"*A.* By being a freeholder of Great Britain, I am a greater man, in my civil capacity, than the greatest subject of an arbitrary prince ; because I am governed by laws ; and my life, my liberty, and my property cannot be taken from me but according to those laws ; I am a free man.

"*Q.* Who gave thee this liberty ?

"*A.* No man gave it me ; it is inherent, and was preserved to me when lost to the greatest part of mankind, by the wisdom of God, and the valour of my ancestors, freeholders of this realm.

"*Q.* Wilt thou stand fast in this liberty, whereunto thou art born and entitled by the laws of thy country ?

"*A.* Yes, verily, by God's grace, I will."

A "well-known character, Mr. John Reeves, was the chairman and founder of this society. In one of his publications he (the defendant) had stated that Mr. R. was the publisher of a parody on the Catechism. Now Mr. R. was a very loyal man. He meant loyal in a different sense from his own loyalty, for in respect and obedience to the laws he yielded to no man. But Mr. Reeves had got something for his loyalty—something to make him sit easy. He was the printer of the Prayer Book, to which he had written an introduction with an address to the Queen." Mr. Hone then referred to the papers relative to the Westminster election of 1784, published in a quarto volume. There were among them a great number of Scriptural parodies, from which he should select only the following, entitled "Fox":—

"Again the sons of Judas assemble themselves together at the hotel in the market-place, to present themselves before the Lord [Hood], and Envy came also to present himself among them. And Truth said unto Envy, From whence comest thou? And Envy answered and said, From walking to and fro in the garden, and appearing upon the hustings. Then Truth said unto Envy, Hast thou considered my servant Fox, that there is none like him upon the earth, a perfect and an upright man, one that revereth me and escheweth evil? and still he holdeth his integrity, although thou movest against him to destroy him without a cause. Then Envy said, Skin for skin, yea, all that a man hath will he give for a majority. But put forth thy hand and touch him, and he will curse thee to thy face. And Truth said unto Envy, Behold, he is in thy hand, but spare his election. So Envy went forth from the presence of Truth, and raised up a majority against Fox of 318 men. Then Insinuation said unto Fox, Dost thou still retain thy perseverance? Curse the poll and decline. But Fox answered and said, Thou speakest as one of the foolish sisters speaketh; my cause is just, and I will persevere. And in all these things Fox sinned not."

After some other parodies, which will be more properly given in the two following trials, Mr. Hone said he would next quote a parody on the Lord's Prayer, which appeared in a public paper in the year 1807 (the *Oracle*). It ran: "Our stepfather who art in Paris, cursed be thy name! Thy kingdom be far from us, thy will be done neither in heaven nor in earth." Here the Attorney-General interfered, and the defendant replied that

the parody had appeared in a government paper, edited, he believed, by Mr. Heriot. *The Court.* "Wherever it may have appeared, the publication is highly reprehensible—one instance of profaneness cannot excuse another." *Mr. Hone.* "Certainly not; but if this mode of writing has been practised by dignitaries of the Church and by men high in the state, I humbly conceive that that circumstance may be some excuse for my having been the publisher of the trifle now charged as libellous." He then produced a large sheet of paper divided into columns, in Latin, Russian, German, and English, and dedicated to the Duke of Wellington. It ran—

> "Oh, Emperor of France! we curse thee.
> "We acknowledge thee to be a Tyrant.
> "Thou murdering Infidel! all the world detest thee.
> "To thee all nations cry aloud,
> "BONEY, BONEY, BONEY!
> "Thou art universally execrated!" &c. &c.

Mr. Justice Abbott. "You have read enough of it." *Mr. Hone.* "It is a ministerial parody." *Mr. Justice Abbott.* "I know nothing of ministerial or anti-ministerial parodies. You have stated enough of that publication for your purpose." Mr. Hone said he perfectly understood his lordship, and was aware that the Court paid no regard to the quarter whence the parody came; it was essential to him that the jury should also understand, that had he been a publisher of ministerial parodies he should not now be defending himself on the floor of that court. It was essential to the friends of justice that all men should stand equal when they were brought before the tribunal of the laws. But he denied that he was placed in that situation of equality when he was singled out by the Attorney-General to be tried for an offence which, if it had been committed in favour of the ministerial party, would not have been noticed. It appeared that this parody on the "Te Deum" had been translated into various languages for the express purpose of being read by the troops on the Continent—and it could not be doubted that it had a most extensive circulation. He held in his hand another parody, published many years ago, called "The Political Creed,"

and a second, termed "The Poor Man's Litany," neither of which had been prosecuted.

"*The Attorney-General.* 'The misguided or the mistaken feelings which can induce such publications by any man do not form a ground of defence for others. I, therefore, submit, that publications of this kind ought not to be read in Court.' *Mr. Justice Abbott.* 'It is no use to interrupt the defendant. I have repeatedly stated, that it cannot avail him, as a matter of defence, to quote a variety of profane publications. It is for him to show that his publication is not profane—and this cannot be done by quoting the example of others.' *Mr. H.* 'The publication which he had last noticed was a "Christmas Carol." It had been before the public upwards of thirty years—and he should be very sorry to read it if it were likely to bring the publisher of it into any danger. He was sure it was far from that individual's intention to do anything wrong; that person printed various publications of the same nature which went through the country—and, in fact, they were of that description which the common people had been accustomed to for centuries.' *Mr. Justice Abbott.* 'I don't care what the common people have had for centuries. If the publication be profane, it ought not to be tolerated.'"

The defendant then gave several other specimens of parodies which had not been prosecuted, and the Court, in protesting that they ought not to be read, conceded one considerable part of Mr. Hone's case. Here were parodies against which no action had been taken. It could not be alleged that they belonged to a time when people were less refined than now, for many of them were contemporary productions. Nor could they be taken as indicative of a new-born spirit of licence against which it was necessary to guard, and even to make new laws, for some of them were by men of great eminence, and were suffered to pass in times when laws were presumed to have no limit of operation save the will of persons in power. Then Mr. Hone came to what he deemed one of the main points of his defence, the parody written by Mr. Canning, and previously read to the House of Lords by Earl Grey——the "Praise Lepaux," already before the reader. Mr. Canning, he maintained, ought to be in the dock also, if ministers and the Courts were merely zealous on the score of blasphemy, and not on that of political opposition and satire. He had been dragged from behind his counter—for what? For doing what a

cabinet minister had done with impunity. "If I am convicted," he continued, "Mr. Canning ought to follow me to the cell; if my family is ruined, his family ought to feel a little; if I am injured by this indecent, this unjust prosecution, he ought not to be suffered to escape unpunished." Moreover, the parody written by Canning had been illustrated by the inimitable pencil of Gillray, and the entire cost had been defrayed by the late Mr. Pitt, by Mr. Canning, by nearly all the cabinet ministers, and by other influential persons of the party. He understod the parody was directed against a man named Lepaux, who had lived at the beginning of the Revolution, and who was an avowed atheist. The Judge again interposed. He did not see what the defendant gained by the course he was pursuing. *Mr. Hone.* "The parody was written by Mr. Canning, who has not been molested." The Judge asked how he knew that the parody had been written by Mr. Canning. *Mr. Hone.* "I will show that it was written by Mr. Canning; but I know it is unpleasant that his name should be mentioned here." The Judge agreed that it was unpleasant that any name should be mentioned otherwise than properly. Mr. Hone went on to show that the "Praise Lepaux" was a parody on part of the Holy Scriptures, pursuing for this purpose the same line of argument which we have already seen in his *Reformists' Register*. The publication had been accompanied "by a plate of Gillray, a most admirable caricaturist, since dead, and who to the day of his death had a pension from the King. In that print, which he held in his hand, the Duke of Bedford was represented as the leviathan of Job, with a hook in his nose, and with Mr. Fox and Mr. Tierney on his back. There could be no doubt as to the origin and subject of the parody." Among the other sketches produced were several of Gillray's cartoons, as, for instance, Pitt, as Elijah ascending to heaven, and his mantle falling on the then ministry; and others, those who instituted the prosecution, including Canning; "The apotheosis of Hoche," a sketch in which the Trinity was represented by a triangle, and surrounded by persons like Marat, Péthion, and Roland, bearing daggers, poison-bowls, &c., and marked "Equality." Under

the triangle was a gross parody of the Ten Commandments, beginning: "Thou shalt have no other God but me—meaning Equality." *Mr. Justice Abbott.* "This is a profane parody on the Ten Commandments, and I shall not suffer it to be read in Court." Mr. Hone said it was on the right side, which made all the difference. The Judge knew "nothing of right or wrong sides in these cases." Mr. Hone said it was produced for the administration, and he who produced it was pensioned. He went on to show how airs had been stolen from songs, and set to hymns, on Rowland Hill's principle of not leaving the devil in possession of the best tunes. The application, he submitted, was simple. He had been told by the Judge that what these reformers, martyrs, dignitaries, ministers and pensioners had written was illegal. He denied it. What proof had the Judge given that one of them had been prosecuted? He repeated, that his object had been altogether political. Luther did not intend to ridicule the Psalms, Dr. Boys the Lord's Prayer, Mr. Canning the Scripture or Milton; and neither did William Hone intend to ridicule any sacred person or words. Mr. Jekyll, now a Master in Chancery, had written a parody on "Black-Eyed Susan;" but did anyone suppose that he meant to ridicule "Gay's beautiful poem?" The parody ran—

> "All in the Downs the fleet was moor'd,
> The streamers waving in the wind,
> When Castlereagh appeared on board.
> 'Ah! where shall I my Curtis find?
> Tell me, ye jovial sailors, tell me true,
> Does my fat William sail among your crew?'"

The Judge again protested. He did not see what this had to do with the defence. Mr. Hone would prove that it had much to do with the defence. Then the proof must be produced before the parody was read. Character should not be traduced without a reason. Mr. Hone wished to know whether his Lordship, in his judicial character, had a right to demand the nature of the defence in this case? Certainly not, the Judge said, but he had a right, if matter produced seemed irrelevant, to demand proof of its relevancy. Mr. Hone said its relevancy

was in the fact that no ridicule was intended of the original poem; it was simply the poem that was used to ridicule certain persons against whom the parody was directed. Mr. Justice Abbott suggested that enough had been read for that purpose. *Mr. Hone.* "Your Lordship and I understand each other, and we have gone on so good-humouredly hitherto, that I will not disturb our harmony by insisting on reading more of this humorous parody." A little later Mr. Justice Abbott and the defendant had another fight as to whether the latter had a right to say that Gillray was pensioned by His Majesty's ministers. Mr. Hone said he could prove it. *The Judge.* "But if you can prove that, he being pensioned, published those things, will that form a defence for you?" *Mr. Hone.* "My Lord, I have no pension." Drawing to a close, the poor bookseller vexed the Attorney-General by expressing a hope that the learned gentleman would use his power to bring his masters to justice. *Sir Samuel.* "I have no master but my sovereign." Mr. Hone begged pardon. He had used an awkward expression; but he assured the Attorney-General he meant it in no offensive sense. And now he appealed to the jury to say whether he had not clearly proved that his object in these parodies was political satire, and not blasphemy, for therein lay the gist of the whole case. Towards the end he is reported to have spoken with great earnestness and force, and his almost triumphant assertion that he was glad of the prosecution, because it had afforded him an opportunity of showing that he was no blasphemer, was far above the level of forensic eloquence. His speech occupied, some say, six hours, some a little less. It had, with few exceptions, been an unbroken piece of reasoning, with apposite illustrations. The defendant had not proved all the points involved; but he had proved the main points, the only points that were important to the jury. He had not shown that the parodies on the Lord's Prayer and the Creed were not profane; but he had shown how men of distinguished piety had not seen such parodies to be profane. Above all, he had proved to demonstration that the prosecution was purely political, and that if he had written his parodies on the side of, instead of against, ministers, he would

probably have received a pension, instead of being put on his defence for blasphemy, which he allowed was a great crime. In conclusion, he proved the withdrawal of the parodies immediately he had heard that they were pronounced blasphemous.

The Attorney-General, in replying, had no easy task, even for a practised pleader. His tone was a little less patronising now, and he put himself to some trouble to state that in performing his public duty he had no personal ill-feeling towards those to whom he was opposed. Passing to the parodies read by Mr. Hone, the Attorney-General took the simple course of saying that a profane parody, be it produced by whom it might, was all the same profane; and the plea of the defendant that no profanity in his case was intended amounted to nothing if the parodies were profane and blasphemous, as he maintained they were. Mr. Justice Abbott also pointed out that the use of the form of the Lord's Prayer for such parody as Mr. Hone had produced was profane. Both the Judge and the advocate avoided the point, all important to the defendant, of the object of the prosecution. The jury, however, had not missed that point, and if Mr. Hone had committed errors or faults indicating an unconsciousness of those finer lines of reverence which Luther, Dr. Boys, and Mr. Canning also had forgotten, the jury were resolved that a Government of which Mr. Canning was a member should not secure its revenge on a political adversary under the guise of zeal and reverence for sacred things. After an absence from court of a quarter of an hour the jury pronounced William Hone not guilty, and the verdict was received with loud applause, and, on a principle now time-honoured, carried with acclamation to the streets and the people outside. "Long live the honest jury!" was the popular greeting to the men who had stood between a Government that was taking new strides day by day in despotism and the rights of a free people. The public did not at first see how much had been gained that day; that the man in the "black-brown" coat had shown a tact and decision, a quickness of reply, and a power of argument which had altogether distanced the competition

of the trained judge and the first law officer of the Crown; and that in the amenities of life he had both claimed and exacted the treatment due to an Englishman. Lord Ellenborough, ill and unfit for any great exertion, heard with fierce anger of the victory of his obscure opponent, and, it is said, he vowed that night that nothing should prevent him from presiding at the next day's trial. The general impression had been that one acquittal would have sufficed the Government in a case which everyone, apart from the Government, seemed to feel had been from first to last an error, and which the great body of the people had no hesitation in pronouncing a gross injustice. The political lesson of the hour, however, had not then been learnt by the ministry. The Attorney-General gave notice of the second trial as of a foregone resolution, as it undoubtedly was. Lord Ellenborough, informed of the proceedings by report merely, had for the time no conception of the manner in which the legal positions had been carried by storm. Nor does he seem to have known how fiercely the feeling of London, rich and poor, had arrayed itself on the side of justice and permanent law against caprice and law suspended.

That the prosecution up to this time had been exceedingly vexatious it was not difficult to see, but still reverence for the law prevailed, and even severity, representing law, was met with no more effective weapons than hisses and groans. Once the verdict was against the ministry, people began to breathe more freely; the old English cheer was once more heard in the streets of London, as it never of late years had been heard, or for years would be heard again, for the head of the state, either as Prince or King, and as it never now was heard in favour of the Government. The *Times* and the *Morning Chronicle* gave the fullest reports of the proceedings, and the former, while as yet refusing to say a word for Mr. Hone, and still less for his parodies, advised ministers to calmly consider to what the suspension of the constitution and the invasion of the national rights were tending. "Much better would it have been to leave the laws to their natural course, and to have administered them mildly, even in a season of

political effervescence; then the very disaffected would have learned to venerate that form of government when they saw that the officers of the Crown, in the plenitude of power, did not dare to violate it." The ministerial newspapers on the day after the first trial had little to say, but on the whole they reported the proceedings fairly. On the second day they published brief replies to their opponents; the *Morning Herald*, for instance, taking the course of asserting in strong but not unfair language that if the law as it stood could not reach blasphemy, the law must be altered. The *Chronicle*, which represented the advanced Whigs, said, "The hypocritical attempt of ministers to induce a belief that in singling out the political parodies for prosecution they were actuated by a zeal for religion, had been seen in a proper light by a British jury, and we have to congratulate our readers on the triumph of common sense over Jesuitical casuistry in the acquittal of Mr. Hone." In a leader the same paper expressed its abhorrence and contempt for the notice of the Attorney-General that the defendant would again be put on trial for virtually the same offence for which he had been tried and acquitted. The *Times* was altogether critical, neither approving the parodies nor defending the ministry, but asserting its own views as its own, not as those of a party. On another point, a few days later, its great opponent had this passage:—"'The course of the *Morning Chronicle*,' says the *Times*, 'is prescribed by its masters.' Yes, but our masters are in the grave. The rights of the people, as asserted at the Revolution, are the principles by which we steer, and the dictates we received from our first and only masters were zeal, perseverance, &c., in the maintenance of the doctrines that secured the liberties of our country." The course of the *Chronicle* was singularly brave as against the ministry, and it had a strong, earnest, and patriotic party behind it. The *Times* formed its own party, occasionally incensing both parties to fury; at times preserving a Whig measure, and at times a Tory measure, from defeat. Both papers suffered for their expressions of opinion; but there came a time when the party of the *Chronicle* deserted it, while the *Times* remained

secure in itself:—"Cannot you do something to cause your editor to be more moderate?"—the last resource of baffled power—here fell to the ground; because the appeal would have had to be made against the editor to the editor, and even the most obtuse, as well as the most acute people seemed to have the impression that the person appealed to would see many of the strongest points in favour of the person appealed against. Such was the position of the two great journals at this time. We shall see a little more of this in a later chapter.

Throughout the country the press was similarly attracted to the legal proceedings arising from the *ex-officio* informations so dear to Lord Liverpool's Government. In most cases the Liberal and Radical journals were compelled to be very careful; for the country magistracy were more to be dreaded than the law courts in London. The moment, however—to take Hone's case—the first of these alleged libels was declared to be no libel the journalists were to that extent safe, and the parody was published where it never had been heard of before. And so in the other cases yet to be referred to. In several instances which have come under the writer's notice the popular indignation in relation to all the legal struggles of the year set magistrates and all constituted authority at defiance, and found safety in the boldness manifested. A stage-coach seldom left London without some fresh intelligence of high-handed proceedings on the part of the Government, and some new battle for the rights of Englishmen. Hone's acquittal was a great victory; and the cheers for it, and for all victories like it, were carried from stage to stage, northward to John o'Groat's House; southward to the Land's End.

CHAPTER XVII.

SECOND TRIAL OF HONE.

Second Day's Trial—Lord Ellenborough—His Career and Character—The Feeling and Aim of this Prosecution—The Second Parody very different from the former one Indicted—Personal Altercations of the Lord Chief Justice and Hone—Hone's Manly Appeal—He Corrects the Bar for its Indecent Use of the Divine Name—Sir S. Shepherd—The Lord Chief Justice—The Judge—The Culprit—Not Guilty—The Popular Feeling.

THE second day's trial brought to the doors of the Guildhall still greater crowds of people, attracted from all parts of London to an unwonted sight. Again the shabbily-dressed man appeared, with those dusty books, brought into court by what a philanthropic lady of the present time might possibly have mistaken for "gutter boys," which, however, they were not. The avenues to the court were blocked by eager, decided, and more expectant people than those who had cheered the defendant on the previous day. The Lord Chief Justice had resolved to grapple that day with the impertinent person from the dingy shop in "the Old Bailey, three doors from Ludgate Hill." There was to be a fair stand-up fight, with weapons of which the one combatant had been presumed to know nothing; of which the other combatants were supposed to be masters. Mr. Justice Abbott was deemed able enough for ordinary cases and quiet times; the Lord Chief Justice was a man for a crisis—for a forlorn hope or a critical battle. The alleged parodist had become firmer as the previous day's trial had gone on, but still he had appeared very wearied towards the end, and a second trial could hardly be looked to without apprehension. He had been acquitted by one jury on one charge. Here was a fresh jury

and a fresh charge to face; with a judge whose fierce sarcasm and frown were the terror of even the Bar. Perhaps it was not quite seen then, that the first parody was the only one of the profanity of which there could be no doubt. The two remaining productions had often been the subject of parody, and in the case before the jury the productions carried a meaning so plain and in such a distinct form, that it was clearly beyond the charge of blasphemy, even though it could be deemed profane.

Of Lord Ellenborough much has already been said in this volume, and in particular he has been seen in the first stages of the informations against these alleged libels. He was the son of distinguished Bishop Law, of Carlisle, and had been born and brought up in a Cumberland village, where he had learned to speak in the strong dialect, accent, and tone of the North; characteristics of speech he never entirely lost, or probably tried to lose. According to Lord Brougham, he called London "Lunnen," and Birmingham "Brummagem," and in the former case, Lord Brougham maintains, was right, and the general pronunciation wrong. He came to London with Whig principles, which he had inherited; but when it accorded with his convenience he quietly put them aside, and took them up no more. When Mr. Addington (Lord Sidmouth) needed an Attorney-General in 1801, without any prospect of a long term of office, he offered the post to Mr. Law, asking him, in the doubtful prospects of the ministry, to take two days for consideration. Mr. Law would take no two days. When an offer had been made in such terms, he did not need two days or two hours for consideration. "I am yours," he said, "and let the storm blow from what quarter of the hemisphere it may, you shall always find me at your side"; a sort of decision very necessary, not merely to Mr. Addington at that time, but to all men needing loyal support in difficulties. One of the first duties of Mr. Law was to argue for the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act. He also argued against Horne Tooke being allowed, as a clergyman, to take his seat in Parliament. He prosecuted Governor Wall for having twenty years previously, at Goree, flogged a

soldier so cruelly as to cause his death, and the case was put in such a strong light by the impetuous and fierce advocate, that pardon was impossible. Wall, after having lived on the Continent for twenty years, was hanged in front of the Old Bailey, in presence, it was supposed, of the largest mob ever seen there at an execution, and amid such cheers of triumph as few men, in a like position, have ever heard in front of those gloomy stone walls. A little later, as Lord Chief Justice, Lord Ellenborough presided over a special commission at the trial of Colonel Despard and others for conspiracy, and had the pleasure of reproving Admiral Nelson, who was a witness for the chief offender. The men were executed at the top of the new gaol in Southwark. In the House of Lords he was a Tory of the Tories. As Lord Chief Justice he had in 1811 tried his best, but in vain, to procure the conviction of Leigh Hunt for libel. The charge, as we have seen, was on an *ex-officio* information, and the mortification of Lord Ellenborough on his defeat was only exceeded when the case was brought before the House of Lords by Lord Holland, who, in reply to a very violent speech of Lord Ellenborough's, is reported to have made these finely ironical remarks:—"The noble and learned Chief Justice has complained of the vehemence and passion with which I have delivered myself; but he should have had the charity to recollect that I have not the advantage of those judicial habits from which he has profited so much. The practice of the duties of the highest criminal judge and the exercise of temper which those duties require, can alone bring the feelings of men to a perfect state of discipline, and produce even in the delivery of the strongest opinions the dignified and dispassionate tone which ever adds grace to the noble and learned Lord's oratorical efforts, and has so signally marked his demeanour in this night's debate." Sir James Mackintosh, who was present at this debate, says:—"I was much delighted with the ingenious, temperate, and elegant speech of Lord Holland, on the abominable multiplication of criminal informations for libels, and much disgusted with the dogmatism of Lord Ellenborough's answer. Lord Holland spoke with the

calm dignity of a magistrate, and Lord Ellenborough with the coarse violence of a demagogue."

Lord Ellenborough's recollections also carried him back to the time when he defended Warren Hastings, when Burke had treated his special pleading with lofty contempt, and when Sheridan, in cutting sarcasm, had said in reply to a presumedly clever remark: "This is the first time in my life that I ever heard of special pleading on a metaphor, or a bill of indictment against a trope; but such is the turn of the learned gentleman's mind, that when he attempts to be humorous, no jest can be found, and when serious, no fact is visible." The manner in which Lord Ellenborough had treated Lord Cochrane, in 1814, was still fresh in men's minds, and will not readily pass away from history, or be remembered without condemnation. Lord Campbell's description of the distinguished lawyer is amusing and suggestive. A man of middle height, ungainly in figure and in walk, awkward, moving "with a sort of semi-rotatory step, and his path to the place to which he wished to go was the section of a parabola." When he entered the court he was in the habit of swelling out his cheeks by blowing, and compressing his lips, and you would have supposed that he was going to snort like a war-horse preparing for battle. His gait and manner of speech were brought out by Charles Matthews on the stage, and Mrs. Matthews, in her husband's biography, states that Mr. Matthews was himself astonished at the effect of his mock summing-up. The audience caught the idea so quickly, and applauded it so vociferously, that Lord Ellenborough called upon the Lord Chamberlain to have the play stopped, declaring that no such scandal had been known since the days of Socrates. Mr. Matthews, however, on his own part, had found that his inimitable humour was becoming political, and he sensibly saved the Lord Chamberlain any further trouble. Such was the man before whom William Hone stood on his second day's trial. The victory, however, despite all appearances, was in reality won. The shabby coat was no longer noticed. The man within it had a little consideration. Prominent Whig

statesmen, City men of wealth and character, clergymen able to see the difference between unintentional profanity and intended blasphemy, and persons who, asserting even the blasphemy, could see that that had no part whatever in the real object of the prosecution, found places in court, and eagerly watched a most curious intellectual struggle. Mr. Hone, placed in this position, had to grope his way a little on fresh ground. It was hardly likely that Lord Ellenborough, ill in body and mind, would have come that day to the Guildhall unless he intended to do more than Mr. Justice Abbott had been able to accomplish, and a man with such a stock of legal experience, and such undoubted courage behind it, would possibly find some way of doing what he had resolved should be done. When the defendant had tried the ground, and found it firm under his feet, the advantage of the Lord Chief Justice had gone. Strange as it might have seemed a week earlier to say so, there was an immense advantage to Mr. Hone in being his own counsel. If even Erskine had said for him what he said for himself, when he indignantly repudiated the charge of blasphemy, it would almost certainly have been set down to the skill of a great artist, anxious at the same time to clear his client from a terrible charge, and to vindicate himself from the suspicion of sympathising with what most men deemed a social crime. Mr. Hone's appeal, unmistakably from nature, had all the characteristics of high art without the slightest appearance of art. His words, therefore, had an effect that no advocate's words could possibly have had.

The Attorney-General again produced Sir Matthew Hale's authority for saying that the Christian religion is part and parcel of the law of England. If it was so, then the liturgy also was part of that law; and of the liturgy, the litany had always been deemed the most sublime part. He began to read portions of the parody, but at the offset the people in court first smiled, and then burst into such irresistible laughter, that the court, for the moment, had all the characteristics of a theatre. Lord Ellenborough was furious. Where were the Sheriffs? he cried out fiercely. He had demanded their attendance, and

attend they should. They had been sent for, the Under-Sheriff apologetically said, and then he frowned on the people. Mr. Hone also strongly reprehended any interruption as injurious to him, as well as disrespectful to the Court—a kind of assistance Lord Ellenborough declined to accept. The Attorney-General went on to show that the question of intention was not before the jury. All they had to ask was as to the character of the parody. If it was profane, the profanity would not be in the least altered by what the defendant had intended. "I shall now," he said, "proceed to prove this; and if there is anything like religious principles in your minds, if you are in the practice of looking with veneration upon the service of the Church, you cannot look over this (holding up the parody) without saying that it is a profane and impious parody; that it is calculated to and actually does bring into contempt, and that it does ridicule, the litany." The parody was doubly charged—first, with being an impious and profane libel; secondly, with being a seditious libel on the Prince Regent, the Ministers, and Parliament. As before, the impiety was put in the foreground, the sedition all but ignored. A few extracts will show the nature of the production, which was read by the Clerk of the Court. Beginning with a preamble in imitation of the rubric, the parody ran:—

"O Prince, ruler of the people, have mercy upon us, thy miserable subjects. *O Prince, ruler, &c.*

"O House of Lords, hereditary legislators, have mercy upon us, pension-paying subjects.

"O House of Commons, proceeding from corrupt borough-mongers, have mercy upon us, your should-be constituents.

"O gracious, noble, right honourable, and learned rulers of our land, three estates in one state, have mercy upon us, a poverty-stricken people.

"Remember not, most gracious, most noble, right honourable, and honourable gentlemen, our past riches, nor the riches of our forefathers; neither continue to tax us according to our long-lost ability—spare us, good rulers; spare the people who have supported ye with their labour, and spilt their most precious blood in your quarrels; O consume us not utterly.

"From an unnational debt; from unmerited pensions and sinecure places; from an extravagant civil list; and from utter starvation.

"From the blind imbecility of ministers; from the pride and vanity of warlike establishments in times of peace.

"From all the deadly sins attendant on a corrupt method of election; from all the deceits of the pensioned hirelings of the press.

"From taxes levied by distress; from jails crowded with debtors; from poor-houses overflowing with paupers.

"From a Parliament chosen only by one-tenth of the taxpayers; from taxes raised to pay wholesale human butchers their subsidies; from the false doctrines, heresy, and schism, which have obscured our once-glorious constitution; from conspiracies against the liberty of the people; and from obstacles thrown in the way of the exertion of our natural and constitutional rights.

"By your feelings as men; by your interests as members of civil society; by your duty as Christians.

"By the deprivation of millions; by the sighs of the widow; by the tears of the orphan; by the groans of the aged in distress; by the wants of all classes in the community, except your own and your dependents.

"In this time of tribulation; in this time of want of labour to thousands, and of unrequited labour to tens of thousands; in this time of sudden death from want of food.

"We people do beseech ye to hear us, O Rulers; that it may please ye to rule and govern us constitutionally in the right way.

"That it may please ye to keep yourselves in all sobriety, temperance, and honesty of life; that ye spend not extravagantly the money raised from the production of our labours, nor take for yourselves that which ye need not.

"That it may please ye to keep your hearts in fear of oppression, and in love of justice; and that ye may evermore have affiance in our affection, farther than in the bayonets of a hired soldiery.

"That it may please ye to be our defenders and keepers, giving us the victory over all our enemies, and redressing the grievances under which we labour.

"That it may please ye to lessen the cares of the world unto all Bishops and Church Dignitaries; giving their superabundance to the poor clergy, and no longer taxing us for their support.

"That it may please ye to place within the bounds of economy the expenditure of all the Royal Family.

"That it may please ye to deprive the Lords of the Council, and all the nobility, of all money paid out of the taxes which they have not earned.

"That it may please ye to direct all Magistrates to give up their advanced salaries, which the times no longer render necessary, and to content themselves with their former stipends.

"That it may please ye to bless all the people with equal representation, and keep them safe from borough-mongering factions.

"That it may please ye so to govern us, that unity, peace, and concord may prevail throughout the nation, and the voice of tumult and dissatisfaction be no more heard in our streets.

"That it may please ye to give unto all people all their rights as citizens, whatever may be the mode in which their consciences may impel them to worship their Creator, and whatever the creed to which their judgments assent.

"That it may please ye to bring into the way of truth those apostates who have erred therefrom, and have deceived us.

"That it may please ye to strengthen all such as do stand up for the legal and constitutional rights of the people; to comfort and help the weak-hearted, who want courage in our behalf; to raise up such as do fall; and finally to beat down corruption under our feet.

"That it may please ye not to tax 'until the brow of labour sweats in vain'; but to succour and comfort all that are in necessity and tribulation.

"That it may please ye to show pity to all who are prisoners and captives for the people's sake, or through the oppressive expenses of the laws.

"That it may please ye to appropriate the 200,000*l.* annually paid to Members of Parliament, contrary to an ancient law, as a provision for fatherless children and widows, and all that are desolate and oppressed.

"That it may please ye to have mercy upon us all.

"That it may please ye to turn the hearts of our enemies, persecutors, and slanderers, by withdrawing their pensions and emoluments, that they may no longer call us a 'rabble,' the 'swinish multitude,' or 'ragamuffins,' but may once more style us 'the real strength of the nation,'—the body, without which a head is useless.

"That it may please ye to give and preserve to our use the kindly fruits of the earth, untaxed by men in black, whom those who wish for their instruction ought alone to support.

"That it may please ye to abolish and destroy all sinecure places, and worthless pensions; to utterly purge and root out all wrong-doers; to thoroughly correct the present misrepresentation of the people, by an effectual Reform in Parliament; and otherwise to do, or cause to be done, such further and other acts and deeds, as shall or may conduce to the true interest and benefit of the whole commonwealth.

"That it may please ye to lead and strengthen George, Prince of Wales, our present Regent, in the true fear and knowledge of the principles whereon the people of this commonwealth placed their crown on the head of his ancestors, and continue it towards him; and that it may please ye, as much as in ye lie, to keep and defend him from battle and murder, and sudden death, and from fornication and all other deadly sin.

"That it may please ye to put on short allowance all Bishops, Priests,

and Deacons, that, their fleshly appetites being reduced, their spiritual-mindedness may be thereby increased, and so that both by their preaching and living they may set it forth, and show it accordingly.

"That it may please ye to take to yourselves true repentance, inasmuch as ye have erred from the way of your forefathers ; and amend your method of governing according to our free constitution."

It will be seen that however unpleasant much of this must have been, and must ever be, to devout members of the Established Church, and indeed to most sensitive persons, and however objectionable it is on the grounds of good taste, a very grim political purpose pervades the whole. In fact, if the responses were altered to what they are in the solemn litany, and the political plaints left standing, many of the petitions were not by any means inappropriate prayers. The parody was a political article, closely reasoned, and pointed with a view to presumed existing evils. The poor, it held, were oppressed, the money of the nation was wasted ; corruption existed in high places. A man feeling for England, therefore, and reckless of the privilege of mere classes, when opposed to the general well-being, might naturally feel his heart burn within him as he heard the true litany read, and saw at the very doors of the church the destitute poor. Mr. Hone began his speech by contending that the Attorney-General was wrong in his assertion that it was unnecessary for the defence that similar parodies should be produced. That would be one of the main features of the defence, and one on which he relied very materially, for the purpose of showing what the motive of the Government was in the prosecution. He had been told the parodies had been sold at a low price, so that they might go into the hands of the poor. They were sold at a price commensurate to their size, and to his certain knowledge they had gone into other hands, as well as into those of the poor. Lord Ellenborough interposed to prevent the reading of any like parodies.

"*Mr. Hone.* 'I would ask your Lordship, if you really mean to send me to prison without a fair trial If your Lordship does not mean to do that, you will let me make my defence to the jury.' *Lord Ellenborough.* 'You may state what you know to be of service to you in your defence upon this particular issue. You may state what you please ;

but I tell you that that shall not be given in evidence which falls within the description of evidence I have mentioned.' *Mr. H.* (after a pause). 'I really do not understand your Lordship; I state it seriously, that I am not aware of the exact meaning of your Lordship's intimation.' *Lord E.* 'I think what I have stated is intelligible enough to every other person in court.' *Mr. H.* 'It certainly is not intelligible to my humble apprehension.' *Lord E.* 'I can't help it.' *Mr. H.* 'I really don't clearly understand what your Lordship means by the word *evidence*. I am ignorant of the technical rules of evidence, and therefore I apply to your Lordship for a more explicit statement of your meaning. There are certain allegations in this information which it is necessary for me to explain away, by showing that they can have no possible reference to the supposed libel. This I propose to do by calling the attention of the jury to passages in other publications, to show that this parody has no application whatever to religious matters. I don't know, as a man of plain understanding, what may and what may not be given in evidence. But my intention is to read to the jury certain other publications that I consider absolutely essential to my defence, and so essential to my defence that I cannot defend myself unless I do read portions of these publications. I state this with all due deference to your Lordship.' *Lord E.* 'You may go on and exercise your own discretion. I tell you what rule I shall adopt in my direction to the jury. I don't wish to interrupt you; but I thought it my duty to inform you of the course I meant to adopt. You may exercise your discretion how far you will conform to that rule or not.' *Mr. H.* 'If your Lordship had condescended to explain to me your meaning, by saying that these works are not admissible in evidence at all, I should know at once what I am to expect. If your Lordship says that I am not to read these publications to the jury—if that is your Lordship's decision against me, then I have no defence to this information, and I am ready to go with your Lordship's tipstaff wherever your Lordship may think proper to send me.' Mr. Hone paused for a few moments, as if waiting for an answer, and then continued his address to the jury."

He read the parody produced on the former day from "Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine;" and then, referring to Mr. Fox's Libel Bill, he said:—

"'If they were of opinion that he intended to excite impiety and irreligion in the minds of his Majesty's subjects, they would find him guilty, and his Lordship would, at some future day, pass sentence on him; but if no such intention appeared—and his Lordship would correct him if he were wrong—then they would return a verdict in his favour.' *Lord Ellenborough.* 'As you call upon me to give my opinion, I say, that if the publication has a tendency to produce that effect upon the minds of persons who read it, it is in law and in fact a libel. I should not have

interrupted you, but you called for my direction.' *Mr. Hone.* 'Then all I can say, gentlemen, is, that that is his Lordship's opinion.' *Lord E.* 'It is not merely my opinion; it is the opinion of all lawyers in all ages: publishers must be answerable for the tendency of works they put forth, and they are not to put perverse constructions on their own acts, and thus excuse themselves. If the paper have a tendency to inflame, the law says the party had an intention to inflame; if to corrupt, that he meant to corrupt. This is no new doctrine; no judge ever held differently.' *Mr. H.* 'Of course, gentlemen, it is not for me to reply upon his Lordship; but I may observe upon what fell from the Attorney-General: he said, that by Mr. Fox's bill his Lordship, if he think fit, may give his opinion to the jury upon the question of libel or not libel.' *Lord E.* 'The judge wanted no such power to be given him by Mr. Fox's bill; it is incidental to his office; it is his sworn duty, and was so before Mr. Fox's bill, or before even Mr. Fox himself existed.' *Mr. H.* 'If the Court had that power before, it should seem that it was wholly unnecessary to introduce it into Mr. Fox's bill: it would be absurd in the legislature to pretend to communicate a power which was possessed without it. Recollect, too, that that bill was drawn by a most enlightened and acute man, and it was not adopted until it had been frequently and patiently debated; and let me ask you, if it is likely that a large body of intelligent men, many of them lawyers, would have suffered such unmeaning surplusage to remain on the statute-book, if in truth it had been unnecessary? His Lordship, however, has declared his opinion; but let me say,' said Mr. Hone in a triumphant tone of voice, "that, after all, it is but the opinion of *one* man, it is but his Lordship's opinion." Of course I speak this in no offensive sense.' (Loud huzzaing.) *Lord E.* 'So I understand; but it might be as well if a little decency were preserved at the bottom of the Court. If the officers take any person into custody who makes a disturbance, let him be brought up to me, and I will reward such conduct.' *Mr. Sheriff Desanges.* 'The first man I see laugh, after such a severe notice, shall be brought up.' *Mr. H.* 'In the course of the charge, gentlemen, you will no doubt listen with due attention to his Lordship's opinion upon the intention; but that, give me leave to say, is not to be final. His Lordship presides in this Court, but not to try me. You are my judges; you are to try me; and to you I willingly submit my case; you are sworn to decide honestly the issue between me and the Crown; you are to determine upon my intention; you are to settle the difference between intention and tendency; the tendency may be bad, but was the intention so? That is the very gist of the case—the pinch of the argument. Many acts in themselves criminal may be done with no criminal intention; a person may fire a gun at another by accident, thinking it unloaded, and if the person is unhappily killed, the individual firing the gun, having no intention to kill, is not guilty.' *Lord E.* 'You had better, for your own sake, be correct; it is felony—it is manslaughter,

which is felony. I throw this out, that you may attend a little to what may be really your defence.' *Mr. H.* said, 'he remembered that it had lately been made felony.' *Lord E.* 'It was never made felony; there is no Act of Parliament for it; but it is the common law of the land. I will not, interrupt you again: but I advise you, before you come to talk of law, you should have thought a little about it. I do not mean it uncivilly.' *Mr. H.* 'I thank your Lordship. I must be well aware of that.'"

Another personal altercation, fierce on the part of the Lord Chief Justice, very calm and firm on that of the poor bookseller, occurred as to the use of *ex-officio* informations. Mr. Hone held as before that such informations must be swift to have even the appearance of legality. The publication of the libel had ceased on February 22nd. The informations "had not been filed till 3rd May," when "he had been dragged into court to plead." His Lordship had not told him that he might demur instead of pleading.

"*Lord Ellenborough.* 'Demurring is a plea; you might have demurred to the right of the Attorney-General to bring you into court under an *ex-officio* information, and then the question might have been settled. I was not to advise you what to do.' *Mr. Hone.* 'My Lord, I was dragged into court by force and arms to plead.' *Lord E.* 'And they did rightly: they were warranted by law to bring you into court. I was clear that *ex-officio* informations are part of the law of the land; and it would have entrapped you, if I had told you to demur. You would have been injured by such advice.' *Mr. H.* 'However, be that as it may, I was committed, and afterwards discharged.'"

After a very short time a fresh altercation ensued. Mr. Hone was again complaining that he had not been furnished with copies of the indictment.

"*Lord Ellenborough* said, 'that no subject of the realm was furnished with a copy of any indictment; he gathered the contents from the perusal of it by the officer. This was the common everyday practice.' *Mr. Hone.* 'I admit that it is common; and I say, on behalf of the whole people of England, that to those who may be placed in my situation, it is a great grievance. I assert, that every man accused ought to be furnished with a copy of the *ex-officio* information.' *Lord E.* 'In a common indictment for larceny it is not furnished; if it be a grievance, it applies to every case. *Mr. H.* 'And so it does; but give me leave to say, that there is a great difference between an indictment for a larceny, and an information for a

libel. If I pick a man's pocket, the offence is clearly and specifically stated; the day, the circumstances, are mentioned: but libel is an undefined crime; and who shall say that he can be master of the matter of a complicated information because it is once read over to him?' *Lord E.* 'The information contained nothing but the libel, which you have admitted that you published.' Mr. Hone protested against this unfair use of his admission; he had not sold one after the 22nd of February. If copies had been given him, he should have been ready to plead in six hours. His case, in this respect, and many others, was not solitary. Some unhappy beings had been compelled to travel 200 miles to plead to some of these informations. Was there no law in the country to punish this offence? Could no indictment at the sessions have been preferred, where the poor wretch might have taken his trial without an information? But, forsooth, it was necessary to proceed in a summary way, without any of the ordinary formalities; and some of the victims of this tyrannical proceeding had actually been in solitary confinement for nine weeks, like felons, in Chester Gaol, with 64lbs weight of fetters upon their emaciated limbs. Was this proceeding in a summary way? was this that speedy justice for which *ex-officio* informations were designed?" Then again: "*Lord E.* 'I take it for granted that you will prove all this.' *Mr. H.* 'I will prove it.' *Lord E.* 'Your being able to prove it will be no warrant for me to receive the evidence; but I will allow you to prove what you assert, if your witnesses are here.' *Mr. H.* 'They are not here, my Lord. I did not expect to be called upon; but I can prove it.' *Lord E.* 'This is only wasting time: proceed to the business of your defence. I will hear very anxiously what relates to your defence, but I will not let you be wasting time.' *Mr. H.* 'Wasting time, my Lord! I feel the grievance of which I complain; I am to be tried, not you! When I shall have to be consigned to a dungeon, your Lordship will sit as coolly on that seat as ever; you will not feel the punishment. I feel the grievance, and I remonstrate against it. I am the injured man. I am upon my trial by these gentlemen, my jury.' Mr. Hone was about to detail some of the facts relating to the putting of his plea, when Lord Ellenborough interposed, and observed that every indulgence had been shown him on that occasion. 'Do you remember,' said his Lordship, 'that you were committed until a future day, that you might have time to plead?' *Mr. H.* 'Oh, yes, my Lord, I well remember that: you committed me to the King's Bench Prison. I well remember the many bitter nights and days I there passed.' Mr. Topping (for the Crown) observed that the defendant had been committed until the next term, that he might have time to plead. *Lord E.* 'Then,' you see, you state false *gravamina*. The Court was extremely studious to give you every indulgence, and means of understanding the information.' *Mr. H.* 'I could not plead guilty when I knew I was not guilty.' *Lord E.* Why, you have just admitted the publication.' *Mr. H.* 'But have I

admitted that it is a libel?' *Lord E.* 'But you yourself had the libel in your possession; you published it, and you might have read it till you were tired of it, as I am.' Mr. Hone further entreated the jury to dismiss the unfair prejudice which might have been excited against him from the highest authority; for by one of the Secretaries of State—by Lord Sidmouth, night after night, he had been denounced as a blasphemer and a wretch. Many of the newspapers had re-echoed the false and scandalous charge: even after the verdict of acquittal from the charge of a profane libel yesterday, some of them had ventured to repeat it. He held in his hand the *Day* newspaper, published a few hours ago, in which he was designated a blasphemer——' *Lord E.* 'Really, you are getting so far out of the case. What have I to do with the libels published against you? We are not trying that newspaper.' *Mr. H.* 'I hope, and firmly believe, that I have an impartial jury, who will be unprejudiced by everything they may have heard or seen in or out of Court.' *Lord E.* 'Why, nobody can have read that newspaper you speak of; what have I or the jury to do with——' *Mr. H.* 'My Lord! my Lord! it is I who am upon my trial, not your Lordship. I have to defend myself, not your Lordship.' Long-continued acclamations here interrupted the proceedings of the Court. Lord Ellenborough directed one of the sheriffs to leave the Bench, and to go to the bottom of the Court to quell the disturbance. When order was in some degree restored, his Lordship said, 'It is impossible that the officers can be doing their duty; let them bring any man before me, and I will soon put an end to this.' The sheriff remaining on the Bench asked Mr. Under-Sheriff Smith if he had succeeded in taking any of the offenders, and was answered in the negative. *Lord E.* 'Open your eyes and see; and stretch out your hands and seize. You must have observed somebody. Mark where the noise comes from, and note the man.' *Lord E.* 'I must not have the trash of the newspapers produced here, unless you can apply it in some way. If you thought there was anything in them that would prejudice the jury on your trial, you ought to have applied at the sitting of the Court upon affidavit, and it might probably have been postponed.' *Mr. H.* 'But this attack was much better timed: it was introduced after I had been acquitted by one jury last night, and before the time of my being tried now—to be acquitted, as I hope, by another.' *Lord E.* 'Still, if you thought that the minds of the jury had been in any way poisoned, the Court would have given you an opportunity of being tried at a more impartial moment.' *Mr. H.* 'It did not occur to me that that mode of proceeding was necessary. In fact, both the newspapers who have thus accused me of blasphemy well know the contrary, for they contain reports of the trial of yesterday, when I was acquitted even of profaneness. One of them begins thus: "It will be seen by our law report"——' *Lord E.* 'We cannot enter upon that, after I have said that you might have stated the fact in a way to deserve attention.' *Mr. H.* 'I trust that I, being a

publisher, shall never apply to a court of justice to restrict a publication.' *Lord E.* 'But you will do well to complain if the publication be intended to corrupt the sources of justice. At a proper time I shall be glad to hear you; but do not introduce it as a hash into your speech.' Mr. Hone replied that he had only heard of it five minutes before he came into Court. The Attorney-General formally objected. *Lord E.* 'If the defendant has been libelled, he may either bring an action for damages, or put the criminal law in motion: that is the proper mode, but he cannot do it now here.' *Mr. H.* 'God forbid that I should force the bitterest enemy I have into the Crown Office! I have suffered too much there already myself. No, my Lord, I would suffer the foulest imputations before I would take that step even against the man who had most deeply injured me.' The defendant then said he should now proceed to show that for years parodies had existed unquestioned, and even the particular species of parody of which he stood accused."

This altercation seems to have had an effect on the Judge that no high eloquence of the defendant's would have had. It was becoming apparent that the poor bookseller was in this particular sort of warfare more than a match for Lord Ellenborough, and by insisting on removing the issue from mere technicality to broad common sense, he deprived the Judge of the benefit that might have accrued from his special training and experience. No word need be said here of the manliness and ability manifested by Mr. Hone in the free-hand fight recorded in this long passage. He then read the parodies of Luther, of Dr. Boys, the latter, this time, all through. Here again he was interrupted.

"*Lord Ellenborough* asked—'Do you contend that the parody by Dr. Boys is an innocent publication; or that, if he now stood where you do, he might not have been prosecuted for it, though it is against the Pope?' *Mr. Hone.* 'My lord, he was a dignified clergyman.' *Lord E.* 'But that would not warrant the impiety of others. A dignified clergyman has committed forgery; but does that fact render it less a crime?' Mr. Hone added that Martin Luther and the Dean of Canterbury were grave and high authorities in his favour. *Lord E.* 'I will tell you now the observation I shall make regarding the existence of parodies at other times, however numerous; unless there be something advanced to prove them to be perfectly innocent—unless something be shown as a standard of their innocence—I shall not attend to them, for they do not at all mitigate your offence.' *Mr. H.* 'I perfectly understand your Lordship's intention.'

The defendant then referred to the Harleian Tracts, and the Somers Tracts. He read eight verses (noticed in the former chapter) written by the Rev. Mark Noble, as a satire on Dr. Burnet, author of the "Theory of the Earth." The following are the most pointed parts:—

"That all the books of Moses
Were nothing but supposes;
That he deserved rebuke, sir,
Who wrote the Pentateuch, sir;
'Twas nothing but a sham,
'Twas nothing but a sham.

"That as for father Adam,
With Mrs. Eve, his madam,
And what the serpent spoke, sir,
'Twas nothing but a joke, sir,
And well-invented flam," &c.

Lord Ellenborough viewed this certainly broad satire as directed against the Bible, while the defendant maintained that it was directed simply against an individual who had put forth an absurd view of the Mosaic account of creation.

"*Mr. H.* 'My lord, it has been published over and over again of late years, and no notice taken of it.' *Lord E.* 'I am sorry for it: mischievous people are to be found at all times.' *Mr. H.* 'The Rev. Mark Noble, the author, is a beneficed clergyman of the Church of England, and, I venture to say, has no sense of the impropriety; and if a man so well instructed could forget himself, and publish what was of a mischievous tendency, no man will charge that he did it with a view to bring religion into contempt.' *Lord E.* 'Under pretence of defending yourself from one crime, you are not to commit another.' *Mr. H.* 'If your Lordship will but allow me to finish the song, I will consent to be called a liar, I had almost said a blasphemer, or any other epithet, however opprobrious, if your Lordship do not pronounce it perfectly innocent.' *Lord E.* 'You seem to attach an extraordinary value to the remainder: let it be read, in deference to your opinion.' *Mr. H.* 'I am sure I shall have your Lordship's assent to my assertions, when I have finished.' *Lord E.* 'No: let it be read;'" as it was.

Referring to a parody on "Hamlet," the defendant was again reproved. Lord Ellenborough said:—

"It is a parody, as you say, on some part of the play of 'Hamlet,' and not on the Scriptures. It is obvious enough that it can have no reference to

your case; and the jury, as sensible men, must see that it has not. They should not have their time taken up in this manner.' *Mr. H.* 'My Lord, I understand your Lordship's notion of sensible men in a jury-box very well. What your Lordship means by calling the jury sensible men is that they will find me guilty; but my notion of their being sensible men is that they will acquit me."

After this Lord Ellenborough seemed tired, and the interruptions ceased for a time, while the defendant read a number of parodies from various periods of history. From collections of songs of the Cavaliers he quoted a litany, in which were these lines:—

"From such new Saints that pistol when they pray,
From flattering Faces with infernal Souls,
From new Reformers, such as pull down Paul's,
From linsey-wolsey Lords, from Town-betrayers,
From Apron-preachers and Extempore prayers,
From Pulpit Blasphemy, and bold Rebellion,
Good Lord, deliver us."

Another, "A New Protestant Litany," began:—

"From Cobweb-Lawn Charters, from sham-freedom banters,
Our Liberty-keepers and new Gospel-planters,
And the trusty kind hands of our great Quo Warrantos,
Libera Nos, &c."

Mr. Hone then read a parody of the litany which was illustrated by a coloured print of a nobleman, who was said to have composed it. One portion ran:—

"O ARISTOCRACY! Government divine!!—have mercy upon us miserable place-men. Stars, Garters, and Promotions, proceeding from aristocracy and power, have mercy upon us miserable place-men. Remember not our offences, nor the offences of our forefathers when in office, neither take from us our places or pensions."

"A Poor Man's Litany" began:

"From four pounds of Bread, at Sixteen-pence price,
And Butter at Eighteen, though not very nice,
And Cheese at a shilling, though gnaw'd by the mice;
From stale Clods of Beef, at a Shilling a pound,
Which, in summer, with fly-blows and maggots abound,
Or dried by the wind, and scarce fit for a hound,
From the Tax upon Income, invented by Pitt,
Though the Great Ones contrive to lose nothing by it,
Yet we who have little are sure to be bit,

From Taxes Assess'd, now raised at a nod,
While Inspectors rule o'er us with their iron rod,
And expect homage paid them like some demi-god."

After reading this litany, with, of course, the responses, omitted here, the defendant made this clever and manly appeal:—

"It became necessary for him to rebut a charge in this information, of seditiously libelling the Prince Regent, the House of Lords, and the House of Commons; and here he felt a little, and only a little, embarrassed. His difficulty proceeded from his conceiving the political opinions of the gentlemen of the jury might be opposed to his own. But here the difficulty was trifling, because he was sure that prejudices were fast wearing away; that men, as they intermixed more kindly, respected the conscientious opinions of each other; and believing, as he did most sincerely, that opinions wholly opposed to his views were honestly entertained by most respectable and worthy men, he also believed that such men would give him credit for as much honesty in his persuasions, and thus each would tolerate the other. His parody," he said, "prayed our delivery, 1st, from 'an unnational debt'; 2nd, from 'unmerited pensions'; 3rd, from 'sinecure places'; 4th, from 'an extravagant Civil List'; and 5th, from 'utter starvation.' Now, as to the first, how few were they who doubted that many debts had been contracted by our rulers for purposes by no means national. But good Ministers could have nothing to fear from the promulgation of such things. No government could, indeed, have so much reason to fear anything as the effects of such a prosecution as he had been subjected to in this instance, in consequence of the frank expression of his mind. Then as to unmerited pensions, that was not to be understood as applying to the reward of public servants; such, for instance, as really performed their duty, upon the Bench or elsewhere, but to those who derived fortunes from the public purse, without any public service whatever; and how many such men were to be found in England! Of the 'extravagant Civil List,' he did not think it necessary to say anything; nor of 'utter starvation' either; for no one acquainted with London, or any of the great towns in the country, for the last twelve months, could require any information upon that point. He had himself, indeed, seen two human beings who had actually expired in the streets from absolute want. But similar scenes must have been witnessed by numbers of those who heard him, as well as by the members of the jury. In every direction the ravages of distress were visible, and most sensibly felt. Next, our delivery was prayed from the blind imbecility of ministers, as well as from the pride and vainglory of warlike establishments in time of peace. This prayer might be found fault with by his political prosecutors; but yet, who

could doubt the imbecility of ministers? He, for one, confessed that he could not. There were, he believed, some men of honest purpose among the ministers, while they evinced the want of wisdom; but there were others connected with that body who, while they had reputation for talent, had equal reputation for the want of principle. What, then, was to be expected from such a combination of integrity without talent, and talent without integrity? Nothing surely but imbecility."

After some arguments tersely put to the same effect, the following splendid little speech was made:—

"*A Juryman.* 'It is not necessary for you to read any further; we are satisfied.' *Mr. Hone* said: 'Gentlemen, I thank ye.' He was glad on many accounts to hear the jury were satisfied, and would trouble the jury but a short time longer. He never intended by these parodies to excite ridicule against the Christian religion, and none but the weakest men could honestly suppose so, and even they did it without consideration. His intention was merely political. It was done to excite a laugh. Was a laugh treason? Surely not. 'The lean-faced Cassius never laughs.' The learned judge who tried the cause yesterday (Mr. Justice Abbott) had said, that to take the name of the Lord in vain was profanation. Let Mr. Attorney-General look to this; for he found that he had made a free use of this hallowed name at the late trial of Mr. Wooler. When he made this allusion, he begged to assure the learned gentleman that nothing was further from his mind than any notion that in the extracts from the Attorney-General's speech, which he was about to read, the name of God was introduced in any other way than that which might be done in an earnest and rapid delivery. But the Attorney-General had made in his speech on Mr. Wooler's trial, the following expressions:—'There are some persons who suppose, or choose to state they suppose, that persons filling the situation which I fill (*God* knows unworthily) are servants of the Crown. The prosecution is not instituted on my own judgment (for *God* knows that is weak), but in concurrence with that of my learned friends. If any man can doubt that the defendant meant this as a libel upon ministers, *God* defend my understanding. If he did not mean to violate the law of the country, in *God's* name let him show it. If he can show, by a preceding or following sentence, that this is not the meaning intended to be expressed, in the name of *Heaven* let him do it. *God* knows a great deal of my life has been spent in public. *God* forbid, that it should be said the highest and lowest man are not equal in the eye of the law. Thank *God*, the richest and the poorest man are equally protected.' Mr. Hone begged to remind the Attorney-General of what he had stated yesterday respecting the Ten Commandments, and the reverential awe which ought to be entertained for them. One of these commands was,

'Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain;' but it appeared that the learned gentleman himself had broken this commandment. He was sure that the learned gentleman had no intention of breaking the commandments, or degrading sacred subjects, and therefore he was morally absolved from the consequences of the impression which such irreverent appeals to the Deity might produce."

The skill with which this point was put must have carried great weight. In truth many members of the Bar, and even some of the more eminent of them, hardly ever seemed to have enough of the irreverent use of the name of God; and the rejoinder of Hone is all the more triumphant because there were few, if any, of even the foremost lawyers of the time who would have dared to make it. When an untaught person expressed, in a law court, the profane wish that if he were not speaking truth, the Almighty would strike him dead, the Bench and Bar seldom failed to make some sign of horror, or the newspapers to comment upon the shocking ignorance and depravity of the lower classes. Yet scarcely a great, or even a little case was heard without some learned gentleman appealing to God to witness his sincerity, or confound the malice of his opponents. Erskine even was not above this failing. Once, indeed, he roundly swore in Court—"If so-and-so is not so-and-so, by God," &c. When a man who is to this day the model of a forensic orator could take this course, it is hardly to be wondered at if the rank and file of the Bar were ready to exaggerate the sin against both morals and good taste. Lord Thurlow's appeal to heaven, and Wilkes's profane, but not inappropriate comment on it, already before the reader, might have had some effect if the habit had not been so deep-rooted. Society was impregnated with the bad habit. The figure-head of the State—Royal George—could not speak a dozen words without an oath of the kind against which the Canons of the Eternal are most sternly set, the taking of the Sacred Name in vain. If George had good oysters they were "good oysters, by" an oath; if the day was fine it was "fine, by" an oath; if he won at dice or cards, if it rained or was fair, if he saw a fine woman or an

ugly one, it was all the same, an oath—and not a mere damn; an indecent as well as blasphemous use of the Divine Name was necessary to express the idea suggested to the mind of this "fribble," as Thackeray calls him, of a Prince. The Bar had in more ways than one to pay the penalty for its sin here, and its general insincerity, or simulation of sincerity and truth, for professional purposes. Erskine under the scorn of Pitt, and Ellenborough under that of Burke, were stern indications of the feeling with respect to even the greater lights of the Bar. Now, here was a man from the so-called lower classes—a man without even a decent coat, a man who admitted that his family had been without food—correcting, not merely for profanity, but also on the score of gentlemanliness not now disputed, the gentlemen of the Bar. It was a hit in accordance with the general feeling of persons who were creating habits and principles which would in the end overturn a bad characteristic of an abnormal and unhealthy time. Lord Campbell says of Lord Thurlow—"His habit of profane swearing was not always under control even on the Bench. It is related that once on the adjournment for the long vacation, he was withdrawing without taking the usual leave of the Bar, when a young barrister exclaimed in a stage whisper—'He might at least have said'—— an oath. The Chancellor, hearing the remark, is reported to have turned and politely made his bow. His bow, however, did not undo the lesson he was teaching. A slight reference which has previously been made to the same distinguished judge's notable speech against adultery, shows how little the Bench and the Bar could be deemed above such criticism as this. In the debate on Bishop Barrington's Bill in 1779 for the suppression of adultery, Lord Thurlow said that if the Lords rejected the Bill, they pronounced in form that they were not disposed to put any restraint on this abominable practice," &c. Yet, Lord Campbell adds, the speaker of these words "not only had been noted for youthful profligacy, but now, the first magistrate under the Crown, and Keeper (as he boasted) of the King's Conscience, was openly living with a mistress by whom he had several children." He gravely begged the Lords to preserve the

purity of their noble blood, and other nonsense of like kind; and so impressive was his manner, and so weighty his words, that the Bill was passed, to be rejected by the Commons. Lord Campbell says the speech was ironical; but that does not appear in the report, nor is it likely. There is nothing at all suggestive of irony in the remarks. The Bench and Bar were hardly in the position to throw stones at the "profanity" of William Hone. The Attorney-General's reply in the second trial was almost identically the same as on the previous day. "Take," he said, "this pamphlet and the Book of Common Prayer, and compare them together, and I have no doubt you will say that the latter was intended to bring the former into contempt." The Lord Chief Justice, who was quite exhausted before the close of his summing up, repeated what he had previously stated, that the jury must dismiss from their minds the fact that the defendant had stopped the publication of the parodies. That might be taken "in mitigation of punishment," but could not have the least weight as to the verdict. The parody "was a libel on one of the most beautiful compositions that ever came from the hands of men: it was a part of the ritual even before the Protestant form of worship was established; and to bring this into ridicule, to endeavour to write down the Litany, was impious and profane. It was said that there was no such intention; but the law considered that every man intends that which he has done. . . . . As to going up to the time of Martin Luther, Boys, and so on, the habits of those times were totally different; the first scenic performances were mysteries or representations of incidents in Sacred Writ. Luther himself was not very temperate when he was engaged in controversy. There were many things in the parodies which had been read that must be considered as profane and impious; but this of the defendant transcended them all in magnitude. He would deliver them his solemn opinion, as he was required by Act of Parliament to do; and under the authority of that Act, and still more in obedience to his conscience and his God, he pronounced this to be a most impious and profane libel. Believing and hoping that they, the jury, were Christians, he

had not any doubt but that they would be of the same opinion. The jury left the court at a quarter past six, and returned at eight. The foreman said in the "firm voice" peculiar to foremen of juries—"Not guilty." Then the cheers broke out like a tempest, which neither judge nor sheriffs could do anything to restrain. From the court the applause again passed to the streets, and jubilant cheers, not to be mistaken, were heard everywhere. The Government again defeated; the fierce old lawyer, the terror of a generation, completely beaten on his own ground, and beaten by a man in a threadbare coat. Habeas Corpus, abandoned by a Parliament of boroughmongers, had been virtually rescued and enforced by a jury. The defendant—the poor bookseller—was now surrounded by friends, eager to shake his hand, to tell him that he had friends, to encourage him to go on manfully in his battle for the liberties and law of the nation. He went home that night almost wearied unto death. Yet there was another day before him, so inexorable was the prosecution. Before Lord Ellenborough left the court, he asked the Attorney-General what case he would take next. The Attorney-General replied, that he should take next that which stood next in order—'The King against Hone, for the 'Sinecurists' Creed.'" Lord Ellenborough went home, however, in a less amiable humour than William Hone. He was really ill. He had reached the very top of his profession, and that by means of great ability, with about as much consistency as was fashionable in politics. He believed firmly that he believed in God, and that he was one of the main props of law and order in a perilous time. He saw nothing but ruin if loose principles were allowed to prevail. Yet he had been defeated, not merely when he had striven hard to succeed; but when he had actually gone to the Guildhall for that especial purpose. Beaten, too, by this man who never yet in life—and he had been all his life in London striving his best—had succeeded in rising above the rank of a petty bookseller and publisher; a man who had failed in ever so many business undertakings, whose *Reformists' Register* even had just died, and died perhaps for want of what is called "business-

management;" a man who pleaded poverty as an excuse for not paying for the informations, and even for appearing before the jury in a threadbare coat. To have fought a losing battle with Serjeant Copley or Sir Charles Wetherell, might have been professionally humiliating; but the consolation would have been that the defeat had been on facts against which intellect was powerless. Here, after the law had been explicitly laid down by the Lord Chief Justice, and after he had addressed the jury in the name of the Christian faith, and on the high ground of the well-being of England, they had taken their law from the parodist, and rejected that of the distinguished judge. It would be necessary to go far beyond even the days of Socrates for an instance of a like scandal.

Meanwhile there drew around Hone the very Whigs whom he had denounced, and perhaps there can be no better proof of his character as well as their perception of the true facts involved; for they did not draw to all men prosecuted for libel, and especially when the libel was alleged blasphemy. If the Government could have stopped here, they would have fared better, and stood higher in public estimation; but they would not so effectually have assisted to bring about a new order in public affairs—a reign of just law in a law-loving and law-abiding nation. There was to be another trial; and with that decision Lord Ellenborough drove home. The *Morning Chronicle* next day was beyond measure joyous. Of the ministry it published some fierce words, which in these days would almost certainly have brought it under the ban of the new judicial terror—the committal for contempt of court; a weapon which may some day require blunting, even though men again must suffer that the needful work may be done. We live, however, in times more delicate than those of 1817, and there will be considerable privation, and perhaps injustice, before a man is found to brave the committal for contempt of court, and by so doing curtail its power. Lord Chief Justice Ellenborough made no complaint of criticism under which a very high judge, Lord Chief Justice Cockburn, would have chafed. No complaint whatever was made of this passage, which

appeared with many similar passages in the *Chronicle*:—"This cutting up of one and the same alleged misdemeanour into parts, and bringing a man into court, day after day, for the different fragments, seems such a refinement in political persecution, that we deem it advisable for this day to withhold the expression of those sentiments which we confidently believe we share with every liberal and enlightened man in the country." Sir Samuel Shepherd evidently was tired of his thankless work; but Lord Chief Justice Ellenborough had heard the cheers. He had seen Whigs and Reformers, obnoxious City men, in the Court, rejoicing in the powerlessness of the law. He would try again. The law should be maintained, and the ministry preserved from the shame of such a defeat. To the honour of Lord Ellenborough, no one, even of his bitterest enemies, ever seems to have charged him with a design on the selection of the next jury. It was, as we have seen, evident that he had come to intensely dislike the parodist from the shop three doors from Ludgate Hill; but his aim appears to have been confined within the bounds of strict legality. If he could obtain a verdict—and he would work hard for one—there would be no mercy. Let it then be remembered in his favour, that there is no shadow of evidence that he endeavoured to put one ministerial tool into the jury-box. In that way certainly the law preserved its dignity and honour in these last efforts of the declining Lord Chief Justice. The article of the *Times* on this day's proceedings was, as before, judicial in tone; and the report was full, but all sympathy with the parodies was distinctly disavowed. Indeed of Mr. Hone himself very little account was made, while the fact that men could, in a season of suspended law, be imprisoned without trial was denounced vigorously. The article presumed that the Government, having now failed twice in strong cases, would not go on with the comparatively weak one of the parody on the Creed of St. Athanasius. The better part of the Tory papers also seemed for the moment hardly inclined to support the ministry, and only looked for the end of a bad case.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE THIRD TRIAL, AND AFTERWARDS.

Lord Ellenborough's Obstinacy—The Sinecurist's Creed—Hone's Ineradicable Animosity to Dr. Stoddart—His Defiance of the Judge—His Plea of Poverty and Account of his Life—Lord Ellenborough's Summing-up—His Bitter Feeling after the Verdict—Opinions of Newspapers—The Subscription List for Hone—Meeting at the City of London Tavern—Lord Cochrane, Mr. Waithman, Mr. Perry, Mr. Pearson—Strong views of the Press.

It was difficult, it is said, for the public, even on the morning of Saturday the 20th December, to believe that the third information against Mr. Hone would be proceeded with. It was thought that a graceful spirit of concession would prevail, and that the Government, having been fairly beaten twice, would retire from the fight. In the county to which the Lord Chief Justice was proud to belong, and to which perhaps he was in some measure indebted for his strong will, as he was for his expressive language, the rule of the greatest of popular institutions, the wrestling ring, is that to the winner of "two falls out of three"—so the Cumberland phrase runs—shall be adjudged the prize; and if the "falls" are won by the same person twice in succession, the victory is the more complete, because the farther removed from any probability of accident, in place of strength and skill. Here Mr. Hone had won twice, and twice in succession, with different judges, different juries, and different informations, involving, however, the same charge. It might have been supposed that Lord Ellenborough would, overnight, at all events, see that on the strength of the rough but manly laws he had known on the banks of the Caldew, the bookseller who had not merely disowned, but disproved the

blasphemy, while admitting the political intent of his parodies, might safely have been sent out of court without the necessity of risking another struggle for the freedom and fresh air which he professed to prize, even though they could only be enjoyed in a dingy, obscure shop, among dust-covered old books. The Government, however, were resolute. They would not have it said that they "feared their fate too much," or that their deserts were too small to risk the last throw of the gamester's die. For that, in truth, the trial had now become. It can hardly be believed that a man like Lord Ellenborough could any longer suppose, if he ever had supposed, the motive of the prosecution to be other than political; and this is the more curious looking at the trials from a later time, because it is far from certain that if the Attorney-General had rested on libel against men and not on blasphemy, he would not have had a better chance of securing a conviction. The temper of the country was such that whatever course had been taken no conviction could have been safely calculated upon; but the worst of all courses was to convey the impression that the assumed issue was not the real one, and that the Government and law-courts were representing a falsehood. Nothing stood the defendant in such good stead as that. He, open and frank as to the publication and intent; the first persons in the land professing one thing and meaning another.

Mr. Hone came into court on this third day in a state of illness so marked that the Attorney-General interposed, and suggested the postponement of the trial. Lord Ellenborough expressed his willingness to grant the favour if the prisoner asked for it. At that Mr. Hone roused himself, and elected to proceed. He would ask no favour. The Attorney-General again repeated his two former speeches, with variations much slighter than a skilful musician can make from the same air. Of the alleged libel, which was read, a few passages are all the reader would care for. There is very little in the parody worth reading, for its wit or humour, or its force of argument:—

"Whosoever will be a Sinecurist: before all things it is necessary that he holds a place of profit.

"Which place except every Sinecurist do receive the salary for, and do no service: without doubt it is no Sinecure.

"And a Sinecurist's duty is this: that he divide with the Ministry, and be with the Ministry in a Majority.

"Neither confounding the Persons, nor dividing with the Opposition.

"For there is one Ministry of Old Bags, another of Derry Down Triangle, and another of the Doctor.

"But the Ministry of Old Bags, of Derry Down Triangle, and of the Doctor, is all one: the folly equal, the profusion co-eternal.

"Such as Old Bags is, such is Derry Down Triangle, and such is the Doctor.

"Old Bags a Mountebank, Derry Down Triangle a Mountebank, the Doctor a Mountebank.

"Old Bags incomprehensible, Derry Down Triangle incomprehensible, the Doctor incomprehensible.

"Old Bags a Humbug, Derry Down Triangle a Humbug, and the Doctor a Humbug.

"And yet they are not three Humbugs, but one Humbug.

"As also they are not three incomprehensibles, nor three Mountebanks: but one Mountebank, and one incomprehensible.

"So likewise Old Bags is All-twattle, Derry Down Triangle All-twattle, and the Doctor All-twattle.

"And yet they are not three All-twattles, but one All-twattle.

"So Old Bags is a Quack, Derry Down Triangle is a Quack, and the Doctor is a Quack.

"And yet they are not three Quacks, but one Quack.

"So likewise Old Bags is a Fool, Derry Down Triangle is a Fool, and the Doctor is a Fool.

"And yet not three Fools, but one Fool.

"For like as we are compelled by real verity, to acknowledge every Minister by himself to be a Quack and Fool,

"So are we forbidden by state etiquette to say there be three Quacks or three Fools.

"Derry Down Triangle is made of none: neither born nor begotten.

"Old Bags is of himself alone: a Lawyer bred, a Lord created, by his father begotten."

It will be seen that the "Sinecurist's Creed" is poor enough, and there can be no doubt especially of the unseemliness of the conclusion of the parody. The proper reply to it would have been the disapproval of all who were not sinecurists, or lovers of sinecures. At the same time it will be found, when we arrive at some of the later of Mr. Hone's productions, that

the parody contained a sharp political sting, and had a clear political object, without any aim in the least disrespectful to St. Athanasius or his views. After the reading of the information and the alleged libel, the Lord Chief Justice and the defendant had another altercation, which is worth giving:—

"During the Attorney-General's opening, and whilst the Creed and the alleged libel were being read, Mr. Hone was occasionally occupied in making notes, but he seemed weak, and not collected in his mind. Mr. Hone stated that he was not quite prepared; he craved the indulgence of the Court for a short time, whilst he arranged the few thoughts he had been committing to paper; his mind had not been quite cool; he should be ready in five minutes, at farthest; he would certainly not detain the Court longer than that. *Lord Ellenborough.* 'The Attorney-General warned you, and admonished you, in the situation you were placed as to health. I offered you the indulgence of postponing the trial, but we really cannot have delay interposed from time to time in the course of the trial. If you shall wish even now to have it postponed, I venture to predict that you will be suffered to request a delay of the trial; but it must be a request, and unless you make it, the trial must go on. Do you make such request?' *Mr. H.* (in a determined tone, and with an expression of countenance which did not indicate much respect for his Lordship personally), 'No! I make no such request!' (His powers seemed renovated by the refusal of the Court to give him time, and pausing a few seconds, he said, 'My Lord and gentlemen of the jury—' (turning from the jury to Lord Ellenborough, he exclaimed, with earnest vehemence), 'My Lord, I am very glad to see your Lordship here to-day'; (with increased vehemence) 'I say, my Lord, I am very glad to see your Lordship here to-day, because I feel I sustained an injury from your Lordship yesterday—an injury which I did not expect to sustain. I do not know how very well to measure my words, and yet I know I should do so in everything I have to remark upon your Lordship's conduct; but if the proceedings of a solemn trial, like that of yesterday, and this to-day, are to be interrupted—and I say that, because I think the charge your Lordship gave——' *Lord E.* 'I cannot hear any observations in that way now, on what passed yesterday. You may make common and ordinary observations, but I cannot sit here to be attacked.' *Mr. H.* (pausing, and looking significantly at Lord Ellenborough). 'I will not attack your Lordship. Gentlemen of the jury, I will not say what his Lordship did on the trial last night; but if his Lordship should think proper, on this trial to-day, to deliver his opinion, I hope that opinion will be coolly and dispassionately expressed by his Lordship. I say if his Lordship should think proper to give an opinion, because notwithstanding what has been stated, his Lordship is not bound to give an opinion; I repeat, gentlemen (most vehemently), by Mr. Fox's Libel Bill,

the judge is not bound to give an opinion: the Act does not make it imperative, but leaves it discretionary with the judge whether he shall give his opinion or not. It is true, there may be Acts of Parliament or difficulties of law, the explanation of which requires the opinion and the intervention of the judge; but such is not the case upon the occasion to which I allude. I will not relate what passed upon my last trial, but I will suppose the case of a defendant asking the opinion of the Court for information, and answered in a manner calculated rather to cause confusion in his mind than to clear up the difficulty: and I will ask whether such ought to be the conduct of a person presiding in a court of justice? An Act of Parliament should be so clear, that he who runs may read; and that is, that he who reads it may understand its meaning, without the intervention of a judge; and I take this Act to be so. But, nevertheless, if legal opinion be desired, there is the exposition of the Vinerian Professor of Law upon it, Mr. Christian—no mean authority; for this gentleman is distinguished for his learning and legal knowledge, and is himself a judge, being Chief Justice of Ely. That learned person, observing on Mr. Fox's Libel Bill, in his notes on Blackstone's Commentaries (B. 5, p. 151, Ed. 1794), says, "That statute provides that the judge may give his opinion to the jury respecting the matter in issue," not shall——' *Lord E.* 'You are mis-stating the statute.' *Mr. H.* (loud). 'I beg your Lordship's pardon (vehemently), you are interrupting me, my Lord. I was not quoting the statute; I was reading, as the gentlemen of the jury know, to whom I am addressing myself, the exposition of Professor Christian upon the words of ——' *Lord E.* 'The words in the statute are "shall or may give his opinion."' *Mr. H.* 'I shall read the statute presently.' *Lord E.* 'Well, go on.' *Mr. H.* (earnestly and slowly). 'My Lord, I think it necessary to make a stand here. I cannot say what your Lordship may consider to be necessary interruption, but your Lordship interrupted me a great many times yesterday, and then said you would interrupt me no more, and yet your Lordship did interrupt me afterwards ten times as much as you had done before you said you would interrupt me no more. I feel it proper to make this observation upon this interruption. Gentlemen, it is you who are trying me to-day. His Lordship is no judge of me. You are my judges, and you only are my judges. His Lordship sits there to receive your verdict. He does not even sit there to regulate the trial—for the law has already regulated it. He sits there only as the administrator of that law—to take care that nothing in the regulation of the law prejudice the prosecutor or the defendant. I hope that unless I transgress the law I shall not be again interrupted to-day; but if I do, I crave interruption, for it will be necessary. I hope for that necessary interruption, but then it must be necessary interruption. If I transgress the law, I shall do it unwittingly. I trust that I shall not be allowed to do it, and then, like a poor fly in the web of a spider, be pounced upon and crushed!'"

A little later the defendant made this excellent point in argument:—

"It was an old saying, that experience made fools wise. Experience, however, never made fools wise. It made men of understanding wiser, but not fools. If there was any truth in the proverb, he should not then have been a third time in court, after being twice acquitted upon similar charges. He did not impute folly to the Attorney-General. On his part, the proceedings arose perhaps from an error in judgment; but there were others who, after the experience of the last two days, were so foolish as to allow him to be brought a third time to trial, though the chance of being found guilty was reduced even to less than the proportion of 1 to 999. The Attorney-General neither upon this, nor upon the former trials, had quoted much by way of authority to enforce his opinion. All the authority was upon his (Mr. Hone's) side. It was contained in the books that lay upon the table. He had selected many passages from them which he should have occasion to read once more. They all proved that parodies upon the Scripture had been in frequent use even among pious and enlightened men. The opinion of Sir Matthew Hale had been mentioned, and quoted as the highest authority upon the subject of religion as connected with the State. He was, no doubt, an honest, wise, upright, and pious judge. He could not say he was in error in the particular opinion alluded to on a former trial, but he was not infallible, and might have been deceived as well as others. That pious and upright judge actually condemned to death some persons for being witches. He might have been a great man, but this was a proof that he was weak at least in one respect."

Again:—

"He was brought into court on the 5th of May last, and that very day Sir William Garrow resigned his situation. He would not say the resignation arose from his being ashamed of his conduct, but it was remarkable that the informations filed by him upon that occasion were the last acts of his political life as Attorney-General. He (Mr. Hone) never before in his life spoke in the presence of more than ten persons. If Providence ever interfered to protect weak and defenceless men, that interference was most surely manifested in his case. . . . His acquaintance recommended him to counsel, but some objections were urged against all whom they pointed out to him. Some, from motives of etiquette, could not attend upon him in prison. Others, though they might have talent, had not courage to undertake his defence. Without courage it would be useless to attempt it. The question he put, upon such recommendation of counsel being made, was, Has he courage? Will he be able to stand up against my Lord Ellenborough? Will he withstand the browbeating of my Lord Ellenborough? It was necessary that a person undertaking his defence

should be a stranger to fear; for, if he persisted in saying anything when once his Lordship had made an objection, the consequence would be to lose what is called the ear of the Court. *The Attorney-General.* 'I cannot sit here quietly and hear such language directed to the Court. I submit, my Lord, whether it be right?' *Lord E.* 'Perhaps, Mr. Attorney, you might have interposed your objection sooner; but you have heard the sort of attack which was made upon me. I think the best course will be to let the thing blow over us!'"

Here we have a little of Mr. Hone's animosity against one of his great foes, of whom we shall see more:—

"There was a circumstance which occurred previous to his coming into court, that gave him great pain. It proceeded from Dr. Slop, the editor of one of those publications that were always ready to perform any dirty work which they deemed acceptable to men in power. It stated, that a person who had been tried and convicted, was to receive twelve months' imprisonment for publishing one of those parodies for which he (Mr. Hone) had been twice acquitted, and would, he hoped, be acquitted again that day. This man applied to a solicitor, by whom he was recommended to let judgment go by default, as the best course which he could adopt. *The Attorney-General.* 'I am quite sure nobody on my part, or by my desire, ever had any communication with the person alluded to, or ever advised him to either plead guilty or not guilty.' Mr. Hone observed, that all he meant to say was, that the man was not convicted, was not tried, but suffered judgment to go by default. At six o'clock every morning did the ghost of Dr. Slop (a name acquired by Dr. Stoddart, on account of the profane curses lavished by him upon Buonaparte, before he was dismissed from the *Times* Journal) walk forth in Crane Court, Fleet Street. By this ghost it had been stated (for what purpose, unless to prejudice him on his trial, could not be imagined) that Williams had been found guilty by the verdict of a jury for the same publication. This was as false as was another statement, that he was in the practice of selling obscenity, which he detested and despised as much as any man. Such falsehoods put forth at such a time, when he was standing up in that court, in the hour of peril, to vindicate his innocence, could only have proceeded from one who was a villain to the back-bone. And such he would proclaim Dr. Slop to his face, whenever and wherever he should meet him.' *Lord Ellenborough.* 'Do not use such expressions. You say you have got through life free from private and acrimonious bickering; do not say that now which may hereafter provoke it. I say this merely for your own preservation, and not with a view to interrupt you.' Mr. Hone said he had come into court with strong feelings of irritation, which he could not well restrain when he found that this man's statements went to impute to him the publication of sedition, blasphemy, and obscenity. He denied that he had ever suffered any

obscene work in his shop; and if it could be proved that he had, he called upon the jury to find him guilty of blasphemy, in order that under that verdict he might receive the punishment due to obscenity; for, next to blasphemy, he considered obscenity the greatest offence which a man could commit . . . . He by no means wished that justice should not be done; for to neglect to do justice would be injustice; but he thought, in the present case, they might have borrowed a little of the character, the precept, and the example, of one whose name he could not mention without reverence and humility—he meant Jesus Christ. He would not be so irreverent as to read any passage to illustrate the character of that Divine Being; but he well recollected that when Jesus was on earth, He continually exhorted His followers to the exercise of mercy, charity, love, and goodwill. This was exemplified in many instances, but in one more finely than in all the rest. He had heard various sermons on this subject, but none of them produced an impression equal to that which he experienced on reading the relation to which he referred when alone and in his room. That to which he alluded was the story of the woman taken in adultery. The Pharisees went to Christ in the temple, and brought to Him a woman whom they had taken in adultery, a crime the greatest that it was possible for a wife to be guilty of. She did not deny her guilt, but Christ, turning to the Pharisees, said, 'He that is without sin, let him cast the first stone;' her guilty accusers withdrew in silence, leaving the woman alone with Jesus, who desired her to 'Go, and sin no more.' If there were nothing but this to excite veneration in the human mind for that Divine Being, it was sufficient; and he had only to lament that such an admirable example had not been followed by those who had brought him there that day. By the Jewish laws, the woman who had committed adultery was liable to be stoned to death, and yet none of her accusers could say they themselves were without sins. Were his prosecutors without sins, he would ask? Were they not open to impeachment? He would impeach them! These Pharisees were guilty of the same crime for which they were now seeking to punish him! The miserable hypocrites! The wretches! (Murmurs from the crowd.)"

Mr. Hone's absolute hatred for Dr. Stoddart runs through all his works. We shall find it in his later squibs with all the appearance of a mania. The defendant went on to say that he believed the ministry were determined to prosecute him to the bitter end. Then came this touch of nature, which seems to have been among Mr. Hone's most powerful appeals:—

"See the odds against me," he exclaimed, in a fervid tone; "it is one farthing against a million of gold. My prosecutors have laid a wager with public opinion; but they will lose it to their irretrievable shame. 'Skin

for skin [he exclaimed, vehemently,] all that a man hath will he give for his life!' I am here on trial for my life. If you, the jury, do not protect me, my life must fall a sacrifice to the confinement that shall follow a verdict of guilty. My persecutors, my persecutors, are unrelenting. I feel now as vigorous as when I was in the middle of my defence on Thursday last; and I talk to you as familiarly as if you were sitting with me in my own room; but then, gentlemen of the jury, I have not seats for you; I have not twelve chairs in my house; but I have the pride of being independent. None is supposed to be independent without property. I have never had any property. Within the last twelve months my children had not beds. At this moment there is not furniture sufficient for the necessary enjoyment of life. For the last two years and a half I have not had a complete hour of happiness, because my family have been in such misery that it was impossible for a man of my temperament to know anything of happiness. I have been asked, Why I have not employed counsel? I could not fee counsel. I have been asked, When I should publish my trial? I could not pay a reporter; and at this moment I have no reporter in court. Gentlemen, you do not see me in that dress which my respect for you, and for myself, would make me anxious to appear in. I did resolve to get a suit of clothes for these trials, but the money I had provided for that purpose I was obliged to give for copies of the informations against me. These things I mention to show you what difficulties I had to encounter in order to appear to possess independence of mind, and to let men know how cautious they should be in judging of men. Seven or eight years ago I went into business with a friend in the Strand. I had then a wife and four children, and I was separated from them by evils accumulated from endeavouring to help those who could not help themselves. I attempted, in conjunction with the friend, who originated the plan, to establish something of an institution similar to the saving-banks that are now so general. There was a number associated for this purpose, and I was their secretary. Our object was to get the patronage of ministers for our scheme. Mr. Fox was then in power. It was the Whig Administration. We hoped to throw a grain into the earth which might become a great tree—in other hands it has succeeded. It was very Quixotic —we were mad; mad because we supposed it possible, if an intention were good, that it would therefore be carried into effect. We were not immediately discouraged, but we met with that trifling and delaying of hope which makes the heart sick. I find I am entering into too much detail. I meant simply to state that I lost every thing, even the furniture of my house. With that friend I got again into business. We became bankrupts, owing to the terms on which we commenced it. But, on the meeting of our creditors, the first question was, 'Where is your certificate?' All signed it at once, save one, who was unintentionally the cause of my failure two years and a half ago, when I went into prison for debt, and was discharged by the Insolvent Act."

After some further details as to his private circumstances, Mr. Hone reiterated that whatever faults his parodies might have they were simply intended to produce a laugh against ministers. Then he fiercely addressed the Court and jury:—

"He avowed that such was his object; nay, to laugh his Majesty's ministers to scorn; he had laughed at them, and, ha! ha! ha! he laughed at them now, and he would laugh at them, as long as they were laughing-stocks! Were there any poor witless men less ridiculous than these ministers, his persecutors? one of whom was himself a parodist, sitting now in the cabinet, winking at, instigating, aiding, and abetting this prosecution. It was hoped, he had no doubt, by certain very grave members of the Cabinet (my Lord Sidmouth and my Lord Liverpool) that William Hone could not stand the third day—that he would sink under his fatigues and want of physical power. 'He can't stand the third trial,' said these humane and Christian ministers; 'we shall have him now; he must be crushed.' (Great shouts of applause.) Oh, no! no! he must not be crushed; you cannot crush him. I have a spark of liberty in my mind that will glow and burn brighter, and blaze more fiercely, as my mortal remains are passing to decay. There is nothing can crush me but my own sense of doing wrong; the moment I feel it, I fall down in self-abasement before my accusers: but when I have done no wrong, when I know I am right, I am as an armed man; and in this spirit I wage battle with the Attorney-General, taking a tilt with him here on the floor of this court."

He quoted a parody written by the "Rev. William Toplady, a very popular preacher of great talent," &c., and beginning:—

"CHRISTIANITY REVERSED, &c.; *or*, LORD CHESTERFIELD'S *New Creed.*

"I believe that this world is the object of my hopes and morals; and that the little prettinesses of life will answer all the ends of human existence.

"I believe that we are to succeed in all things by the graces of civility and attention; that there is no sin but against good manners; and that all religion and virtue consist in outward appearance."

Another parody, from the "Foundling Hospital for Wit," began:—

"Whosoever would be an exciseman, before all things it is necessary that he learns the art of arithmetic.

"Which art, unless he wholly understand, he, without doubt, can be no exciseman.

"Now the art of arithmetic is this, we know how to multiply and how to divide."

And one from the "Wonderful Magazine," beginning:—

"Whoever will be married, before all things it is necessary that he hold the conjugal faith, which is this: that there were two rational beings created, both equal, and yet one superior to the other; and the inferior shall bear rule over the superior; which faith, except every one do keep whole and undefiled, without doubt he shall be scolded at everlastingly.

"The man is superior to the woman, and the woman is inferior to the man; yet both are equal, and the woman shall govern the man.

"The woman is commanded to obey the man, and the man ought to obey the woman.

"And yet they are not two obedients but one obedient."

After several other like parodies, came the following interruption and reply:—

"Lord Ellenborough observed that every one of the parodies the defendant had quoted were as prosecutable as that with which he then stood charged. Mr. Hone admitted this; but why, he asked, were they not prosecuted? Where were the Attorney-Generals of those days? Why did they abandon their duty? The Attorney-General might any day go into the Crown Office, and file an information against any man who wrote anything in opposition to the Government. A parody was never seized before. Why was his parody now attacked? Was it because Lord Sidmouth was the only good Secretary of State for the Home Department? He charged that noble Secretary with having put all the people of England against him as a blasphemer. There were persecutions of various kinds for blasphemy, and also for atheism. A man charged with atheism had been punished in Poland, in the beginning of last century, whom he believed to have been certainly as honest a man as the Secretary of State. One of the poor creature's hands was cut off with an axe by the executioner, and afterwards the other was chopped off; his two bleeding stumps were then thrust into boiling pitch, and the miserable man was burnt alive, whilst—lifting his eyes and his mutilated arms to heaven—he cried, 'Oh, God of Abraham! Oh, God of Judah! have mercy upon me! Oh, God of my fathers, have pity upon me.' 'Who, O who,' cried Mr. Hone, raising his voice to a tone of the utmost vehemence, 'were the blasphemers? Who were the atheists? Were they not the bloody-minded men who called themselves Christians, rather than the defenceless man whom they put to death in that horrible and cruel manner?' (Great applause instantaneously burst from every part of the Guildhall; and Lord Ellenborough declared he would adjourn the Court if greater order were not observed)."

Recurring to Mr. Canning, he said:—

"He wished Mr. Fox's spirit predominated now in our councils, and the nation would be in a far different state. The power of government would not

be made execrable by the persecution of an innocent and defenceless man. O the persecutors the persecutors, the persecutors that obliged him now to stand the third day on his trial ! Why did they not, to save Mr. Canning's character, abstain from this prosecution ? Mr. Canning would have thanked them, and said, 'Hone is a poor fellow ; I am a parodist too ; this prosecution is a nasty thing ; I don't like it.' There was Lord Sidmouth, a grave, a good, a religious, and surely a charitable man ; there was Lord Ellenborough, a very grave man (his Lordship could not resist a smile here) ; why did they not step forward to help a poor oppressed man ? O no ! he could not stand three days ; their united force would surely crush the insect ! No, he defied their power ! They could only immortalise him. He would at least go down to posterity with George Canning. Walter Scott had edited the parody of Lord Somers. Why was he not prosecuted ? O no ; this Mr. Scott, a man of great talents, was ministerial, and had held a little ogling for the laureateship with Robert Southey. Who was plain Robert Southey, when he wrote 'Wat Tyler,' and such publications as displeased ministers ? He was now a pensioner, and Robert Southey, *Esq.* The *Morning Herald* of the 4th of May, 1812, parodied Scripture to ridicule Lord Grenville, but it was for and on behalf of ministers, and there was no prosecution."

Then came an altercation in which Mr. Hone's delicacy, and general knowledge of history and literature, gave him all the advantage of the contest :—

"As to St. Athanasius' Creed, Gibbon stated that it was not written by Athanasius. Some said that it was in fact a parody upon his creed, and written by Virgilius four centuries after Athanasius had died. Warburton expressly states that it was not his. Waterland mentions that it was doubted. Archbishop Tillotson, on one occasion, exclaimed, 'I wish we were well rid of *it*' ; and in recent days upwards of 200 clergymen met, and solicited the late Dr. Porteus, Bishop of London, to take some steps to put an end to the obligation at present imposed on them to read it. Even his Lordship's father, the Bishop of Carlisle, he believed, took a similar view of the creed——' *Lord Ellenborough.* 'I do not know what his opinion was on this point ; you, perhaps, have had better opportunity of knowing his belief. Whatever that opinion was, he has gone many years ago where he has had to account for his belief and his opinions.' Mr. Hone was about to make some particular references to the Bishop of Carlisle's opinions, when Lord Ellenborough interrupted him, and said, 'For common delicacy forbear——' *Mr. H.* (in a subdued and respectful tone.) 'Oh, my Lord, I shall most certainly ! Sure he was, that this creed was not generally believed even by Churchmen.' *Lord E.* 'It is not alleged to be Athanasius' Creed here. It is said only to be commonly called the Creed of St. Athanasius.' *Mr. H.* 'Then it would seem to be the Attorney-

General's opinion, from the form of the information to which your Lordship has just referred, that the Athanasian Creed is apocryphal, and cannot be viewed as genuine by my prosecutors.' *Lord E.* 'Yes; but the Act of Uniformity made it that which it is now described to be.' *Mr. H.* 'The Act of Uniformity! God forbid that the Act of Uniformity could have had the effect of making this what it is deemed to be, from its import, by some persons. God forbid that this Act could make all men think alike on such a subject as this.' *Lord E.* 'It is not intended to have that effect. It merely operates to create uniformity amongst those who conform to certain religious opinions. It is not intended to compel those of a different persuasion to believe it.'"

It will be seen that the Lord Chief Justice altogether misstates the fact, though he is technically correct as to one part of the intent of the Act of Uniformity. That Act was not in reality intended to "create uniformity among those who conform to certain religious opinions;" but, though it could not compel uniformity of belief, it was intended to enforce uniformity of worship. It failed, but not without causing untold misery. Mr. Hone concluded by saying that "if the jury felt doubts, they would be reasonable doubts, and they knew that he was entitled to the benefit of them. He committed himself to them. The liberty of the press was attacked through him. The prosecution had nothing but a political groundwork. Two juries of cool, honest men had already acquitted him. He had no doubt but they, too, would send him home to dine on Sunday with his family." The reply of the Attorney-General was somewhat longer and more concise than before, and the Lord Chief Justice summed up with evident care, and a very direct purpose. He hoped the jury would remember that one parody did not excuse another, and that all the defence, therefore, went for little:—

"If," he said, "the line of defence pursued by the defendant was valid, what criminal could be convicted? For there was not one offender, perhaps, who could not quote one hundred instances in which persons committing the offence with which he stood charged had escaped with impunity. Mr. Hone had, he apprehended, very truly conceived that if he had employed any barrister, the course of defence upon which he had determined would not be followed up by such barrister; for from his (Lord Ellenborough's) experience of the profession, he did not think that there was a gentleman at the bar who would outrage decency and propriety so far as to exhibit such

disgusting parodies and prints, or at least persist in such exhibitions, especially after the judge had expressed his decided disapprobation of them. God knows that he (Lord Ellenborough) had no wish to do the defendant or any other man an injury, but he felt it due to the ends of public justice and the preservation of individual character, to interpose occasionally his advice to Mr. Hone. Finding that advice, however, unavailing, he had declined to interfere, and let the defendant pursue his own course. But yet he called upon the jury not to allow the numerous libels which Mr. Hone had thought proper to read, or the gross calumnies which he had uttered against individuals, to operate upon their minds in considering the question whether the paper before them was or was not a profane libel. The defendant had repeatedly declared that he had no intention to publish a libel in sending forth this paper, but upon that point the observations of the Attorney-General were perfectly just, for the law always concludes as to the intent of any man from his act; and here the question being, whether the defendant intended to bring into ridicule the Athanasian Creed, the jury were to decide that question from a review of the paper before them, and not from the declarations of the defendant. Here the learned Lord read the parody itself, and expressing his belief that the terms 'Old Bags, Derry Down Triangle, and the Doctor,' were meant to be applied to some public men, commented on each article as he proceeded. The only question for them was, whether this was a libel. Did it force ludicrous and absurd images into the mind when the creed was read? The Father was Old Bags, the Son was Derry Down Triangle, the Holy Ghost was the Doctor. The defendant asked whom the laugh excited by this was against? But although the laugh might be against the persons represented under those terms, did not the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost form a part of the association in this laugh? If they found that there was a mixed profanity of this kind in the subject of the libel, they must find a verdict of guilty; if both the subject and the object of the parody were made ridiculous in the conjunction, they must come to this conclusion. He had not a doubt that the parody before them was a profane and impious libel. This paper was not charged as a political libel, and therefore it must be found as a profane libel, which it was described in the record. His Lordship entreated the jury to consider the importance of the case which they were called upon to decide—that the temporal comforts and spiritual interests of their countrymen might defend their verdict. He begged them to recollect, that if such publications as that before them were not prohibited and punished, the country was too liable to be deluged by irreligion and impiety, which had so lately produced such melancholy results in another nation. The learned Lord, after some comment upon the defendant's stoppage of this publication, which fact would no doubt have due weight with those who, in the event of a verdict of conviction, would be called upon to pronounce sentence, observed that it should have no weight whatever with the jury."

The jury, after twenty minutes' absence from the court, returned with a verdict of not guilty, and the verdict was again received with loud applause. Mr. Charles Knight says:—

"The triumph of the weak over the powerful was complete. 'The frame of adamant and soul of fire,' as the biographer of Lord Sidmouth terms the Chief Justice, quailed before the indomitable courage of a man who was roused into energies which would seem only to belong to the master-spirits that have swayed the world. Yet this was a man who, in the ordinary business of life, was incapable of enterprise and persevering exertion; who lived in the nooks and corners of his antiquarianism; who was one that even his old political opponents came to regard as a gentle and innocuous hunter after 'all such reading as was never read;' who in a few years gave up his politics altogether, and, devoting himself to his old poetry and his old divinity, passed a quarter of a century after this conflict in peace with all mankind, and died the sub-editor of a religious journal. It was towards the close of this remarkable trial that the Judge, who came eager to condemn, sued for pity to his intended victim."

Lord Campbell has an anecdote of Lord Ellenborough, which indicates the struggle he made against any display of his deep mortification at the issue of this prosecution. "Bishop Turner, who was present at the trial, and accompanied the Chief Justice home in his carriage, related that all the way he laughed at the tumultuous mob who followed him, remarking, 'that he was afraid of their saliva, not their bite;' and that, passing Charing Cross, he pulled the check-string, and said, 'It just occurs to me that they sell the best red herring at this shop of any in London; buy six.'" Lord Campbell adds: "The popular opinion, however, was that Lord Ellenborough was killed by Hone's trial, and he certainly never held up his head in public after." There is a more conclusive evidence of his feelings than popular opinion. On Sunday, the 21st of December, the day after this last trial, Lord Ellenborough wrote to Lord Sidmouth: "The disgraceful events which have occurred at Guildhall within the last three or four days have led me, both on account of the public and myself, to consider very seriously my own sufficiency, particularly in point of bodily health and strength, to discharge the official duties of my station in the

manner in which, at the present critical moment, it is peculiarly necessary they should be discharged. . . . I wish to carry my meditated purpose of resignation into effect as soon as the convenience of Government, in regard to the due selection and appointment of my successor, may allow."

William Hone's trials, as already stated, had a deeper significance than the humiliation of Lord Ellenborough and the defeat of the Government. Nay, the trials meant more than an assertion of the freedom of the press. They were an assertion also, and a very fine assertion, of individual manhood—the manhood of poor men. There was something valuable in even the "seedy" coat, when it came to be associated with these complete victories. If the case against the Court had been defended by a man in a dress of new broadcloth, one moral had been lost. If the defendant had exhibited to the jury a gold chain, or fingers which displayed rings, it might have been a trial of gentility, so-called, or of that vulgarity which never fails to carry its own label. As it was, Mr. Hone proved that a very poor man could be a pretty high gentleman. Herein was as great a victory as the country knew on that evening of the third day's trial. That the "poor" bookseller felt a real pleasure in twitting the Tory Law Lords and the Bishops, and the ministers, Lords Sidmouth and Castlereagh, and Mr. Canning, and editors like Dr. Stoddart, is clear enough to any mind. All this may, however, be set down to the fact that he believed the Church to be the head and front of a great conspiracy against freedom, and that those great lawyers and politicians were at once the tyrants and the tools of the ecclesiastical system that meant only despotism of mind and body. It was an extreme and an incorrect view, but it was the view of many loyal Englishmen in the year 1817, and during many later years. Of the popular feeling outside the court when the last of the three verdicts was known, there have been various accounts. Mr. Hone's own statement estimates the number of people present at 20,000, partly in the Hall, and partly crowding the avenues; but that is only an estimate. Of Lord Ellenborough there is one more notable fact. He had

the pleasure, before leaving the Guildhall, of fining, and ordering into custody, one gentleman who had been impertinent enough to press into court, contrary to the order of the Chief Marshal. This little incident, and that of the red herring, speak a volume of these final acts of Lord Ellenborough's career. The great lawyer went away home that night sick and sore; and it must be told even now that there was little sympathy for him anywhere beyond his own immediate friends. It was not forgotten, as we have seen a little earlier, how hardly he had pressed on Lord Cochrane in the very midst of the festivities in which the nation had appeared to foreigners to rejoice as one man for the visit to England of the allied sovereigns; how the great sailor, the enemy of the Liverpool Government, was sentenced to an ignominious punishment, and how Lord Ellenborough had been the means of striking a political adversary under the shelter of the law. The people might be wrong in their feeling, and Lord Ellenborough honest in his judgment, as he doubtless was so far as a belief in Lord Cochrane's guilt was concerned; but the popular feeling all the same did exist, and was intense.

The Liberal, or Opposition journals were jubilant in recording the final verdict. The *Morning Chronicle* wrote of the ministry—"They would have been delighted if his spirit had given way, and he had prayed for time; but the inflexible manliness of the defendant defeated their hopes. Bold in the conscious rectitude of his views and in the justice of his cause, though greatly exhausted by the toils he had undergone, he stood up to meet their accusation, and again triumphed over the dreadful phalanx arrayed against him." The article concluded by expressing gratitude to Mr. Pearson and Mr. Wooler, to whose courageous conduct Mr. Hone had owed his honest, unbiased juries. "This," the writer added, "is the first appearance of juries struck from a list fairly made out. An advertisement in the same issue announced, as in preparation for the press, "William Hone's own Report of his Trials," that is, parodies and all. So that the Government had small gain in any way. On the following day the *Chronicle* pronounced the trials "among the

most remarkable events in the recent domestic history of this country. Three times had this poor unfriended man been put on his trial . . . . three times he had been acquitted by thirty-six jurors. . . . . However much we may disapprove the principles of Pitt, we entertain a better opinion of him than to suppose that he would have adopted the course of those who call themselves his followers—a course as unmanly and illiberal as imbecile." A ministerial paper asked wherein the triumph lay. In juries differing from judges—all the judges, the writer would venture to say, on the bench?—in a crowded court laughing at and sneering against the guardians of the law? Was that victory? Was that what Englishmen now defended? The writer thought not. A culprit certainly had escaped; but the law was the weaker on that account, and the danger to society greater. England would awake before long to the enormity of the damage that would be done to the constitution if such views ever could prevail.

The *Examiner*, which had strong theological tendencies mixed with its politics, claimed the victory as one involving the right to free opinion in religion as well as independence in politics. "The result of Mr. Hone's trials," it held, "proves also a world of liberality in other points, and shows how little disposed society is, any longer, to fall in with what is partial, exclusive, or gratuitous, practical or theoretical: how it has ceased to put faith, out of mere politeness, in the exquisite motives which power claims for itself while displaying the grossest contradictions; and how it refuses to persecute or think ill of any man, who is pointed out to it for its reprobation, merely because he had his own honest opinion of things, natural or supernatural—much less because he takes those liberties for the sake of his own cause in politics which the advocates of another cause have the outrageous impudence, first, to practise themselves, and then to cry out against others for practising. It is impossible for those foolish and arbitrary persons to escape from this charge of impudence—and impudence of the very worst kind; for it is quite clear that they did not think such parodies as those for which Mr. Hone has

been accused impious, and not to be overlooked, or they would have called others to account for them; and if they are now willing to face the matter out with their own consciences, and persuade themselves that they do think them impious, nobody will take their word for it;—people will at the very utmost conclude that the notions of the pious and the impious wait upon their political notions;—they will think that in the midst of their severest airs of religion, they in reality subject heaven to earth, instead of earth to heaven; and that a person with a proper veneration for worldly power may take a few freedoms with heavenly, and be only 'a wicked rogue,' in the fonder sense of the term, exciting at the utmost a half shake of the head, and a three-quarter smile; while another person, who has not this reverence for worldly power, must not presume to think he has a decent passport to liberties with heaven."

To rightly estimate what followed these trials we must remember Hone's first meetings with Lord Ellenborough, and the almost hopeless word-fence of the presumed criminal with the distinguished judge. The obscure bookseller had his time of humiliation then; his day of triumph had now come. Men who had been watching his conduct under the difficulties of his trials drew together after the final verdict, and resolved both to compensate Mr. Hone for his losses, and to turn the prosecution to account with a view to public benefit, and if possible to the defeat of the Government. A few of the names and designations of the subscribers to a fund for Mr. Hone are both amusing and instructive. Several names represent persons whom Mr. Hone had attacked in his roughest style, and many more the names of persons who altogether disapproved parodies of sacred words. Among subscribers for sums ranging in some cases as high as 105*l.*, were—the Duke of Bedford; the Marquis of Tavistock; the Earl of Darlington; the Earl of Sefton; A Member of the House of Lords—an enemy to persecution, and especially to religious persecution, employed for political purposes; Sir Francis Burdett, Bart.; Lord Cochrane; Twenty-five one, and five five-pound notes, from a lady unknown;

Robert Waithman; Alderman Goodbehere; Alderman Thorp; Walter Fawkes, Farnley Hall, Yorkshire; James Perry; The Proprietors of the *British Press and Globe;* A few Friends to the Liberty of the Press and Trial by Jury, from the Ward of Cripplegate Without (two subscriptions); Leigh and John Hunt, *Examiner* Office—not what they would, but what they could; R. Waithman, jun.; J. Waithman; W. Waithman; Charles Pearson; Seven Friends at Liverpool; No Parodist, but an Enemy to Persecution; One who thinks highly of Mr. Hone's conduct; Areopagitica; No Politician; The Doctor in Bedlam; A Disciple of C. J. Fox; An Enemy to Corruption; An obscure Donation to Public Merit; Derry Triangle; An Enemy to Hypocrisy; Gratitude to Mr. Hone; A Juryman on the third day's trial; A Genuine Friend of the Liberty of the Press and Trial by Jury; An Abhorrer of Tyranny and Oppression; An Admirer of Honest and Undaunted Jurors; A Friend to even-handed Justice; An Enemy to Political and Religious Persecution; My name would ruin me; Oil for the Hone; A Village Curate's Mite; The Doctor; A few Friends at a Bookseller's Shop, implacable enemies to iniquity in the cloak of justice, or hypocrisy under the veil of religion, and consequently warm advocates for a persecuted husband, his deserving wife, and their helpless family; To Right freed from Might; An Admirer of Undaunted Juries; The Ghosts of Jeffreys and Sir William Noy; James Ramshaw, a friend to religion, but an enemy to its being used as an engine of persecution; Richard Flower; Benjamin Flower; George Flower; The Ghost of Judge Jeffreys; An Enemy to *Ex-Officio* Informations; Jas. Young, to Mr. Hone, for defending in his own person the freedom of the Press, attacked for a Political object, under the old pretence of supporting Religion; An Enemy to Oppression under all masks, particularly those of Religion and Justice; F. M., a cut at Corruption; From all weak and wicked Ministers and unjust Judges deliver us; An Enemy to the Establishment of a British Inquisition; Two Brothers, who think true Religion never was, nor ever will be, injured by the Liberty of the Press; No Parodist, but a Friend to Freedom; A Foe to Tyrannical Judges; A

Despiser of the Perverters of any Oaths, particularly of "Oaths of Office;" A Friend to the Liberty of the Press; Major Cartwright; A steady Friend to Reform and a Just Representation of the People and Property of the Country, and an Enemy to Prosecution, much more Persecution, under Religious or other False Pretences, but an Enemy equally to Universal Suffrage, as leading to Universal Rapine; An Enemy to Hypocrisy and Persecution, by W. Sturch; One who disapproves of the Parodies, but abhors Persecution; From a School Boy, who wishes Mr. Hone to have a very grand subscription; An Old Eccentric—an Enemy to all Informers; A few Friends, Enemies to dictatorial Judges; For Delicacy's sake forbear—"and Felix trembled;" "Open your eyes and see—stretch out your hands, seize, and bring him into Court"—Bombastes Furioso; the Ghost of Horne Tooke; "The hope of the Hypocrite shall perish;" One who abhors an arbitrary and merciless Judge; J. W., a Friend to Religion, Courage, and Talent; Freemen stand or Freemen fa'; An Enemy to Jeffreys; "I will go to him myself to-morrow!" An Enemy to Packed Juries, as well in the City as the Country; Anticipated Retrenchments for 1818, per Old Bags; A Friend to the Liberty of the Press; No Admirer of an Earldom-hunting Judge; Judge Jeffreys' Works rebound in Calf by Law; No Scripture Parodist, but a Detester of Hypocrisy and Persecution; "I must not give you my name, but God bless you;" An Enemy to Political Judges, from Leighton Buzzard; The Barber to the Skinners' Club for the use of the Hone; The Constitution of "The Universal Church," and of "Religious and Civil Union" towards the defence of the Liberty of the Press; May Jeffreys never be forgotten, and Law become mild and humane; Friends from Principle and Interest to the Freedom of the Press; One who dislikes Parodies on Scripture, but is an Enemy to Persecution; As much like Judge Jeffreys as the present times will admit; May Jeffreys' Fame and Jeffreys' Fate on every modern Jeffreys wait; No Parodist, but an Admirer of the Man who, by his ability and courage, has proved the fallacy of the Lawyer's Law, that when a Man is his own Advocate he has a Fool for his Client; A Mussulman, who thinks it would not be an

impious Libel to Parody the Koran; Enemies to Jeffreys in the nineteenth century, Fifeshire; An American Citizen; A speedy Reformation, no Revolution, the same King and Constitution; May the Suspenders of the Habeas Corpus be speedily Suspended; May the Persecuted never want Friends; A Venial Offence compared with partiality, hypocrisy, &c.; The man who so bravely protested against *Ex-Officio* Informations; "Open your eyes and see, stretch out your hands and take"—Chief Justice; May the Persecuted never want Friends; An intense hater of Tyranny under every form; May the unblemished Hone never want the Oil of Justice; Three times twelve for thrice-tried Hone, who cleared the course himself alone, and won three heats by twelve to one; A little more Oil for the Hone; One who, during Mr. Hone's three days' Persecution, sympathised with his agony of suspense, pitied his bodily fatigue, and admired his mental energy; A swarm of B's from Somersetshire, whose stings are for the oppressors of Law, and whose honey is for the oppressed by Law; Two determined Enemies to Tyranny and Oppression, firm Friends to the Protestant Religion, but no great admirers of St. Athanasius; Rev. T. B. Morris, Rector of Shelfanger, who disapproves of the Parodies, but abhors the making an affected zeal for Religion the pretext for Political Persecution; One who considers Hypocrisy to be the most odious and degrading of all human vices; J. D.—"It may operate in mitigation of punishment!" "For the Hone that set the Razor that shaved the Rats;" "May Heaven-born truth no longer be endured by the people of England;" "Samuel Parr (D.D.), who most seriously disapproves of all parodies upon the hallowed language of Scripture and the contents of the Prayer-Book, but acquits Mr. Hone of intentional impiety, admires his talents and his fortitude, and applauds the good sense and integrity of his Juries."

Among a large number of other names not possible to be given here are those of several Whigs, and several clergymen and other ministers of religion, who, while disapproving parodies, entirely acquit Mr. Hone of intentional profanity. The intensity of the feeling against Lord Ellenborough is

forcibly represented in a number of the designations—perhaps more forcibly than some of the persons who returned those designations would have cared to put on record if they had known how completely the proud head had been bowed, and how near it was to the end of all its difficulties. One name of singular interest—a name very dear to men struggling for liberty, and not much mentioned so far in this volume, appears in the subscription list—the potent representative name of Major Cartwright. Originally in the Navy, Major Cartwright had the good fortune on one occasion to detect a scandalous overcharge. He had incurred a few small expenses for his vessel—expenses which he estimated to amount to about 35*l.*, and which were really 1,200*l.*; that is, his estimate was just 1,165*l.* below the fact. Like the dull man he must have been, he remonstrated,—never, to all appearance, observing that the Government at that time required votes, and that the Lords of the Admiralty were dispensing the orthodox and legitimate patronage, much to the country's good, of course. Worst of all, when that fact was fairly put before him the incorrigible dullard only grew more indignant, and probably his position in the navy would have been very uncomfortable, for the Lords of the Admiralty seldom spared a man who interfered with their patronge, a fact which the reader has seen forcibly illustrated in the case of "Erskine's first brief." From this fate the presuming innovator was saved by a still more daring defiance of constituted authority. The American war broke out, and the reforming sailor, believing the colonists right, refused to fight against them, and resigned his commission. For his sympathy with the French Revolution he was subsequently dismissed from the militia, in which for some time he had held the commission of a major, and the dismissal was all the more marked because on the threat of invasion he not only had cheerfully and speedily made his way to the coast to assist to repel the invasion by force of arms, but had drawn out and submitted to the proper authorities a plan of defence which military men, not by any means favourable to his politics, pronounced excellent. "Major" he remained to the end of his

days. When the battles for reform began, Major Cartwright was one of the foremost opponents of class-government. He assisted to form the Society for Constitutional Information and other societies of a kindred character, and was put to very considerable inconvenience. In the year with which we are now dealing, 1817, Samuel Bamford wrote, as a reform toast, which was long and generally used among Radicals—

"Here's a health to the good Major Cartwright,
A health to Sir Francis Burdett;
Likewise to Lord Cochrane the gallant,
And Cobbett we'll never forget.
Tho' o'er the dark rolling Atlantic
Corruption the Patriot has driven,
Around him be shower'd for ever,
The smiles and the blessings of Heaven."

The toast may not bear comparison with the polished stanzas of Canning, but there are many living people who remember the uproarious enthusiasm with which it was sung while the reform war continued. In the trial of Hone Major Cartwright naturally had a deep interest, and his name appeared with those of many other firm men in the imposing subscription list. This was the one proud time of Mr. Hone's life. He had known little but trouble in the past, and he would know very much trouble in the future. The Christmas of 1817 was all his own.

On the 29th of December a public meeting was held at the City of London Tavern, Bishopsgate Street, to devise means for raising the subscription to which reference is made above. Mr. Waithman, afterwards well known as an Alderman, and one of the few aldermen whose names are historical, was chairman; exceedingly honourable conduct, for Mr. Hone's pen had often written hard things of Mr. Waithman, even up to the time the *Reformists' Register* had died. Some of the remarks made are too important to be omitted from this attempted picture of the men of an important time, and the reader will please to observe that the remarks are reproduced as they appeared in the reports, without any attempt to alter the occasionally

involved sentences. Mr. Waithman expressed his conviction that "if the parodies had been published in favour of the administration—if they had been published in ridicule of reformers—if they had been published against the rights of the people—his Majesty's Government would never have attended to them. If, indeed, the object of ministers had been to rescue religion from any insidious attack of the kind alleged, the laws of the country were open to them, and they might have proceeded in the usual way. . . . When the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act was contemplated, and Committees of both Houses of Parliament were formed in order to examine information that was to be laid before them by ministers, a great deal was said to inflame the public mind. Little doubt can now be entertained that the outrages spoken of as a ground for suspending the Habeas Corpus Act were caused by the exertions of those infamous spies and informers who were hired by the Government, and whose conduct it is unnecessary for me to descant upon. Gentlemen, instead of indicting Mr. Hone, as they would have done if their object had been that which they pretended, ministers took a widely different course, having first taken care that everything should be done by those Committees to agitate and inflame the public feeling. The Habeas Corpus Act was suspended. Mr. Hone was dragged from his family and consigned to prison, and at length the law officers of the Crown brought him to trial. All these preparations were to make conviction more certain. Had the intention of ministers been to rescue religion from any insidious attack, they would, as I have before observed, have proceeded by indictment, and not by *ex-officio* information. If their motives were pure, they would have tried him on one case only. I attended the court during the whole of the last day's trial, and for some time on the preceding days, and I there witnessed, with feelings of the highest gratification, the exertions made by Mr. Hone on behalf of the liberties of the whole people of England. I say the liberties of the people of England, for we cannot be said to have any liberties unless we have a free press and an unshackled trial by jury. The freedom of the press was supported

by Mr. Hone in a manner so much to my satisfaction that I felt it my duty to do everything in my power to rescue that individual from the consequences with which those prosecutions must necessarily visit him, if his case be not boldly taken up by his fellow citizens."

Sir Francis Burdett took much stronger and more unsparing ground. Next, he said, to the paramount object of the liberty of the press, their greatest exertions ought to be made to support an honest countryman, struggling in opposition to the oppressions exercised against him on scandalous hypocritical pretences. "Those who made use of those pretences, seemingly intended only to crush an humble individual; but they meant, in reality, through his person to destroy the free press of the country. The resolutions that were put into his hands this day fully expressed those sentiments, and pointed out the necessity of supporting their oppressed countryman under these circumstances. He had fully merited their kindest consideration. Few men in the country could have fought their way with such manly intrepidity, and at the same time with such elasticity of moral and intellectual vigour. There was another gentleman, Mr. C. Pearson, whose name ought not to pass unnoticed—a gentleman whose exertions had been of the utmost consequence in obtaining an important reformation of the special jury list. The object he considered one of the most important that had been accomplished during the eventful period in which he lived. For when a system of corruption existed, he conceived that a greater good could not be effected than compelling the friends of oppression to give up that old corrupt list of jurymen, and to procure another, containing the names of upright and honourable and perfectly disinterested men. With respect to the Libel Act of Mr. Fox, the learned judges attempted a construction which was in direct opposition to the object for which it was framed. According to them the judge on the bench had a right to act as foreman of the jury, and deliver his own verdict first, and this with all due theatrical solemnity—the hand upon the heart—at least, the hand where the heart should be—and under the pompous solemnity of an

oath of office. This could not be the true construction of Mr. Fox's Act. If it were, the King's subjects were in a worse situation than they were before the passing of the Act. Mr. Hone and an honest jury had put the right construction upon the Act, and they happened to put a very different construction upon it from that of the learned judge. They could not be reasoned out of their own plain, unsophisticated common sense; they could see no guilt where the intention did not accompany the act, and, conforming to the general principles of the law of England, they could not find a man guilty who had no intention to commit offence. To Mr. Charles Pearson's manly exertions was the country indebted for a change in the unjust system of packing and culling jurymen. In truth he might say, with his friend Mr. Horne Tooke, of the old jury list, that it was like offering a man a basket of rotten oranges, from which he was at liberty to take his choice. Mr. Hone would meet with that reward which his distinguished merits deserved. But because he had won the victory, they were not to suppose that he had not encountered any danger; because he had returned to his family, they were not to imagine that he was not near being snatched away from them. If a verdict could have been obtained against him, he probably never would have returned to them again. But as he had gone through his critical trials with manly intrepidity, with a boldness truly English, without offence and without fear, he conceived that his conduct called on them to put him in such a situation that for the rest of his life he should feel the benefit of those rare good qualities which he had so eminently displayed through the whole of this business." Mr. Waithman further said that it was impossible for any person not present at Mr. Hone's trial to form the least conception of the ability, courage, and feeling displayed by him in the trial. He appeared on the highest pinnacle on which a man could be placed, while all around him looked little, very little. I'd sooner, Mr. Waithman added, forget all I ever saw beside than be without the impression which I felt on witnessing such a scene.

Mr. Perry, of the *Morning Chronicle*, who spoke at great length,

said that the interpretation which he had heard given to a libel, and more especially by those who were interested in meeting the wishes of ministers, was that truth was a libel; that anything which was written or published, of which anybody complained, was what the law designated a libel. In other words, that any man who dared to publish the truth, however important the truth might be to the interest of the community, was a libeller. He could only say that he for one would brave this construction. He would publish the truth, though he should provoke his Majesty's ministers to attack him. He denied that truth was a libel. To tell the truth was a privilege to which they were born, and was one which he would not be the first to sacrifice. The rest of Mr. Perry's speech was mainly in praise of Sir Francis Burdett—praise which Sir Francis, who had a rare gift that way, returned in full measure running over. Lord Cochrane said "that with very different feelings he appeared in that room than on a former occasion, when an attempt was made to practise a delusion upon the people, by telling them that their distresses arose from the sudden transition from a state of war to a state of peace. That delusion he, at the time, assisted to dispel. They had now to contemplate a very different spectacle; they had to witness the triumph of the oppressed over his oppressors, and to learn from it the wholesome lesson that while the purity of an honest trial by jury existed, and while English jurors were faithful to their trust, tyranny could never shackle the people. But this triumph never could have been obtained had not the jury list been purified. Was it to be endured that in such a metropolis as London, only 480 men, the number on the old list, were qualified to perform the important office of jurors? It was thus that previous convictions had been obtained; for in all other cases juries were found to take the law of libel from the judge. The present, however, was the greatest blow that tyranny ever met with in this country. Short of a radical reform in the House of Commons, this reform in the trial by jury was the most important. He had himself been convicted, and a fine of 100*l.* imposed on him; but sooner than have paid

that fine he would have remained and rotted in prison. His constituents paid it for him, and relieved him from his most painful situation. That money he wished now to return; and with feelings of heartfelt thankfulness to Mr. Hone for his manly and able exertions in defence of the liberties of the people. He would now lay down the 100*l.* which he then held in his hand, in addition to the sums already subscribed for him. He wished he had the means of doing more. He had attempted to convert the money with which he would pay his subscription into the ancient coin of the realm, but the Bank would only pay old outstanding notes in this manner; they knew that no such were to be had, and this they called a resumption of cash payments. He might have got 'Sovereigns' or 'Regents,' but he knew that they had nothing to do with this subscription, and he therefore did not bring them." He warmly eulogized Mr. Pearson.

A portion of Mr. Pearson's speech has been given in a former chapter, in references to the revision of the jury lists. He concluded—"Much has been done—much yet remains to do. We have not only to put down the system for the present, we must effectually provide against its recurrence at a future period. I hope we shall not let the present year pass away without doing that which will stand on record for ages as essentially beneficial to the country. I trust that in this year, when the great luminary of our constitution, the Habeas Corpus Act, has been eclipsed, that we shall not be plunged in total darkness, but that the renovated jury list will be left to cheer and console us; I trust it will rise as the evening star of our liberties, when all beside is dim and cloudy." Mr. Sturch finished a speech in the main sensible, by saying that "he could not help confessing that at some moment he was inclined to look with an eye of pity and compassion on the Attorney-General and other persons connected with him in these prosecutions. He could easily conceive the difficulties they laboured under; and if he thought that the law of England would excuse one more parody before they were laid by for ever, he would say, 'It is easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle than for a crown lawyer to be an

honest man!'" People laughed at this, and do not appear to have cheered the vulgar sentiment. Mr. Wooler, who was received with almost boundless applause, said the meeting was intended to hurl back on those slanderers who had deprived them of their rights the charge of sedition, disaffection, and disloyalty which they had preferred against them; and to tell those who had dared to infringe on their liberties that they were ready to defend them. The result of those trials had proved the truth of a proposition which he always had and ever would maintain—namely, that there was nothing so contemptible as usurped power, and nothing so formidable as courageous innocence and a determined spirit. The result had finely exemplified the words—

"Thrice is he arm'd who hath his quarrel just."

"This remark might fairly be said to have been literally fulfilled in Mr. Hone's case. Thrice was he assailed, thrice was he armed for the attack, and thrice he returned successful from the combat. The array which he had to encounter was dreadful. Awful was the appearance behind the bar and on the bench of wigs, and gowns, and gravity—all summoned to oppose him. He was encountered by those who deemed their forensic paraphernalia more important than did the contending heroes of old the armour of Achilles; by those who sometimes seemed to forget that imagination might lead people to look for a man beneath the gown, or a head under the wig, however ill its interior might be furnished. Those gentlemen depended much on their gravity; but when they learned from natural history that the gravest quadruped was an ass and the gravest bird an owl, men of common sense would not pay much attention to this qualification. The character of an English judge ought to be one of the noblest titles that a man could boast. He ought to hold the scale of justice equally between power on the one hand and passion on the other. He should hold his hand as steadfastly opposed against the minister of the Crown, if the minister meant to wrong the people, as he would against any portion of that people who had been misled into

the commission of crime, and were prosecuted for a breach of the laws. While English judges maintained this character and pursued this conduct England was safe; but when the man was seen on the Bench and not the judge; when he who wore the judge's gown appeared to be the friend of ministers; when he was seen acting with them on all occasions and abetting all their proceedings; when, instead of being counsel for the prisoner, he appeared as his vindictive prosecutor—what might not the country fear? They all knew, as a matter of history, that a measure was passed early in his present Majesty's reign which, as the name went, had for its object making the judges independent of the Crown. But it was a strange independence for these high characters that the Crown should appoint them in the first instance, and that they should afterwards for life retain the same high salaries. From the Crown, then, they got everything, from the people nothing; and did not the regular march of judicial, like any other official patronage, show the independent qualities for which judges were selected by the Crown? Did the people not see it in the opinions invariably pronounced by learned judges in every case of libel which came under their cognisance? The people of England stood now on a proud eminence. They saw before them two high barriers erected for the preservation of British freedom—one, the trial by jury, the other, the liberty of the press; they had also to look forward to the proper guard and protection of both—a constitutional representation of the people. The first of these great barriers was incontestably erected. Thirty-six Englishmen, on three successive trials, had finished that great work. A free press also remained; and if the people would only do their duty, and assert their rights with proper spirit, so as to recover the true tone and stamp of Englishmen, then also the great barrier of constitutional representation would be found to rear its head." Mr. Wooler's speech was long, and throughout was ardent and defiant.

Mr. Hone was not present at the meeting, and his victory perhaps was on that account all the more complete. The speeches of his friends, and especially the very generous speech

of Mr. Wooler, who had himself been prosecuted, and whose conduct had been as resolute as Mr. Hone's, represented the entire case as between the government and all in the nation who firmly demanded that no government should be permitted any longer to withhold the right to express opinions freely on the affairs of the nation. Never in all history had an English, or any government, been more completely defeated, and if some of the expressions at the meeting were a little wild, it was a wildness which Englishmen in these days may very well look upon with a generous feeling. The year 1817 was the beginning of a long series of victories for the nation over mere class. In that year an oligarchical power was effectually broken; and to the men present at this meeting, and men whom they represented, we owe a debt of gratitude. Nothing can be clearer and more distinct than the line drawn between a defence of parodies on sacred words and a defence of a free press and of honest against dishonest government. What a free press really is will form the subject of another chapter. The *Morning Chronicle*, which had been represented at the meeting by Mr. Perry, reflected the sentiments of that meeting for several days. The *Examiner* was more restrained, but not less fierce; and several important country papers were similarly defiant. The comment of the *Times*, too, was now biting and severely logical. It denounced the Ministry for having caused "an insult and degradation to be offered to the courts of law." And yet, the writer contended, it is "not that law has been defeated, but that law, free law, has been established, contrary to the opinions and rulings of those who in such cases have had most weight; that free law has been established by an unlearned man against the learned; by a brave man who has made those whom the world thought so, crouch and tremble. . . . . We still hold the use of the name of God in parodies, though not a legal crime, to be highly irreverential and unbecoming; but yet we cannot see, except as to degree, that it is more wicked in one man than in another, in Mr. Hone than in Mr. Canning; and of this we are very certain, that though the latter gentleman may from education be able to write the

more adroit parody of the two, the former will be found infinitely better able to defend his productions in a court of justice." And again: "Hone's whole defence will be read with an interest, and will excite feelings now and hereafter, which it far exceeds our power to appreciate." It will be seen that the public sentiment—the sentiment of educated and responsible where impartial men—fully acquitted William Hone of intentional blasphemy, while fastening the government to intentional political persecution under the guise of zeal for religion.

Nothing can be clearer indeed than the position taken with respect to the parodies and the trials of Hone by clear-headed representative men of various parties and views. When Sir Francis Burdett, in his warm-hearted erring way, declared at the meeting at the London Tavern, that no act was criminal unless the intention was criminal, he promulgated a view that will not stand the test of a moment's candid examination. In many cases the intention is beyond human knowledge, while the act may be patent to all men. The peculiarity of Hone's position, and a peculiarity so simple as to be unmistakable, was that although blasphemy in itself was an undoubted crime in law, parodies had been made, and published, again and again by distinguished men, and never before had been declared blasphemous or criminal. The Government therefore were creating a new crime, for a political purpose; and a greater folly, considering the then state of the public mind, never was perpetrated. It was a fortunate error, considering that it was defeated; for it caused the erection of an enduring beacon to warn men from a hidden reef of sharp rocks in politics.

CHAPTER XIX.

MR. HONE'S AFTER-YEARS.

Subscription for Hone—His Position and Prospects after the Trials—Mr. Redhead Yorke—Hone Attacked Through his Brother by Barristers of Lincoln's Inn—His Defence—Origin of his Apocryphal New Testament—Hasty and Immature Compilation—Reply to Critics—A Clergyman's View—Thanksgiving for Queen Caroline—The House that Jack Built—The Manchester Massacre—Sidmouth's Six Acts—"The Doctor," "Derry-Down Triangle," "The Spouter of Froth by the Hour"—Reform—Whig Leaders; Mr. Hone's Ill-Success in Eulogy of High Persons—Other Squibs—"Put out yon Blaze of Light"—The Queen's Matrimonial Ladder—The Joss and his Folly—The Political Showman—Dr. Slop—Justification of the Squibs—Hone and Southey—The Bank Note, Signed John Ketch—Mr. Cruikshank and Mr. Hone—The "Every Day Book"—The "Year Book"—The "Table Book"—Strutt's "Book of Sports"—Pictures of Mr. Hone, by his Religious Friends—His Passive Acceptance of the Pictures—A Sorry Little Book—Dreams—Presumed Sacrifice of Position—Presumed Disregard for Politics in After Years—A Changed Man Indeed—Keeper of a Coffee House—The "Slap at Slop"—Hone's Position and Death.

If the reader has been at all interested in the three trials of Mr. Hone, a chapter on the sequel to those trials, so far as Hone is personally concerned, may have some claim to consideration both on public and private grounds. The subscription for his benefit amounted to more than 3,000*l.*, and there seemed no reason to doubt that he would from that time be able to take a new lease of life, and bring a troublous though brief career to a peaceful close. He had never, so far as the present writer can see, been at all given to wasting money in any quixotic enterprises, political or otherwise, though he was reputed generous to people in need. He still was a little under forty years of age; he had an excellent knowledge of his own business, to which he was passionately devoted, though

he was not in his own view a good seller of books; and he possessed what to most men would have been "business capital," an experience of very many years of the intricacies of London mercantile and other affairs. He had become known not merely to those "powerful friends" who so often caress a man for a time and then forget him, but to the vast multitude of undistinguished persons who, having nothing to gain individually by eliciting the good opinion of a man of note, can often give him generous and reliable support. As a tradesman, a seller of old and new books, the trials at the Guildhall might have been to Mr. Hone, if his tastes and inclinations had run in that direction, an advertisement which persons gifted with the qualities of Barnum would have envied. His name itself ought, on mercantile grounds, to have been worth much, as that of partner in a firm or master of a business. With fair "luck" or management he seemed on the way to a country mansion and a carriage for the drive to town.

It is true society, so-called, still affixed to him the terms blasphemer and parodist of Holy Writ; but then he lived to know, even as a poor man, that on that point he could beat society, and win by literary merit and taste the good opinion of men whose approval was in itself a high distinction. When one is inclined to wonder why the year 1818 did not become to William Hone a fresh starting-point in mercantile pursuits, it will be well to remember the prior question, whether Mr. Hone ever gave himself the fairplay to try his best to direct his mercantile affairs into a reasonable channel? It is to his credit that the success of his speeches did not so far turn his head as to cause him to deem himself a genius, heaven-born to set all human affairs right by power of the tongue. Having found how comparatively easy it was to demolish Attorney-General Sir Samuel Shepherd, and hold his own against one of the ablest judges known to that generation, he might naturally enough have attempted to turn to the Bar as a profession. Mr. Horne Tooke, after feeling his ground among the wigs and gowns, and finding that he could stand firmly enough, at once applied for admission to the magic circle, and

was only defeated on the plea that "once a priest, always a priest." Mr. Tooke, who surely was one of the strangest of priests, had nothing left but to submit. There was, however, the honourable and well-known example of Mr. Redhead Yorke, who, after being prosecuted by Mr. Law (Lord Ellenborough) in 1795, and sent to Dorchester gaol for two years, was called to the Bar by the Benchers of the Middle Temple. The conviction, it will be remembered, was at one of the most dangerous periods of our history; the alleged crime was having advocated parliamentary reform at a public meeting and circulated the speech as a pamphlet. Mr. Hone's especial friend, Lord Ellenborough, had then laid it down as law, that whoever, either in speech or by writing, says anything the tendency of which is "to lessen the respect of the people for the House of Commons," is guilty of a crime. Mr. Yorke was imprisoned, but the sentence did not take from him the knowledge that he had held his own in argument though he had lost the verdict. The Bar, like the House of Commons, can be very gentlemanly in the aggregate, and Mr. Yorke was well received, not merely in spite of his misfortune, but perhaps even because of it. Why should not William Hone, with money in his purse, have thought of climbing to the woolsack that he had depicted with such an affectionate regard? Or, at lowest, since he could talk so glibly, and reply so sharply to an intrusive question, why not have lectured? Why not have opened out all his wounds, and implored from generous men and still more generous women pity for the sufferings of a trial of three days, and for all concomitant evils? The course would have been to the last degree fashionable. He might even have visited—perhaps might have appropriately begun with—his native town; fashionable, gay, respectable Bath, and have secured Sir Francis Burdett himself to speak, in his mellifluous tones, from some august chair. It is to Mr. Hone's credit that neither his ill-luck nor his success led him, so long as he could help it, to change his course of life. He had chosen to be a bookseller; he had been forced into the King's Bench; it could only be his own fault if he became after all a mountebank.

He began business afresh on Ludgate Hill—removing from the little shop in the Old Bailey—and addressed himself to making and publishing books. Among his tracts, however, there is one at the end of a volume published some years later, which affords a key to much. It opens with a letter, which is dated Lincoln's Inn, 18th of August, 1823, signed by three barristers of the Inn, and addressed to "gentlemen of the legal profession," transmitting to them a statement, which the writers said had "already been laid before other persons, and had received their approval." The statement is to the effect that Mr. Joseph Hone "is a barrister of ten years' standing, who pursued his profession at first on the Midland Circuit, and more lately in the Court of Chancery," and had earned an income sufficient for his comfort; but that "he is the brother of the William Hone prosecuted for parodies," &c., and that that fact becoming known all his professional prospects had been blighted. "The disapprobation," the statement went on to say, "which had been generally excited by the publication of the parodies, was by a natural though a most unjust prejudice transferred to the innocent brother of the publisher. It was taken for granted that the two brothers held the same religious and political opinions, and Mr. Hone was gradually deserted by his clients until he found himself deprived of his whole professional income." This document, it should not be lost sight of, is signed by men devoted to the law, and it assumes the guilt, as a set-off to Joseph's innocence, of a man whom three juries had declared not guilty. Mr. Joseph Hone, the writers go on to say, appealed to the Lord Chancellor, the Master of the Rolls, the Vice-Chancellor and the twelve judges, asking them to subscribe to a book on Conveyancing which he intended to publish. This he thought would sufficiently testify that between the two Hones there was a wide gulf of opinion and sentiment. Poverty, however, prevented the completion of the book; and all that now remained for Mr. Joseph Hone was to emigrate. Would the gentlemen so addressed assist him? Of all this Mr. William Hone had known nothing, beyond the fact that his brother was in embarrassed circumstances. With one exception, the circular, so far as it has been

placed before the reader, does not seem so very objectionable. One passage however remains. The three writers, who would scarcely like, one thinks, to see their production in after years, say:—"All this weight of misfortune has been as unmerited as distressing. So far is Mr. Hone from adopting his brother's religious or political opinions, that he actually abandoned his society, after having repeatedly made the most affectionate and earnest though unavailing protests against his proceedings. They are the children of a religious and virtuous father, to whose principles and maxims of conduct is to be ascribed the resignation and fortitude with which Mr. Hone has borne the heavy calamity under which he is suffering." It is not possible even at this date to apply to these words a milder epithet than cowardly. On the 31st of August the circular was published by the *John Bull* with an article, commending the one brother, and denouncing the other as an advocate of blasphemy, of which he had been openly and repeatedly acquitted in the face of the world. Worst of all the circular was followed by this note: "This measure is sanctioned by the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Chief Justice Abbott, Mr. Justice Bailey, Mr. Justice Best, the Attorney-General," &c. On the 14th of September the *John Bull* said, that the gentlemen who had signed the circular, and also Mr. Joseph Hone, entirely disclaimed having sent it to the paper, and the editor confirmed the statement. But the sentiments expressed remained as before.

At length Mr. Hone, for the sake of his family, as he said, felt that a statement was required in his own defence. He acknowledged that his brother had protested and argued against the views and proceedings in question, and at last, he adds, had "abandoned my society," chiefly with reference to a pamphlet on Queen Caroline's trial. "One fact, however, was certain—the critical situation of my brother's affairs; and another was equally certain, that the letter itself was a strenuous effort by his friends to relieve him . . . . and it appeared to me that there was only one point on which I ought to claim explanation." On the score of the alleged irreligious views alone he was anxious —for his family's sake. So, he appealed to Mr. Joseph Hone

himself to at least put an end to that falsehood. The terms of the reply are brotherly, but are not calculated to have much effect. Joseph says that, in their former familiar conversations, William had "sometimes questioned parts of the text of the Old and New Testament, and controverted certain doctrines; this led to the differences which usually arise on discussions between persons of opposite theological principles; however I did not understand you to reject Christianity or to deny, or impugn the genuineness or authenticity of the Old or New Testament as a whole. Since your trials numerous imputations of irreligion have, as you are aware, been publicly urged against you; but if it be inferred that, as your brother, and from my own private knowledge of your sentiments on religious subjects during our intercourse within that period I knew those imputations to be true the inference is erroneous; yet your silence under them for the last three years or more, induced me, in common with many other persons, to conclude that you admitted the charge, and hence during the latter period, I have abstained from having any further intercourse with you, although my brotherly regards were far, very far, from being extinguished."

On this painful subject it is not the wish of the present writer to dwell longer than is necessary to state an important fact which must have had a material effect on more than the feelings of the bookselling brother. The letter of Joseph Hone was at best sad "shilly-shally." One passage only in the defence made by William Hone must be given as seeming to show that he was not quite willing to accept the blame of even in the passive sense wrecking his brother's hopes in life. He says:— "That my brother, in consequence of his being my brother, was gradually deserted by his clients, until he found himself deprived of his whole professional income, is an *ex parte* statement, I neither deny nor admit. It is a point that there is no necessity for us even to moot; in private we ought not, and in public we cannot. This is the matured determination of my judgment upon that statement which dropped a sudden and heavy blow on my heart. It may be information to some that I have a heart." Here we will leave the two brothers, without any

further opinion, though not without a little wonder that the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Chief Justice, the whole bench of judges, the Master of the Rolls, the Attorney-General, "the greater part of the gentlemen within the Bar at the Court of Chancery," with "some of the leaders on his own circuit and many other members of the profession," could not at once have found some employment—some stewardship or something—of a quiet kind, to prevent Mr. Joseph Hone from emigrating, when emigration was evidently so distasteful and deference to authority so agreeable to him. Perhaps the difficulty arose from the generous wish of Bench and Bar to do what was kindest for the brother of the parodist. Of course the motive could not be to give greater publicity, by the help of the *John Bull* and other newspapers, to the sad consequences of William's views and proceedings. Later, the main difficulty vanished, and Mr. Joseph Hone was sent out as a judge to Tasmania.

In the same pamphlet in which Mr. Hone defends himself with the dignity which never was wanting where his family were concerned, he replies to an article in the *Quarterly Review*, and to some strictures of Dr. Butler, Archdeacon of Derby, and others, on his "Apocryphal New Testament." Here he has clearly the worst of the fight, and his strong language only shows the more the weakness of his argument. The reviewer having chanced to say that a certain "fact was stated for Mr. Hone in the most decided and intelligible manner by Fabricius;" "Stated for me by Fabricius?" he says. "Not on the reviewer's showing, but on my own statement, I hope it will be believed that I had not read that author. Fabricius is in Latin, and I am not ashamed to own I cannot read him. If the reviewer exult upon this declaration it will be an unsanctified triumph of malignity over misfortune; for a great misfortune it was in my childhood, a terrible misfortune which, during many years of manhood, I have not ceased to deplore, without power to remedy, that scholastic education was closed upon me by the straitened circumstances of my honest and excellent parents." If Mr. Hone had been a classical scholar, he would not have been the right person by the aid of whose life the events of English

history, so far as they relate to the too often uncared-for poor in that time, might be judged in this. He wrote squibs better without classical knowledge than Canning did with it. He was a political thinker of a high order. He had baffled Sir William Garrow, bewildered Sir Samuel Shepherd, proved himself vastly better read in history than Lord Ellenborough; but if he had taken upon him to discuss the scope of the Latin language, not knowing that language, the first common-sense costermonger he met outside his shop on Ludgate Hill might have been trusted to detect the error. In fact, Mr. Hone was clearly out of his depth when he essayed to defend the authenticity of his book, though he was quite able to defend the publication of it from one point of view. He was wrong, not because he had not been well-educated; that was a matter of small importance to anyone, and not in any case worth crying over, himself. He was simply wrong in dealing as a critic with a subject he was not competent to criticise. There was no "malignity" in telling him that this was a mistake, nor would there have been malignity even if the critic had hinted that it was also a weakness. Mr. Hone, of course, hits his critics hard. Archdeacon Butler having referred to him, as known "to certain ranks of disaffection and infidelity," Mr. Hone replied that "there are no ranks to which I am not well known, ... and no ranks are so well known to me as those (the books) that surround me on the shelves of the room I now sit in. Though I commenced with few, I felt that I belonged to the Commonwealth. Hence I was not indifferent to questions that have agitated and induced expressions of opinion." His history of the publication, is that one day, engaged in the Reading Room of the British Museum, "with the Cotton MS. of the Coventry Mysteries . . . . I examined some tracts on the passage, and one of them mentioning Jones on the Canon, on reference to that work, I, for the first time, saw the Apocryphal Gospels, which most appositely were the foundation of several of the mysteries in the MS. at that moment before me." He found to his delight that these Gospels were at the foundation of many Catholic legends, and also were the subjects of several of the prints of Albert Dürer

and others. "I instantly," he said, "resolved to print these gospels for the use of the curious in old literature, the drama, and the arts." He goes on to say that he accidentally fell in with Archbishop Wake's "Genuine Epistles of the Apostolic Fathers," and found on the title-page a statement that "these epistles, together with the books of the New Testament, form a complete collection of the most primitive antiquity for a hundred and fifty years after Christ." Why, he thought, not publish both? Here, however, he paused, for the former volumes appealing to the curious, and the latter having altogether a different tendency, he thought a clear design would be needed. So he divided the books into chapters and verses, with head-lines, and contents to each of the former. Then drawing up short notices, from Wake and Jones, without any remarks of his own, and confining himself "to the naming of some early writers who mentioned the books," he hurried his compilation through the press, and "it was," he adds, "in the hands of the public within six weeks from the time I began it." The worst of the matter, so far as Mr. Hone's defence was concerned, was that, once he was attacked, he took up the whole question, and argued it as though he had been the translator, and knew all about the subject. Another error was in hurrying a work of such importance through the press without, as he says, even in many cases seeing proofs, or comparing the reprints with the books from which they were copied. If the book had been a collection of songs, or a mere book for the "curious in art," this course would hardly have admitted of defence; but when it became what it assumed to become, the case was beyond argument; and Mr. Hone was beaten in all but strong and sounding language. He was beaten chiefly from the fact that in his irritation he allowed his antagonists to place him on false ground. His history of "Ancient Mysteries" was beyond doubt the opening-up of hitherto little-known fields of curious literature. His collection was the most complete then existing, though it has been greatly surpassed since. He had nothing whatever to do with a learned defence of the authenticity of what he published. There the productions

were, and they were quite old enough as illustrations of English life, in the cases adduced for that purpose, and certainly were ancient in the cases professedly referring to the early ages of Christianity. Having made it clear, as he did make it clear, that his object was purely one of providing material for the curious, not with any view to religion, he had a reply to every charge brought against him. He must needs go farther, however, and travel over the whole ground taken up by his adversaries; and that, too, after telling them that the ground was altogether unknown to him. It was an error, arising from his real love of literary warfare, and his indignation at finding that what he had intended as a mere contribution to antiquarian research was set down as an intentional attack on religion—at hearing the words "Hone the Parodist" still dinned in his ears.

The present writer, on referring to the copy of the "Ancient Mysteries" in the library of the British Museum, found in it the following autograph note:—"To the Rev. Thomas Hartwell Horne, who, in his 'Introduction to a Critical Knowledge of the Scriptures,' had power to do me injury, and believing, as was the fact, that he would have done me wrong, did me justice. Most respectfully, from W. Hone. 14th May, 1823." On the opposite leaf Mr. Horne has written:—"In the autumn of 1821, a tall person of grave aspect entered the library of the Surrey Institution, of which I was sub-librarian, to make some theologico-literary researches. I gave him the information desired and more, which he courteously acknowledged, and remarked that I seemed to be very busy. I replied that I was at press with a second edition of my 'Introduction to the Study of the Scriptures;' that it had been asserted in a weekly infidel journal then in course of publication,—'Buy Mr. Hone's "Apocryphal New Testament;" he will tell you all about it. Christianity was not heard of for 300 years after they dated it.' I added that I was then at work on the 'Apocryphal New Testament,' which I should critically examine and show that it could do no harm. If there were no genuine coins there would be no forgeries. The stranger then acknowledged that his

name was Hone. Thanking me for my candour in stating how I intended to treat him, he solemnly disclaimed any design of attacking the New Testament (which some of his critics had imputed to him), and assured me that his object in publishing the 'Apocryphal New Testament,' was that stated in his preface, viz., to explain the subjects of pictures and prints, which are without explanation from any other source. A few months afterwards he informed me that he was about to publish an answer to all his assailants, and requested to see what I had printed, conscious that I had treated him fairly and honourably. I sent him the proof sheet of my critique, which has been retained in every subsequent edition of my work. Shortly after, Mr. Hone published a letter to Mr. John Murray, the publisher of the "Quarterly Review," in which he replied to the fierce attack made upon him in that journal. He took no notice of my critique upon the 'Apocryphal New Testament.' But in May, 1823, when he published this volume, he presented me with a copy, containing the autograph inscription on the annexed page."

Turning from this to a stupid little book which purports to tell of Mr. Hone's conversion, and to which reference will be made later, we find the following note, which flatly contradicts Mr. Horne:—"The mutilated copy of 'Jones on the Canon' passed from the possession of W. Hone into the hands of a clergyman near London, where it now remains. When told, after his conversion, that his re-publication of the Apocryphal Gospels, forgeries of the early heretics, had done service to the cause of pure religion, by showing on what good grounds they had been rejected, he replied with the humility of true repentance, 'But I did not so intend it.'" What he did say in this latter case no one perhaps can now discover, but the impression of the present writer is that what the Rev. Hartwell Horne wrote has the appearance of truth, and that the statement in the "account of Hone's conversion" bewrays an anxiety lest there should appear to have been in the past life of the convert too little that needed to be repented of. Perhaps these pamphlets —the Apocryphal Gospels, &c.—account more than any other

of Mr. Hone's works for the fact that he did not from the time of his trials turn over the expected new leaf in worldly success. The hurried publication; the house at Ludgate Hill; the lodgings at Camden Town, to which he had removed with his books, &c., that he might complete in peace his report of the trials; a subsequent removal to Brighton, when the Gospels were only half finished—proofs following—seem to show that the now noted publisher was striking out a little wildly, and, though still in his own chosen walk of life, in apparent haste to produce books for sale. His squibs would always sell, illustrated as they were by the masterly pencil of Mr. George Cruikshank; but then against many of the squibs, as against all the parodies, a very strong public feeling was arrayed. The main subjects of the satires are the Prince Regent, Lord Castlereagh, Lord Sidmouth, Mr. Canning, and Mr. Southey. One of the tracts (1820) is "A Form of Prayer, with Thanksgiving to Almighty God for the Happy Deliverance of Her Majesty Queen Caroline from the late most Traitorous Conspiracy." The pamphlet is printed exactly in the form and type of the Book of Common Prayer. The collects are slightly altered, so as to convey the political feeling of the time; and in like manner psalms and texts of Scripture are collated. When it is considered in what way and for what purpose—a mere political appeal at best—this compilation was made, there is nothing in language too strong to express a hearty disapproval of it. It is no mere question of the sacredness or otherwise of the Prayer-book. It is quite sufficient that by a great part of Englishmen the book is held sacred, and is intimately interwoven with all the past and future of life, and of eternal ages. Happily, there was no further attempt to prosecute Mr. Hone for sedition and blasphemy, and the Thanksgiving could not have had a large circulation. We come now to topics in which the satirist appears as a politician purely—the notable squibs. The "Political House that Jack Built," undoubtedly had an immense sale; indeed there is no surmising to what part of the country, or to what places, it did not find its way. The illustrations—Mr. Cruikshank's—

are admirable, and mostly occupy a page each. On the first leaf we have a sketch of "The House that Jack Built," a small temple or pagoda, the columns of which are entwined with scrolls to King, Lords, and Commons. Next, a large open chest, in which are Magna Charta, the Bill of Rights, and the Habeas Corpus Act. The Statute Book of the Realm lies in front; and around are money-bags, the national treasure. Of the whole it is said:—

"This is the WEALTH that lay
In the HOUSE THAT JACK BUILT."

Next we have an usher of the court, a soldier, one of the yeomanry, a priest, a lawyer, and a public informer—

"These are the VERMIN that plunder the Wealth
That lay in the House that Jack Built."

Next a hand-press—

"This is the THING that in spite of new ACTS,
And attempts to restrain it by soldiers or tax,
Will *poison* the Vermin that plunder the Wealth
That lay in the House that Jack Built."

The next illustration is a personage in a wig, who carries in his hand *ex-officio* informations—

"This is the PUBLIC INFORMER, Who would put down the Thing
That in spite of new Acts, and attempts to restrain it by soldiers or tax,
Will *poison* the Vermin that plunder the Wealth
That lay in the House that Jack Built."

Next we have—

"The REASONS of Lawless Power—"

The cannon, the bayonet, the sabre, the fetters, and the prison keys, with a repetition of the foregoing rhyme. Then we have Royal George, a marvel of a picture; a fat man, with sprawling legs and arms, a puffy face, a self-satisfied and self-important smirk, a coat covered with stars, three peacock feathers on a cocked hat, and a sword standing out from its owner's side at an angle of forty-five degrees—

"This is the man,—all shaven and shorn,
All cover'd with orders, and all forlorn—
The DANDY OF SIXTY, Who bows with a grace,
And has taste in wigs, collars, cuirasses, and lace;

Who to tricksters and fools leaves the State and its Treasure,
And when Britain 's in tears sails about at his pleasure.
Who spurn'd from his presence the friends of his youth,
And now has not one who will tell him the truth.
Who took to his councils in evil hour
The friends to the Reasons of Lawless Power;
That back the Public Informer—Who
Would put down the Thing that, in spite of new Acts
And attempts to restrain it by soldiers or tax,
Will *poison* the vermin that plunder the Wealth
That lay in the House that Jack Built."

It may be curious to notice here that when the Dandy of Sixty first saw light the Quakers, among other religious bodies, sent a deputation to congratulate his father, and that Dr. Fothergill, who was its spokesman, read the impressive words: "Long may the Divine Providence preserve a life of so much importance to his royal parents, to these kingdoms, and to posterity; that, formed by piety and virtue, he may live beloved of God and men." No doubt the prayer was sincere; and Dr. Fothergill and his friends could not draw back the veil of futurity. But what shall be said of the people (not Quakers) who, in 1817 and till 1830, affected to believe that the prayer had been granted, and that England possessed a virtuous and God-fearing king. Rather than that falsehood in history let us have Hone's satire—gall—venom double-distilled. Following the "Political House that Jack Built," we have an illustration in Mr. Cruikshank's best style—a miserable group of people on the foreground, and on the back a troop of yeomanry using their sabres diligently. Of the former we read:—

"These are the PEOPLE, all tattered and torn,
Who curse the day wherein they were born,
On account of taxation, too great to be borne,
And pray for relief from night till morn;
Who in vain Petition in every form,
Who, peaceably meeting to ask for Reform,
Were sabred by yeomanry cavalry, who
Were thank'd by the man all shaven and shorn,
All covered with orders," &c., &c.

The remarks on the sabre, &c., must be understood as referring to the Manchester reform meeting, held August 16th, 1819, on St. Peter's Fields, and dispersed by a troop of yeomanry. The people, comprising about 50,000, men, women and children, are said not to have had a weapon among them, and at all events were not armed. They were listening to Mr. Hunt, who was expressing his belief that the proceedings would be peaceful, when the yeomanry cavalry appeared at a corner of the field, waited for a moment to breathe their horses, and then charged direct to the platform. Some of the yeomanry raised the cry, "Have at their flags,"—flags bearing such inscriptions as "Annual Parliaments," "No Corn Laws," "Vote by Ballot," "Liberty or Death." Then the armed ruffians charged in every direction, cutting and trampling people down as in sport. A body of magistrates, among whom was a so-called Christian minister, watched the proceedings from the windows of a neighbouring house. It was afterwards said that they read the Riot Act, which might be, and probably was, true, but so far as any knowledge of it reaching the 50,000 people was concerned it might as well have been read in London. From the opening of the meeting till the massacre was only twenty minutes; no act of disturbance was alleged against anyone; at the very beginning of the meeting a body of special constables had been drawn up without the slightest sign of molestation on the part of the people. There were among the clubs two of 150 "female reformers," whose flag was of white silk. Four hundred persons were killed and wounded; the saddest massacre in our annals. Yet Mr. Charles Knight calls it "the so-called massacre." Lord Sidmouth immediately thanked the magistrates and the yeomanry, in the name of "the man all shaven and shorn." Meetings were held all through the country to denounce the butchery, but both the Lords and Commons refused either to censure the magistrates or to inquire into the proceedings. It was a little after this time that Hone and Cruikshank issued "The Political House that Jack Built," and so helped to create that public opinion which in the end overthrew a detestable Government. In November the same year Lord Sidmouth

sketched in the Lords, and Lord Castlereagh in the Commons, the notorious Six Acts—on which remarks are made in an earlier chapter, and also in this satire.

With this reference to a few questions of fact we pass to the next illustration—three persons standing in conclave. One, a thin bent little man, with the mace in one hand and a child's feeding-bottle in the other, is termed the "Doctor." This is Lord Sidmouth, who, it will be remembered, was a doctor's son. He had been designated the doctor by his then enemy, now his friend, Mr. Canning, in a parody on "My name is Norval," and Mr. Hone, in a note to another tract, gives the following key, from proceedings in Parliament, to a name which must have been even more distasteful to Mr. Canning than to his noble friend. Of a scene in the House of Commons, Hone writes:—"Lord Folkestone confessed that there had been a smile on his countenance at one part of the right honourable gentleman's (Mr. Canning's) speech, and it seemed to him very extraordinary, even after the reconciliation that had taken place, to hear the right honourable gentleman stand up for the talents of that poor doctor, who had so long been the butt of his most bitter and unsparing ridicule. Whether in poetry or prose, the great object of his derision, and that for want of ability and sense, was the noble lord whom he (Mr. Canning) had so strenuously defended that night." These remarks were loudly cheered at different parts. Lord Folkestone concluded—"Yes, the House would remember the lines in which at different times the right honourable gentleman had been pleased to panegyrize his noble friend." Of the verses quoted the following were not the worst:—

> "I showed myself prime Doctor to the country:
> My ends attained, my only aim has been
> To keep my place and gild my humble name." (A loud laugh.)

The second of the trio is a bland man, with loose trousers, a nose and chin which nearly meet, a hand held out as in mild expostulation, and another hand behind his back, holding a cat-o'-nine-tails. This is Derry-Down Triangle, Lord Castlereagh. The "Triangle" refers to the use of that instrument of

torture in Dublin yard; the Derry-Down connects Lord Castlereagh with the nation for whose education the cat was used. The third is "The Spouter of Froth by the Hour," Mr. Canning. The rhyme runs:—

"This is the DOCTOR of Circular fame—
A Driv'ller, a Bigot, a Knave without shame;
And *that's* DERRY-DOWN TRIANGLE by name,
From the land of misrule and half-hangings and flame;
And that is the SPOUTER OF FROTH BY THE HOUR,
The worthless colleague of their infamous power;
Who dubb'd him the Doctor whom now he calls brother;
And to get at his place took a shot at the other;
Who haunts their bad house a base living to earn,
By playing Jack Pudding and Ruffian in turn."

The "Circular fame" refers of course to Lord Sidmouth's Circular to the Lord-Lieutenants of counties, directing the apprehension of the publishers and vendors of irreligious and seditious publications. The word, as given here, may need this explanation; at the time of publication it needed none; the public caught it at once, and the squib was found everywhere. The same may be said of the words "took a shot at the other," which might not now be understood by everyone as referring to the duel of Castlereagh and Canning, noticed in a former chapter as arising from the Walcheren expedition. That Lord Sidmouth, Mr. Canning, and Lord Castlereagh were viewed differently by their friends need not be stated at any length here. The statue to Canning at Westminster justly claims for him a place among statesmen. Of Sidmouth's amiability many chapters have been written. Hone himself, also, as the reader will remember, added somewhat to the testimony when before Justice Abbott; and after the death of Castlereagh, and while Ireland was in a jubilee as for a national triumph, and while the very funeral procession of the detested peer from St. James's to the Abbey was cheered and hissed by the people, the Duke of Wellington spoke of him as one of the best men of the time, and mourned for him as for a friend; and the Duke of Buckingham called him the Bayard of Ireland. After two or

three more lines, not very pleasant or delicate, we have a full page of repetition of "the man all shaven and shorn," &c. The last illustration is, "The Flag"—Reform:—

> "This Word is the WATCHWORD, the talisman Word,
> That the Waterloo man's to crush with his sword;
> But if shielded by Norfolk, with Bedford's alliance,
> It will set both his sword and him at defiance.
> If Fitzwilliam and Grosvenor and Albemarle aid it,
> And assist its best champions, who then can invade it?
> 'Tis the terrible word of fear night and morn
> To the Guilty Trio all cover'd with scorn," &c.

It will be noticed that Mr. Hone's words never come glibly from the pen when he is praising great people. These last lines are the worst in the satire. He is beginning, however, to find that the Whigs can be of use to the popular cause, and that without them there will almost certainly be more massacres. The "Waterloo Man" has by this time become a great power; and though "the schoolmaster is abroad," there is much to fear from the iron force which another massacre like that at Manchester would have caused to be confronted by a fierce uprising. There came a time, on the eve of Earl Grey's great victory of 1832, when a gallant regiment came to the resolution not to attack any peaceful meeting, give the order who might. They would protect property and defend the laws, but would not draw a sword against peaceful people—a most memorable decision, which might have been arrived at earlier if these nefarious acts had continued. Another illustration, the frontispiece to the "Political House that Jack Built," presents a pair of scales, in one of which are an "*Ex-officio* Information," a "Bill of Indemnity" (for acts in Ireland), "Bank Restriction," and finally a sword, newly thrown in by the Duke of Wellington, whose face and attitude are unmistakable. The other scale is on the ground, though it contains but—A Pen. One may well feel inclined here, long as it is after date, to give a hearty cheer of approval both to George Cruikshank and William Hone. In their sense at all events the pen overmatched the sword. The squibs of the "Man in the Moon," including

a "Royal Speech," although published by Hone in his collection, is not claimed by him, save as a publisher. The best parts of it are the illustrations, which represent the military and the lawyers in full operation against the liberties of the people. A "Christmas Carol," which follows, has for frontispiece a Hand-Press, entwined with the favourite old emblem of Eternity—the circle of the serpent—and is placed in the full blaze of the sun. The application is in two lawyers carrying out Lord Sidmouth's orders:—

"Go, fear not," said his Lordship,
"Let nothing you afright;
Go draw your quills, and draw SIX BILLS—
Put out yon Blaze of Light."

"The Queen's Matrimonial Ladder," with "fourteen Step Scenes," has some capital lines. We see first the Princess Caroline at the top of a ladder, which George must needs ascend. The next illustration presents the First Gentleman under the potent influence of—spring water, or milk warm from the cow. The squib begins:—

"In love and in drink, and o'er toppled with debt,
With women and wine, and with duns on the fret,
[*George flies to his father for help.*
The Sire urged—The People your debts have thrice paid,
And to ask them a third time e'en Pitt is afraid;
But he shall if you'll marry and lead a new life—
You've a cousin in Germany—make her your wife.
From the high halls of Brunswick, all youthful and gay;
From the hearth of her fathers he lured her away."

We have next illustrated the embarkation of the Princess; then she appears nursing her baby in one room, while her lord is dancing with other ladies in another.

"Near a million of debts gone, all gone are her charms;
What! an epicure have his own wife in his arms?"

This is followed by "The Imputation":—

"If desertion was base, oh, base be his name!
Who, having deserted, would bring her to shame."

"The Exculpation" puts the case of the injured wife in these strong terms :—

> "Despising the husband who thus had abused her,
> She proved to his father his son had ill-used her;
> Her conduct examined and sifted, shone bright—
> Her enemies fled as the shadows of night.
> Her father the King, while with reason still blest,
> Protected her weakness and shielded her rest."

The story of the Queen's "Emigration" and her return follows, with an illustration of George asleep, and Lord Sidmouth (the Doctor) feeding him, in great consternation, from a bottle of "Essence of Bergamot," Queen Caroline in the background :—

> "Ah! what was that groan?—'twas the Head of the Church,
> When he found she was come! for he dreaded a search
> Into what he'd been doing: and sorely afraid for
> What *she* might find out, cried—'*I'll not have her pray'd for;*'
> And the Bishops obeying their pious Head, care took
> That the name of his wife should not be in the Prayer-book.
> On searching for precedents, much to their dread,
> They found that they couldn't well cut off her head;
> And the 'House of Incurables' raised a 'Report,'
> She was not a fit person to live in his Court."

After several other illustrations, we have the "first gentleman" crowned; then he is found doing penance, which, it is to be feared, he never did. The best part, however, is the conclusion, "The Joss and his Folly; an Extract from an Overland Despatch" :—

> "The queerest of all the queer sights I've set eyes on,
> Is the—*what d'ye* call't, t' thing here?—the Folly at Brighton.
> The outside, huge tea-pots, all drill'd round with holes,
> Relieved by extinguishers sticking on poles;
> The inside, all tea-things, and dragons, and bells;
> The show-rooms all show, the sleeping-rooms cells;
> But the grand curiosity's not to be seen—
> The owner himself—an old fat mandarin;
> A patron of painters who copy designs,
> That grocers and tea-dealers hang up for signs;

I saw his great chair into which he falls soss,
And sits in his China shop like a great Joss ;
His mannikins round him in tea-tray array,
His pea-hens beside him to make him seem gay."

No one who knows Brighton will question the faithfulness of this racy sketch of the dishonoured "Pavilion," a name it is said righteously abhorred by Queen Victoria. Mr. Hone says his own favourite piece was "The Political Showman at Home," but he admits that it was not successful. The illustrations alone, however, ought to have been sufficient to secure a large circulation. The first is a copy of a transparency painted by Mr. Cruikshank, and exhibited by Mr. Hone on the illuminations for the "Victory of the Queen"; a very suggestive drawing. The "Showman" exhibits, under the guise of different animals—the crocodile, the locust, the scorpion (with an unmistakable face), the bloodhound, the booby, &c.,—leading political men. The most prominent character in the piece is, as usual with Hone, his enemy, Dr. Stoddart, of the New Times, which was to supplant the old Times, but died a natural and speedy death. Mr. Hone persists in finding Dr. Stoddart at the foundation of all the political mischief of the time, on the side of despotism. He appears alike in the squibs and the trials as the godson ("Dr. Slop") of the parodist, and as the enemy of the human race. The name, Mr. Hone says, "originated in my mind in connection with a string of curses—a parody—Dr. Stoddart had spun on Buonaparte," one of the "profane parodies" on which Mr. Hone relied for his own vindication. Dr. Stoddart is the defender of "The Bridge Street Gang"—Hone's name for "The Constitutional Society"—and the Bridge Street Gang is the embodiment of all evil. Here is one squib, printed as an advertisement:—

"PRIESTIANITY.—As a grateful return to the Productive Classes of England for bread, meat, beer, cellars of wines, rich furniture, luxurious equipages, princely palaces, clothing of purple and fine linen, and faring sumptuously every day during the whole of their ecclesiastical lives, out of the people's labour, the following ten prelates have become members of the Anti-Social Association in Bridge Street:—The Bishops of Bangor,

Carlisle, Chester, Durham, Ely, Gloucester, Llandaff, Peterborough, St. David's, York."

Another large cartoon—a master-piece of Mr. Cruikshank's—represents the same association as "The Infernal Inquisition of Blackfriars—An Interior view of the Den in Bridge Street." The scene is one of torture and destruction. Truth, with Dr. Stoddart's coat of arms overhead, is being racked by Castlereagh. Liberty is suspended by one arm, and a huge weight, stamped with a crown, fastened to one leg. The other portions of the scene represent the destruction of presses and of the productions of them. Another piece runs:—

"Whene'er with aching eyes I view
The troublers of the nation,
I find them one conspiring crew,
The Bridge Street Gang—the Constitu-
Tional Association.

"Slop's venom of high Tory blue,
In Stuart royal fashion,
In secret gave the poison to
The daggers of the Constitu-
Tional Association."

A piece entitled "A Slap at Slop" is perfectly ferocious, and, unless we accept the belief that men are either angels or fiends, it is unjust. The association, it is amusing to remember, is essentially the same society as that to which Mr. Hone, when a boy of twelve, hastened to pledge his allegiance. Viewing this fact, in connection with facts of Mr. Hone's after-days, the personal attacks lose much of their sting, though they lose none of their point as showing how hateful Dr. Stoddart and the society were to the men who in 1817 were opposed to the Government of Lord Liverpool.

Some of the advertisements are unpleasant; some are more and better than merely humorous. One is accompanied by an admirably-conceived illustration of a tavern, from the front of which there is a long beam, bearing the sign of the Crown; and close to the sign sits King George sawing the beam in two between him and the house. At a side window, drinking wine,

are the ministers, with the Lord Chancellor in the centre, unconscious that their sovereign lord is on the point of going down to the ground with a crash, crown and all. The advertisement runs :—

"Whereas that well-known, old-established Public House (formerly a free house), called the 'Political House that Jack Built,' has been feloniously entered into and damaged, and the property therein carried off to a large amount by a numerous gang of desperate villains who, by various vile arts and contrivances, have not only kept possession thereof, but also of the Head Waiter, who was entrusted by Mr. Bull, the owner, with the management of the concern, and was a very promising young man when Mr. Bull first knew him, and might have done very well if he had followed the advice of his old friends, and not suffered these desperadoes to get him into their clutches, since when he seems to have forgotten himself, and by neglecting his duty sadly, and behaving ill to the customers who support the house, has almost ruined the business, and has also dreadfully injured the sign, which Mr. Bull had had fresh painted after he had dismissed a former waiter for his bad manners. Whoever will assist Mr. Bull in bringing the offenders to justice will be doing a great service to the young man, and he will still be retained in his situation, unless he has actually destroyed or made away with the sign, which Mr. Bull very much admires, it being an heirloom. If offered to be pawned or sold, it is requested the parties may be stopped, and notice given as above. As the young man has not been seen for some time, there is no doubt the ruffians have either done him a serious mischief, or secreted him somewhere to prevent Mr. Bull, who is really his friend, from speaking to him."

These things are only worth recording as throwing light on the political peculiarities of a time when what are now merely curiosities of literature had political aim and importance. When men were being openly tried on false pleas; when men and women and little children were not beyond the possibility of being trampled down by an irresponsible body of armed men, it was well that there were people to meet the evil by stern defiance, by those broad appeals which carried conviction to the minds of men who might, if wiser and better counsels had not prevailed, have been called to some serious action before the freedom and peace of England had been secured. These are the justification of the squibs. Among the smaller things are an advertisement inviting "natives of Ireland to an

entertainment, where Derry Down Triangle will preside." Another, with a sketch, proposes a monument for the people massacred at Manchester, at the victory of Peterloo. The monument, ornamented with death's-heads, on the blackest background, is surmounted by a trooper cutting down a woman. Another advertisement announces that "Dr. Malthus has received a prize for his essay on the moral restraint of war, and the blessings of famine, the advantages of pestilence, the comforts of disease, and the piety of decease." Another shows how the pyramid of the constitution may be inverted, and upheld by bayonets. Such are some of the lighter of Hone's fierce pleasantries. Of humour without a fell purpose he manifests very little in these squibs and tracts; of humour with such a purpose as the reader will hardly doubt there is no lack.

We have seen that next to the Prince Regent, the Government, and Dr. Stoddart, the Poet-Laureate has the largest share of the animosity of the parodist. A large drawing represents "Southey's New Vision"—the Poet-Laureate turning the handle of a barrel (not a barrel-organ) from which runs, in a stream, the obnoxious poem, while royal George looks on complacently from above, playing on a lyre, in the clouds. How Hone's intense enmity to Southey arose it is difficult to say, but that it continued long, and that it was to some extent reciprocated, a correspondence published in the *Times* by the Poet-Laureate himself in 1830, shows—a correspondence nevertheless quoted as evidence of a different feeling. The facts were reproduced some little time ago in *Notes and Queries* with reference to an inquiry as to the papers Mr. Hone had left behind. To Southey's "Life of Bunyan" was appended the following generous and evidently well meant note:—

"In one of the volumes collected from various quarters, which were sent me for this purpose, I observe the name of W. Hone, and notice it that I may take the opportunity of recommending his 'Everyday Book' and 'Table Book' to those who are interested in the preservation of our national and local customs. By these very curious publications their

compiler has rendered good service in an important department of literature; and he may render yet more, if he obtain the encouragement which he well deserves."

From this note a curious correspondence arose. The writer in *Notes and Queries* says:—

"I possess the Poet-Laureate's own copy of these pamphlets, on the fly-leaf of which he has written, in his own beautiful autograph, the following quotation from Holy Scripture:—'When the wicked man turneth away from his wickedness that he hath committed, and doeth that which is lawful and right, he shall save his soul alive. — ROBERT SOUTHEY, Cambridge, December, 1830.' In explanation, he has affixed to the opposite page printed copies of two most interesting letters, which he evidently wished to be preserved with the book. They appeared in *The Times* newspaper in the year 1830:—

"'*To* ROBERT SOUTHEY, Esq., LL.D., *Keswick*.

"'13, GRACECHURCH STREET, LONDON, *April* 23.

"'SIR,—Late last night I got a copy of the new edition of the "Pilgrim's Progress" at Mr. Major's, and this morning my first employment is to obtrude upon you my most sincere and respectful thanks for your unexpected and generous mention of my name and recent writings in the conclusion of your "Life of Bunyan." For obvious reasons such a notice from you is especially grateful to me, and is the more gratifying now, when the humble doings you are pleased to publicly favour can benefit me no otherwise than by sometimes occasioning reflection on the honesty of purpose which stimulated my labours, and which consoles me after I have lost everything on earth, except my integrity and ten children; these, I trust, I shall be enabled to keep to my life's end. To further literary exertion I am beyond the reach of "encouragement." At this moment, the last remains of my ruined fortunes, a few of the books that assisted me in working out my "Everyday Book" and "Table" (which, by-the-bye, are mine no longer), are passing under the hammer of an auctioneer, to realize a small instalment towards insufficient means of commencing business, wholly foreign to all my former pursuits and addictions. I have thrown down my pen for ever, and, at fifty years of age, am struggling to enter on a strange drudgery for the future support of my wife and family.

"'In the autumn of last year, while sojourning in a quiet hamlet, I packed up a book or two respecting the "Pilgrim's Progress," with the intention of sending them to you. I had misgivings, however, as to whether you would receive from me, as a token of good-will, what I unfeignedly desired to communicate in that spirit, and the parcel was put aside, sealed up as it still remains. In that state I shall forward it for conveyance to you through Mr. Major, simply to evidence my feeling

towards you several months ago. You may be convinced by it that your liberality has a kin in my own mind. After all, perhaps, the best testimony I can give to the fact that I am duly sensible of your unlooked-for kindness, is the promptitude with which I acknowledge the obligation.

"'I am, Sir, your very respectful and most obedient servant,

"'W. HONE.'

"'*To* MR. HONE, 13, *Gracechurch Street.*

"'KESWICK, *April* 26.

"'SIR,—Your letter has given me both pain and pleasure. I am sorry to learn that you are still, in the worldly sense of the word, an unfortunate man; that you are withdrawn from pursuits which are consonant to your habits and inclinations, and that a public expression of respect and good-will, made in the hope that it might have been serviceable to you, can have no such effect. When I observed your autograph in the little book, I wrote to inquire of Mr. Major whether it had come to his hands from you, directly or indirectly, for my use, that, in that case, I might thank you for it. It proved otherwise, but I would not lose an opportunity which I had wished for.

"'Judging of you (as I would myself be judged) by your works, I saw in the editor of the "Every Day" and "Table Books" a man who had applied himself with great diligence to useful and meritorious pursuits. I thought that time and reflection and affliction (of which it was there seen he had had his share) had contributed to lead him into this direction, which was also that of his better mind. What alteration had been produced in his opinions it concerned not me to inquire: here there were none but what were unexceptionable,—no feelings but what were to be approved. From all that appeared, I supposed he had become "a sadder and wiser man"; I therefore wished him success in his literary undertakings.

"'The little parcel which you mention I shall receive with pleasure. I wish you success in your present undertaking, whatever it be, and that you may one day, under happier circumstances, resume a pen which has of late years been so meritoriously employed. If your new attempts prosper, you will yet find leisure for intellectual gratification, and for that self-improvement which may be carried on even in the busiest concerns of life.

"'I remain, Sir, yours, with sincere good-will,

"'ROBERT SOUTHEY.'"

To the present writer this correspondence has anything but a pleasant aspect, take it from what side we may. Hone was not a man repenting of his wickedness. He was simply a man who, by pleasant literary work, long after his trials, had shown his power as a writer in a different field from that of

mere satire, and so had won the notice of the Poet-Laureate. So far was he from repenting of what he had written, that he had, only three or four years earlier, republished his squibs, though with the odd prefatory remark, "I come to bury these, not to praise 'em." A curious burial, certainly! He was a very poor man, surrounded with sickening difficulties, and his letter has all the marks of a cry for the help that he would under other circumstances have given. Southey taking advantage of this to fasten to him a text was a rather poor conceit. Extracts from other and more kindly letters of the Poet-Laureate are quoted in the little book which affects to give an account of Hone's conversion, and they suggest the idea that something may have transpired of which the public are not fully informed. At present the relation stands as here recorded. Hone uttered one of those wails of grief and cries for help, not unusual to him, and Southey, after writing to him cold words, complacently fastens to him a text. To comprehend rightly the attacks on George IV., we must remember how warmly the treatment of the Queen had been taken up by the nation. Nothing at all like it, perhaps, ever before had been known. Anyone who would see the real facts of this remarkable episode of history should turn, not to fashionable statements written for the court, but to a few old newspaper files, and to the pamphlets and squibs of the time. The feeling manifested when the Queen's name was struck from the liturgy, the Church consenting, is only partially represented in Hone's indignant "I'll not have her prayed for." The bitterness and mockery were intense. The nation laughed in bitter scorn when told that it was feared the Queen's presence would dishonour or contaminate the court of George, when it learned that one by one the nobility had "cut" the woman whom a word from the "first gentleman" would have placed at the head of society. That there was a good deal of personal feeling underlying the writings of Hone cannot be denied, but apart from differences as to modes of expression on this and many points, he represented the feelings and belief of the great body of the nation.

One more squib—if squib it may be called—remains, the famous bank-note which is believed to have had a sensible effect on the abolition of capital punishment for the crime of petty forgery. It is in the form of the ordinary one-pound note of the time; only, instead of the figure of value, there are eleven persons hanging by the neck, and instead of the signature of the Governor of the Bank of England, there is "John Ketch." This note has been claimed both by Mr. Hone and by Mr. Cruikshank, and the latter in a memorandum affixed to the original sketch—recently sold as one of "a selection" from Mr. Cruikshank's works, to the proprietors of the Westminster Aquarium—gives a circumstantial account of how the idea was conceived, and under what circumstances it was carried out. He says that one morning, having occasion to go down Ludgate Hill, he saw several persons hanging from the gibbet at Newgate. Two of them were women who had been hanged for stealing one-pound forged notes. "I determined," he continues, "if possible, to put a stop to so terrible a punishment for such a crime, and upon my return home I made a sketch of the note, and then an etching of it," which Hone published. It must be said, on the other hand, that the note was referred to as Hone's in at least one newspaper of the year—the *Examiner*—and the present writer has been unable to discover any contradiction of it. Wherever the slip of memory lies, there it must remain, so far as this volume is concerned. It is pleasanter far to recur to the frontispiece of Hone's republication of the squibs, where he and Cruikshank, sketched by the latter, confront each other in their council of two, for work which had a considerable influence on the time. Hone certainly owed much to the pencil of his friend. "The House that Jack Built"—the best by far of the squibs—would have been comparatively dead and dumb without the artistic skill of Mr. Cruikshank. So with the "Matrimonial Ladder." The Prince Regent, Castlereagh, Sidmouth, Canning, Southey, were living personages because of the union of Cruikshank's pencil and Hone's pen. It must be said, however, that only a very few of the political sketches of Mr. Cruikshank are in the

"selection" in the Aquarium, and those few are all in relation to subjects very different from those connected with the court. The exception is one that history will not make, whatever may be the views of the proprietors of a place of public recreation. There will be another selection some day; the First Gentleman will appear in lace and buckram; and so with other persons. There was, it is said, at last, some differences and bitternesses between these two old friends. One cannot have a kindlier or truer thought to either or both than the hope that the public never may hear a word of those differences on either side. And if there is a story to tell at all, let us hope it will be kindly told on both sides, and that the green grass that waves so peacefully over all that was mortal of one of two men bent on doing good in their day, may be the symbol of the same oblivion and peace around their names in whatever space may belong to them in history.

Of the "Everyday Book" of Mr. Hone much might be written, but little is necessary. It is a monument of painstaking industry, of conscientious research, requiring a keen eye, and a love for the customs of old times. Passing from the parodies and squibs and political tracts, to the "Everyday Book," is like passing from the crowded streets of a town to the fresh air of the moors. The same may be said of "The Year Book," "The Table Book," and the edition of Strutt's "Book of Sports." The quaint fancies, the extensive reading, the catholic spirit evinced in these volumes—partly compilation, partly the outcome of judicious observation—secured for the author many and warm friends. To tell of the customs and the men of Old London was his delight; to find out curious historical coincidences, and incidents, and allusions that had escaped the notice of history; to invest each month and day with some especial charm, so that the individual life might be as varied as nature and as history could make it, was no mean idea. Mr. Hone was engaged with his "Everyday Book," which appeared in numbers, when in 1820 he was arrested and imprisoned for debt. He remained in prison about three years, and on his release, under the Insolvency Act, his friends, Mr. Tegg

tells us in his preface to a recently issued edition of the Trials, subscribed a sum of 400*l.*, and made him landlord of the "Grasshopper Coffee House" in Gracechurch Street, where of course he failed, and after a few years of carking care he became sub-editor of the *Patriot* newspaper, and a preacher among the Independents. In an earlier chapter reference was made to a note in an edition of "Simpson's Plea for Religion," referring to Mr. Hone as a former atheist, and to the fact that he had himself quoted the note without demurring to it. The note goes on to say that Mr. Hone, his wife, four children, and a son-in-law had been "received into Christian communion by one of the Congregational Churches," and that three children and three grandchildren had been baptized; "a scene, felt to be one over which angels might well be supposed to rejoice." Mr. Hone adds:—"This note was written by a dear friend of mine who knows me intimately." Mr. Hone therefore is responsible for the note, which, taken in connection with certain remarks of his during his trials, and other remarks in connection with the calamities of his brother, the present writer finds it hard to understand on any other ground than that Mr. Hone having made an avowal of Christianity in the public way referred to above, from sheer weariness of spirit allowed his new friends to call him what they pleased in view of his past days. Nevertheless when one finds that a man has in so many distinct forms referred to the Almighty and to Christ with reverence, it is unpleasant to find other men referring to him as all the time having been an atheist, and to find him allowing the words to pass unquestioned.

We have seen somewhat of a sorry little book, the work of a lady, and entitled, "Some Account of the Conversion from Atheism to Christianity of the late Mr. William Hone." In relation to known facts the sketch has a certain value; but where there is room for imagination the "account" must be taken for what it is worth. Here, for instance, is a passage, much of which can hardly be deemed other than absurdly incorrect. Mr. Hone is reported as having said:—"After my trial the newspapers were continually at me, calling me an

acquitted felon. The worm will turn when trodden on. One day when I had been exasperated beyond bearing, one of my children, a little girl of four years old, was sitting on my knee, very busy looking at the pictures of a child's book. 'What have you got there?' said I. 'The House that Dack Built.' An idea flashed across my mind; I saw at once the use that might be made of it; I took it away from her. I said, 'Mother, take the child, send me up my tea and two candles, and let nobody come near me till I ring.' I sat up all night, and wrote 'The House that Jack Built.' In the morning I sent for Cruikshank, read it to him, and put myself into the attitudes of the figures I wanted drawn. Some of the characters Cruikshank had never seen; but I gave him the likeness as well as the attitude;' and so saying he at once put himself into a character there introduced, the original of which Cruikshank had never seen; but the caricature had a most whimsical resemblance." He went on to say—"I was told that, at a Privy Council, soon after it was published, the Prince laid it on the table without saying a word; and that after he was gone, some one present said, 'We have had enough of William Hone;' and no notice was taken of it." This story led to another as to the origin of the companion to "The House that Jack Built," "The Queen's Matrimonial Ladder." He said, "I was very sore about my trials; I thought it hard that Canning's parodies had led to place and power, and mine were prosecuted. I wanted to write a history of parody. I was reading in the British Museum for that purpose—that was at the time of the Queen's business, and some of her chief partizans came to me. They urged me to write something for her. I refused for some time, till at last they said, 'The Queen expects it of you,' and I felt I could no longer refuse, but it troubled me very much. I had gone there to be quiet, and out of the way of politics, about which my mind had begun to misgive me; that is, as to my interference with them. Observe, though God has changed my opinions about religion, I have not changed my politics. I did not like my task; I could not see how to do it, nor yet to avoid it; so a good deal out of sorts I

left the Museum. Instead of going straight home, I wandered off towards Pentonville, and stopped and looked absently into the window of a little fancy shop—there was a toy, 'the matrimonial ladder.' I saw at once what I could do with that, and went home and wrote 'The Queen's Matrimonial Ladder.' Soon after a person, whom I shall not name, came and offered me 50*l.* to suppress it. I refused. I was offered up to 500*l.* I said, 'Could you not make it 5,000*l.*? If you did I should refuse.' That interference in politics which had formerly brought him fame and money, was now beginning to appear to him inconsistent with Christianity. During the agitation on the Reform Bill, he gave proof of the sincerity with which he acted on his conviction. A second part of "The House that Jack Built" would have cost him but a pair of candles and a sleepless night; judging from the sale of the first, it would have brought a temporary affluence where it was then so greatly needed. I frequently heard him say, 'I could have put the public mind in a ferment by a few wood-cuts and caricatures; but I would not do it. I thought it not a Christian's business. It would have brought money enough, and I greatly wanted it; but I durst not do it; as a Christian I did not think it right.' From that time, I believe, he never took a part in any public affairs that had not a decidedly benevolent object —such as anti-slavery and missionary exertions; in these he continued to take the liveliest interest."

There is no reason to believe that Mr. Hone could have done what is stated here, or indeed, that he would not very materially have injured his worldly prospects by bringing out any new part of his "House that Jack Built." If he had written such a squib it would have been reproduced, and his business profits diverted into other channels, while his congregational status had gone. The present writer, at all events, believes firmly that such would have been the case, and that talk to the contrary is very wild talk, even setting apart the absurdity of calling that a sacrifice which a man distinctly says would have been inconsistent with his Christian profession. Surely that is not the lesson that Mr. Hone's later friends wish us to

draw from his life. The story of the 500*l.* may be almost rejected on internal evidence. It is not at all probable that any noted or high person would make such an offer; and a man who was capable of suppressing the work of his brain for money would have been quite capable of producing a squib of similar purport to the one suppressed, and so keeping his word to the friends both of the Princess and the Prince. Nor need the least importance be attached to what is said of the Queen expecting a squib, or of the Prince laying one on the table of the Council Chamber. These stories are of a kind too common in cases like Mr. Hone's to be received with any degree of credence, unless they are backed by very strong proof. Mr. Hone, it may be repeated, does not appear in his business relations to have given away his brainwork, or to have published what he did not think would sell. Nor is this in the least to his discredit, but the contrary. He was a publisher, with a large family, to whom every honourable effort belonged, and when his new friends attempt to show that his avowal of Christianity involved a sacrifice of worldly prospects, they entirely fail, even though their views may, as they say, have been held also by Southey. Hone went among them for peace. Hunted by men of rude and reckless purpose as men of another kind hunt a hare; pursued with opprobrious epithets, which evidently made him sick and sore; recollecting, doubtless, the lessons learned from his father, and anxious to set his children on the paths which, sickly as they seem in their over-abundance of demonstration to one looking from the outside, he unquestionably now believed to be the paths of pleasantness and peace, Mr. Hone became an ardent and devoted member of the Church of his choice. Sacrifice there was none. Mere squibs would not have provided for a family, even if we can suppose that the thought of squib-writing was pleasant or endurable to him. Yet we may be permitted to hope that to the last he retained the view which he certainly at one time held, that politics to an earnest man must ever be as sacred as his faith in God. Some one wrote a Reform hymn which, in 1831, made the hearts of hundreds of thousands

of people to beat more truly, even if but for a time, with love to God and to men. Ebenezer Elliot wrote words of fire—words as sacred as any that ever William Hone or any greater man preached—words, too, that will remain sacred while our language endures, political words, albeit—in a time when people were perishing for want of food. One would like to think of Hone as caring more than ever for politics, and eschewing nothing that was honest and of good report. His friends, however, desired something "striking," and they made it in this little book. As the Jesuit is presumed to be dead to the world, and to devote himself, his character, and all that he cherishes most, to his order, so is it often in another sense when a man has "seen light," and become a member of some Protestant churches. If he is sensitive by nature, he must sacrifice his sensitiveness, as "his best." If he would court the shade, there is only the greater reason why he should come into the full glare of the sun. If he have intellect, he must take a pride in laying it down. Well, it may be right; but there is evidence that Mr. Hone was willing to talk, and did talk with pride, of his trials, and of his literary work, and that he had no wish to be made a spectacle. There is something very different and much manlier in these lines, which he wrote, and which beyond question embody the conviction of his later days:—

"The proudest heart that ever beat
Hath been subdued in me;
The wildest will that ever rose
To scorn Thy cause, or aid Thy foes,
Is quelled, my God, by Thee!
Thy will, and not my will be done,
My heart be ever Thine.
Confessing Thee the mighty 'Word,'
My Saviour, Christ, my God, my Lord,
Thy Cross shall be my sign."

There cannot be a doubt that Mr. Hone became as his father had been, a seer of visions, and a dreamer of dreams. One contributor to this "account of his conversion," writes:—

"It is said that a dream produced a powerful effect on Hone's mind. He dreamt that he was introduced into a room where he was an entire stranger,

and saw himself seated at a table, and on going towards the window, his attention was somehow or other attracted to the window-shutter, and particularly to a knot in the wood which was of singular appearance; and on waking, the whole scene, and especially the knot in the shutter, left a most vivid impression on his mind. Some time afterwards, on going, I think, into the country, he was at some house shown into a chamber where he had never been before, and which instantly struck him as being the identical chamber of his dream. He turned directly to the window, where the same knot in the shutter caught his eye. This incident to his investigating spirit induced a train of reflection which overthrew his cherished theories of materialism, and resulted in conviction that there were spiritual agencies as susceptible of proof as any facts of physical science; and this appears to have been one of the links in that mysterious chain of events by which, according to the inscrutable purposes of the Divine Will, man is sometimes compelled to bow to an unseen and Divine power, and ultimately to believe and live. Another of the Christian friends from whom, in his later years, William Hone received so much kindness, has also furnished recollections of him:—'It is pleasing to recall the memory of one whom I think of as a monument of special mercy, a brand snatched from the burning; for such was Mr. Hone during the period of my acquaintance with him including the few years before his death. None so sensible as he was himself of the awful abyss of infidelity from which he had been delivered. I well remember the mental shudder with which he spoke of the state of his soul when wandering in the darkness of materialism.' . . . . A second anecdote he related to me thus:—'He had been spending a holiday in the woods near Rochester, rambling and thinking till he was weary, when he came upon a farm-house, which he entered, and asked the good woman of the house to get him some milk. She rose to comply with his request, and left the book she was reading on the table. In her absence he took it up, found it was the New Testament, and read some verses in the fifth chapter of Matthew. The impression made upon his mind was chiefly the richness of thought and condensation of matter in the style. He said to himself, "There is more in one verse here than in a whole page of the Greek philosophies" which he had been reading. He determined at once to buy the book and study it with attention.'" A very melancholy picture to give of any man.

The tract abounds with like examples of Mr. Hone's supposed belief in dreams, visions, and spiritual manifestations of various kinds. There is proof also that there were several persons at the time the tract was written quite ready—one would not like to say eager—to boast of their patronising "kindness" to the "brand plucked from the burning." It has been said—is said in this poor little tract—in defence of Mr. Hone's fierce

language in denunciation of Lords Castlereagh and Sidmouth, Mr. Canning and Mr. Southey, that he did not know the men he attacked; but the probability is that he did know them very well, and upon the whole estimated them at not very far from the exact value that will attach to their names in history, though his language with respect to them was often indiscreet, and at times was worse in its unmeasured abuse. Mr. Canning's course, long before his final humiliation, was questioned by men of different parties, and though, when, ten years after the trials of 1817, he was haughtily repulsed by both Wellington and Peel, and especially when he died from the sting, people recurred to his brilliant talents, and his many public services, and forgot for a time all besides, the public decision as to his character as a statesman never very materially changed. His rejection as a leader by Wellington and Peel, henceforth the type Tories, deepened the impression that he was after all more Liberal than those who rejected him. Yet nevertheless as Mr. Canning had begun, so he continued, and ended, a politician of the school of Pitt, not as Pitt might have been from 1815 to 1827, but as he was in 1795. Apart from politics he was personally amiable, as Lord Sidmouth and Lord Castlereagh were reputed to be; but the amiability of the men and the character of the ministers involved widely different questions. How little Hone repented of the pungent satire of his parodies, was shown by the issue of his squibs, and how little he repented of the issue of his squibs is shown by the fact that he republished them in 1827, a few months after the dedication of the first volume of his "Everyday Book" to Charles Lamb, and only a little more than five years prior to the time when his lady biographer—or the lady recorder of his conversion—made his acquaintance as that of a devout Christian. We are bound to see that in 1827, at all events, Mr. Hone did not repent of his squibs. The biographer states also that Hone, standing one day in the house of Jeremy Bentham, and observing, in a neighbouring garden, a gentleman playing with his children, "exclaimed, 'What an affectionate father! What a beautiful sight! He must be a good man, I am sure.' 'That

man,' returned Mr. Bentham 'is Lord Castlereagh, whom you have so bitterly satirised.' 'I felt guilty,' said Mr. Hone, in relating it; 'my conscience flew in my face.' The children were not Lord Castlereagh's own." There is no date to this anecdote, but Lord Castlereagh died by his own hand in 1822, and Mr. Hone republished these fierce squibs, and repeated all his bitterest attacks on Lord Castlereagh, in November, 1827. Is it possible, therefore, that he could have found his conscience flying to his face because Lord Castlereagh was doing within a year of the first date of some of the more pungent attacks what Mr. Hone did himself, and what five out of every ten respectable working-men would probably do the same night in London? No doubt there is some grain of truth in the statement, but unless Mr. Hone was playing, as there is no reason to think he played, fast and loose with all his earlier convictions and all his previous acts, it was not the exact truth. The utter farce of representing a man as repenting prior to 1822 of attacks which he repeated in what was intended to be an enduring form in 1827 will be apparent. Yet the tract from whence the fact is taken is marked, "A Second Edition—Revised." Looking to the William Hone of 1817 and 1820, and to the William Hone of this book, is like viewing an English mastiff converted into a lady's poodle. Moreover, there is something unpleasant in the patronage that is fastened to Mr. Hone in a double way. In the first place he is made to "send for Cruikshank," in a tone and manner which he could not have assumed towards Mr. Cruikshank. In the next place he is patronized to a degree that makes one long to see him in the backwoods with his coat off, and his shirt sleeves turned up to the elbows. No "dear friend" who does him any kindness ever tries to do it by stealth; or if the help is secret, the proclamation is speedily made, from the mouth of the giver, on the housetops, in the face of the sun. Without any wish to disparage the Christianity of the lines—"The proudest heart that ever beat," one could mourn to see the high head so prominent in the Guildhall in December, 1817, shaken meekly at some platitude uttered at a meek but garrulous tea-party.

Of Hone's experience in a coffee-house, kindly as the subscription for providing that for him was meant—and it was very kindly meant—it is impossible to think without amazement. One would have imagined a great many things—a pedlar's pack, or a stone heap, for instance—before a coffee-house. Lord Ellenborough had his full and complete revenge on the day when his old foe began to serve out his first cup of coffee, and to put his first earnings into his till. It was an honest and an honourable trade, of course, and if it had been less honourable, no one would have been to blame for the position but Mr. Hone himself. But to see coffee-cups on the shelves, and joints of meat on the counter, instead of books, must have been a galling change to a man who had so determinedly claimed place in the Commonwealth of Letters. Canning, Castlereagh, Sidmouth, Stoddart, Southey, the Constitutional Society—all had their debt paid in full when their satirist began the duties of that Grasshopper Coffee-house. It is a little curious, in connection with this coffee-house, that in the first cut in Hone's fierce attack on Dr. Stoddart—a squib in which the English vocabulary of abuse seems pretty nearly exhausted—the object of the satire is represented as an old woman selling coffee from a pail in the street. At length, all things going wrong as to the sale of coffee, somebody told Mr. Hone that he ought to preach, and he preached at the Weigh House Chapel and elsewhere, while assisting to sub-edit the *Patriot* newspaper. Of the newspaper engagement, his lady biographer does not give an over-nice account, for she makes him speak in mysterious terms, as if he, though only termed sub-editor, could—"say more if he wished." That is not like true manhood. It is not like William Hone, and we may well dismiss it to the limbo of unintentional fiction. That he did his duty in both capacities, we may be sure. Yet on some subjects, how blunted his pen and restrained his tongue must have become, when he had to pronounce shibboleths, and perhaps even—who knows?—wear a white necktie. One wonders if he occasionally, like the father of the young ladies who wrote "Jane Eyre" and "Wuthering Heights," went into his bedroom, locked the door, and fired guns to relieve his

spirit, or if he broke windows intentionally, and called it accident, or said some outrageous thing in the Weigh House pulpit, and pleaded that "fall of the shadow" which wild spirits sometimes know, and for which righteous people always make allowance. That he was an honest man at last, as at first, need not be asserted; that he was untrue to no conviction, his enemies would hardly have doubted. And he had, he said, found peace—peace which he had learned the world could neither give nor take away—peace, too, that remained to the end. He died at Tottenham in November, 1842, and was buried in Bunhill Fields. Of his relation to the more notable literary men of the period, most of whom he knew, much might be written. That he was a great writer no one would assert. That he was one of the best existing compilers, skilful in originating new ideas as publisher, and prompt in giving his ideas effect, never was disputed in his own time. As an assistant to any great publisher he would have been invaluable. As a publisher he failed over and over again, from the simple fact that he never seems rightly to have comprehended the proportion in value that twenty shillings had to a pound. His errors as to men were great; but his intense bitterness to his enemies was more than equalled by his gratitude to his friends. One cannot help thinking at times that he expected too much personally from his political friends, as for instance the wealthy Whigs. In one letter quoted in his biography, he says:—"You know my opinion of the Whigs. A Whig is a man spoiled—you never can depend on him; such they were 'in my time,' and I fear they are no better now. A Tory will tell you at once what he will *not* do—a Whig will lead you to depend on him for doing, and at last will lurch you." This is exactly the spirit that existed among the Chartists, and there need be no hesitation in pronouncing it a political error. The politics of the Whigs may be or may not be out of date now, might be or might not be out of date when Mr. Hone wrote this letter; but there certainly were men among them who had proved of immense value to Mr. Hone, and to the freedom of Englishmen in a difficult time The set-off to Hone's error in this particular

was his unbounded gratitude to any one who did him a real kindness. There his charity appears never to have failed.

To judge Mr. Hone rightly we must take the sketches of his father's and his own life as one; remembering also that the sketch of the former was the matured outcome of many years of thought. We shall find the same credulity, united to the same daring defiance of all authority of men in matters of faith, the same sense of self-importance, the same tendency to magnify trifles relating merely to two individuals into facts of world-wide magnitude. The present writer met a man some years ago who, when a very little boy had run away from a Scotch coasting-vessel on the Thames, and after going right through London till he found himself in the country, had inquired his way, and actually walked, begging and sleeping as he could, to the extreme north of Scotland. When he related the story, he said, "Yes, it was rather a guid joke." William Hone the elder probably made more ado about the difficulties of his walk from London to Bath, and again from Bath to London, than all Commodore Anson's sailors made about the dangers of their romantic and perilous voyage round the world. Mr. Hone had no Spaniards to meet, it is true, but he saw a messenger of Satan in every carter who offered him a drink of ale or a ride in his cart, while, however, he accepted the ride, and was thankful. The want of a dinner, or the necessity of selling his clothes as a means of living, people are expected to behold as a great calamity; and all this in a time of war and general suffering. It was well Mr. Hone the elder never fell into the hands of a pressgang, or like Alexander Somerville, "who had whistled at the plough," into the care of a director of rough riding in a cavalry regiment. William Hone the younger had the same tendency to thinking about what God was in particular doing with him and his. We have seen him, in the tract that purports to tell of his life, in some sense, acknowledging delinquencies which he had previously repudiated as never present either to his thoughts or intention. His new friends called it true repentance. His old friends probably called it the fever in his

blood; the same fever that gave birth to many of his squibs, and that put the apocryphal New Testament in print in a period from first to last of only six weeks. It was beyond doubt an absolute necessity to Mr. Hone if he avowed a belief in Christianity at all that it should be a demonstrative one; not a mere going to church in silence to commune with the Unseen. That his belief was as true and genuine as was every other act of a true life need hardly be repeated. That when he bent the knee and said prayers he truly prayed, is as certain as anything in which men can judge the thoughts and deeds of men. The defects in which both father and son picture themselves, or are pictured by their friends, are faults of temperament. Their virtues were beyond mere temperament. From first to last, fretting and fuming over trifles, rejoicing in deliverances, or combating those real difficulties and privations which belong to human life, they were both men of honest purpose, and in many respects were so much alike that a mental picture of the one would stand for that of the other. In the case of the younger Mr. Hone, Lady Huntingdon's preachers and Tory literature diverged into membership of "Correspondence Society" and "Society of Friends of the People," the production of the "Sinecurist's Creed," and eventually the pulpit of the Weigh House Chapel in Eastcheap; but the same delicate fibre of self-consciousness runs through all, sensitive to every rude touch, and defiant of all attempted infringement of personal liberty. Such the writer ventures to place on record as a part, but so far just picture of the man in whose prosecution the despotic *ex-officio* informations of Lord Liverpool's Government were defeated, and whose political squibs will remain a picture of the time and the men—the repression and the defiance of repression—when a turning point in English history had been reached. The dependence of William Hone's life is a contrast to the independence of Cobbett. In that at least Cobbett, not Hone, is the example to young men. One would have regretted to leave this as a question in dispute, or one upon which there was any hesitation to express an opinion.

CHAPTER XX.

LIBERTY AND RESPONSIBILITY: THE FREEDOM OF THE PRESS.

Historical Phrases—The Term "Freedom of the Press"—Freedom and Responsibility—National and Class Views of a Press Censorship—Newspaper and Other Literature of the Puritans; its Superiority; its Freedom as Compared with the Literature of Later Times—Peculiar Freedom of the Restoration—Defoe, our First Great Journalist—Newspaper Stamp Act—Newspapers—Growth of the Newspaper Press in London, and in the Country—Defoe, Wilkes, and Junius—Early Newspapers—The *Morning Chronicle* and the *Courier*—Mr. Perry of the *Chronicle*—The *Morning Herald;* Defends the First Gentleman; its Editor Rewarded—The *Courier*—The *Morning Post*—Wordsworth, Southey, Coleridge, Lamb—The *Sun;* its Editor Rewarded—Dr. Stoddart Rewarded—Question of Honours to Editors for Political Services—The *Morning Post*—Parson Bate—The *Universal Register*—Mr. Walter; his Logographic System of Printing—Burying the Mistake—The *Times*—Principle Laid Down—Question of Printing for the Customs—Refusal to Accept Obligations from the Government—Difficulty and Success—Libel Cases—Canning's Relation to the "Anti-Jacobin"—Character of the Satirical Press—Cobbett's Services to the Press—His Power—The *Weekly Dispatch;* its Old Influence on Workmen—The *Examiner;* its Honourable Career—The *John Bull*—Ignoble Conduct of the First Editor—The Law of Libel; Past and Present—Alterations from Time to Time; Necessity for Continual Watchfulness—Evil of a Licentious Press—Interference with the Press in Small Towns—Mr. Carlyle's Influence on the Press—His Life-Long Lesson of Responsibility—What is Meant by the Demand for Freedom of the Press—Right Place of a Newspaper in a Community—Editorial Dignity Real and Unreal—The Law of Libel in its Relation to the True and Legitimate Freedom of the Press—Contempt of Court.

If it be true that common phrases, however sacred when first used, are liable to be misused and dishonoured in the course of years; if, for instance, the term Reformer, intended at first simply to express a fact—a man favourable to Parliamentary Reform—became in time appropriated by men who wished to

claim for themselves an excess of public virtue, and that the phrase lost its wonted charm, as a designation, for men who had no histrionic tendency, the truth has a very forcible application in relation to the press. There was a time when the term Freedom of the Press had an important meaning to Englishmen; when it involved a man's right to express what he believed to be true, and calculated to benefit or instruct other men. Herein consisted the moral basis of all legitimate claims for freedom to print and publish thoughts. Morally, no man ever had or can have a right to publish anything on a whim, on caprice, or for personal gratification; and if the question could be narrowed to this issue, and other conditions existed, the ground taken by the people who secured to themselves almost unrestricted power at the Restoration, would have a by no means untenable defence. When, however, rulers against whom the printed words were necessarily directed claimed to be judges of the fitness of the words for publication, the falseness of the position was apparent to everyone. "We acknowledge your right," it was virtually said, "provided you can show, first, that what you have written embodies your conscientious belief; secondly, that you have arrived at that belief on reliable data; and thirdly, that if even these premises are granted, the assumed result—the public good—will follow." Clergymen and politicians took up this ground, in effect, and there are persons who stand on the same ground to this day. Nothing could be more plausible than this case, as some people were able to put it; nothing, in fact, could be more absurd. To have appealed to Archbishop Laud for the right of literature opposed to the Church, or to Sir William Noy, for freedom to attack the Crown, would not have been more ridiculous than to appeal on any point involving freedom of conscience to the men in power after the Restoration. The ground to which the opponents of the Court came back was the ground of Milton; the absolute right within the natural restriction of morality of unlicensed printing. There were, it is true, dangers on this ground, but then no other ground was possible. If one man attacked falsehood, or a bad Government, another might attack truth and a good Government. If

religion and morality found loyal support in one book, irreligion and immorality might find strong support in another. Men might for wealth corrupt their fellows. Indeed, a thousand evils were possible, if not certain, to result from a free press. All this was granted and confronted by the one fact that the progress and well-being of the nation depended on the free expression of opinion; and on that ground men stood, under all reverses, and at times in great suffering, for several generations. It was the principle of the giants of those days; persons who bore and forbore that they might secure the general liberty of the nation.

The freedom of the press, in common with all other freedom, save that of social life—which it was found in the end the masses of the people prized most deeply—was established during the Commonwealth. We have seen how bitterly and with what marked impunity Cromwell's Government was attacked and satirised, how the so-called saints were derided and lampooned both during their own rule and that of their successors. Religious literature too was so intensely bitter that distinguished theologians, especially Puritan theologians, treated each other almost as criminals, rather than in the spirit of men merely differing in opinion. Yet when the subject is probed a little below the surface, no one can fail to see that a vein of grave and restrained sobriety runs through that Puritan literature. The men might be roundheads and fanatics, harsh, illiberal, or what not, but at least they believed that if the press was free in its relations to governments, it had a moral responsibility which no laws could affect. With the Restoration the freedom of the press ended for a long period. Freedom to publish immoral writings was, it is true, granted to the full. Freedom to offer an opinion on public affairs, to endeavour to throw light on the dark things of religion, to guide men as to the best form in which to worship God, was pronounced illegal, and often criminal. The new order of life, it was said, conduced to brilliance and imagination. Yet to a stern Puritan we owe the best prose allegory in any language, and to an equally stern Puritan we are indebted for the foundation of our healthiest novel literature in "Robinson

Crusoe," and for perhaps our earliest independent journal (about 1704), in the same writer's "Review of the Affairs of the State," which preceded papers of the class of the "Tatler" and the "Spectator," and took ground which they never even affected to occupy. Defoe is beyond question the father of English journalism, and his courage was equal to the need. Doubt has of late been thrown on his incorruptibility as a writer; but, be that doubt justifiable or otherwise, no one can question the undaunted spirit of our first resolved and indomitable journalist. In the reign of Anne, as we have seen, pen of Tory and pen of Whig were pitted against each other with distilled venom in every word. In the tenth year of the good Queen's reign, the Court found a still more effective weapon than mere venom in the stamp duty; a halfpenny on every single sheet of news, and a penny on every sheet of a larger size. The weapon was too sharp and powerful to be lightly given up when once it had been tried and proved. It represented the discovery of a grand new political power. Its avowed object was to check the circulation of injurious intelligence; there cannot be a doubt that it checked the growth of the newspaper press, and doomed many existing papers.

A very brief summary of the growth of the newspaper press may perhaps be necessary here, prior to our dealing with the many-sided question of the liberty and responsibility of the press in relation to national progress. In attempting such a summary, reliance will be placed where dates or facts are concerned on "Mitchell's Newspaper Press Directory," with references, where needed, to "Grant's History of the Newspaper Press." With Mr. Grant's opinions we shall have no concern. We have seen somewhat of his view of Miss Flower's beautiful hymn, and the same difference would exist with respect to much in his History. A picture of Mr. Miall, editor of the *Nonconformist*, is a curiosity, and, although perfectly harmless, it evidently was intended to be quite the opposite. In agreement or disagreement, no just opponent ever can think of Mr. Miall as other than a man both of high ability and of devotion to principles which he has in a great measure made his own.

When such crucial questions as the American war were brought home to Englishmen, no one who knew the *Nonconformist* ever thought of asking to which side it would incline. Mr. Miall had given to Nonconformists an unflinching organ; narrow, perhaps, with respect to opponents, but altogether incapable of a felon blow. Yet, Mr. Grant terms Mr. Miall's writings of a "negative kind," in which "no one ever discovered a generous sentiment, or an indication of kind-heartedness;" and in the leading articles of which Mr. Grant himself never has "seen anything like sympathy with human suffering or sorrow;" but only "cold, dry" remarks, "devoid of all the more genial feelings of our common nature." Nothing more unjust or more clearly of the nature of absurd caricature ever was put on paper. Having said this as something necessary to be said, Mr. Grant's volumes will be the authority here for the dates of certain old journals. We have seen some particulars of the establishment of the Whig and Tory *Examiners*, and how Steele and the Whigs drove Bolingbroke and the Tories out of the field, the Whig journal only caring to survive its rival for the purpose of writing its obituary notice. Then it too passed away, and was buried; and its contributors, in many cases, found new and more genial work for their pens. Here we may find another historical milestone; the beginning of that party journalism that came to its perfection of bitterness and scurrility from seventy to fifty years ago. Without entering into particulars Mr. Grant assumes that the honour of being the oldest of existing provincial newspapers rests between the *Stamford Mercury*, founded about 1695, and the *Worcester Journal*, which claims, though not under the same name, to be five years older. From the year 1706, during a period of twenty years, a number of papers were started. Nottingham established a journal about 1710; Newcastle in 1711; Liverpool in the same year; Hereford in 1713; York in 1713; Leeds in 1720; Ipswich in 1725. Then for five years Mr. Grant finds no trace of the establishment of any paper. In 1730 a journal was begun in Manchester; in 1741 one in Birmingham; in 1742 in Bath; in 1744 in Cambridge; in 1745 in Sussex. The history of the Scotch press is of kindred

character. In 1710 we find Defoe appointed by the Town Council printer of the *Edinburgh Courant;* proof unmistakable that in that year of Anne's High-Church reign Scotland was far from inclined to fall into the lines of fashionable English politics. From about 1745 newspapers were established rapidly in all the principal towns in the kingdom.

The great landmark time, however, in the history of journalism, was the beginning of the French war. Every town of any importance began then to feel the absolute need of a newspaper that it could call its own, and when any great event took place, the local office was besieged, often for hours, with anxious and expectant people, who clutched their coveted sixpenny paper with much the same feeling that a different class of persons clutched the charity soup from a soup kitchen. No adult person ever now, by any chance, finds the true charm that in his or her youthful days existed in the damp newspaper fresh from the press. There is quite an ordinary "feel" about a wet newspaper now. People even know that it has been damped before being printed. In old times, when editors sat in what they called their "*sanctums*"—there are no "*sanctums*" now—how different was the feeling. To look unabashed at an editor was to run the risk of blindness; to speak to one was a presumption little thought of. An editor was more learned than any other man in a town; why, he wrote on every subject, people whispered. One such gentleman, known to the writer, said that there was only one person in a certain populous town, among all the clergy, lawyers, and all manner of persons, whose manuscript did not require correction. So lordly were the gentlemen of the press in those days, and so ready were people to bow to the strange and magical power whose operation was concealed from all eyes. One newspaper, the *Cumberland Pacquet,* published in Whitehaven, a town of only from 18,000 to 20,000 inhabitants at different times, dates from 1774, more than ten years before the birth of the *Times;* and during that time has only really had two proprietors. The first caused his name to form part of the title, a very common practice at the time. He was succeeded by one of his apprentices, who still lives, though the paper has passed

from him. This old journal was actually in existence when the freedom of America was secured, through all the turmoil of the French war, and all the political bitterness that followed, and its files might perhaps be taken as one of the best specimens in the whole country of the changes in the spirit of journalism. Its peculiar facility in the use of hard names procured it the honour of especial notice over the Atlantic, where, of course, hard names are unknown. At home it was the terror of the people far and wide; it reigned without a near rival till 1831, though it was overmatched in the county town by the establishment of the *Carlisle Journal* about 1798. Turning to Mitchell, we find that the great existing papers of Manchester are all young, half a century or so at most, though they are the successors of older papers; and the same may be said of Birmingham. On the other hand, Chester had papers, still existing, as early as 1730, the *Courant*, and 1773, the *Chronicle;* Leeds, the *Mercury*, 1718; Liverpool, *Gore's Advertiser*, as early as 1765; Edinburgh, the *Gazette*, 1690, and the *Courant*, 1705; Glasgow, the *Herald*, 1782; Dublin, the *Freeman's Journal*, 1763, and *Sanders's News Letter*, 1688; Belfast, the *News Letter*, 1773. These facts are merely given that the reader may have at a glance a view of the probable condition of journalism in the three kingdoms at the time when the new state of affairs in relation to the press appeared with the French war, and when the journals began to take political courses with which we are most intimately acquainted. Up to that time, and indeed till the beginning of the century, the chief thing a newspaper editor had to guard against was personal libel or scandal; but this could not long continue when men were beginning to talk of reform of Parliament, when the principles asserted in America had been reasserted in France and acknowledged by leading men in England. A period of more than half a century divides Defoe from Wilkes and Junius—the "Review of the State of Public Affairs" from the *North Briton* and Woodfall's *Public Advertiser;* but between the two periods, though there are the names of many journalists more or less successful, there are none that clearly represent that decision of character in journalism to which Lord Bute,

denounced at once by Junius and Wilkes, was a veritable victim, while the journalism that denounced him became a power in politics. The entire relations of Parliament to the nation were altered when the words spoken in the two Houses were repeated in every part of the kingdom. All manner of attempts were made to place bounds to the press beyond which it should not pass. First the tax on newspapers was a penny; in 1765 it was three halfpence; in 1789 twopence; in 1795 twopence-halfpenny; seven years later threepence-halfpenny, and in 1815 fourpence. In no previous reign, Mr. Grant says, had the press been so severely dealt with as in that of George III., and there cannot be a doubt that the assertion is accurate. It was the policy of the men whom Pitt represented, the policy, too, of the King; a policy moreover difficult to cast off after the peace of 1815.

It is to the London press, however, to which we must look chiefly for the character of journalism, and its influence on public affairs. At the end of the war the *Morning Chronicle* represented the Liberal Party, the men who followed Fox; and the *Courier*, the Tories, the men who followed Pitt. It may be noted that newspapers were by this time becoming more clearly capable of taking their complexion from the times in which they existed. Journalists rarely, like Defoe, affected, and still more rarely did they do more than affect, to form public opinion. The journals established or existing in the years from 1788 till about 1795 were mostly Liberal, unless established for a party purpose. The *Morning Chronicle* was begun in 1769 by Mr. William Woodfall, brother of the printer of Junius, and was first edited by Mr. Perry about the year 1789, when those new and untried questions were beginning to disturb the minds both of Whig and Tory. From that time, for thirty years, the *Chronicle*, under the same editorship, was the bond of union for all sections of Liberals. It expounded the views of Fox, and for a time of Burke. It offered an open door to usefulness in literature to men whose names are now household words; and it upheld Liberal principles when, as Mr. Grant says, "it was quite a rare thing to meet a man with

a decent suit of clothes on his back who would have the moral courage to call himself a Liberal." At the time of Mr. Perry's death the estimated profit on the paper was 12,000*l.* a year; the paper as a whole was sold for 42,000*l.* From that time it began really to decay. It shifted its ground in politics. It became Peelite, when the principles of Peel were in distinct opposition to all the journal's old fame. Finally, it became an organ and a tool of the late Emperor of the French. Then it died, and no man had a kind word to say of its later years.

The *Morning Post* dates from 1772, and after a little time was edited by a clergyman named Bate, of whom Mr. Grant says, "he was called the gay and gallant parson Bate." In 1777 he fought a duel on account of something that had appeared in his paper. After many vicissitudes, including a civil action for libel, in which the damages exacted from the *Post* were 4,000*l.*, the paper and the house in which it was printed were sold for 600*l.* to Mr. Daniel Stuart and his brother. Coleridge, who had written for the *Chronicle*, and Mr. Mackintosh (afterwards Sir James) were we are told, among the earliest leader writers whom Mr. Daniel Stuart, the managing brother, secured. In 1799 Coleridge became editor, and in that capacity, according to Mr. Grant, went to the House of Commons to report from memory an expected great speech of Pitt's, but so far neglected his duty as to fall asleep, and was reduced to the necessity of making a speech, which is said to have answered the purpose admirably. Mr. Grant tells also the well-known story of Mr. Stuart's brother, proprietor of the *Oracle*, having offered Robert Burns a guinea a week for a regular contribution, and of the poet's manly and indignant refusal. Mr. Daniel Stuart's report of the facts is exquisite. He wrote: "We hear much of purse-proud insolence, but poets can sometimes be insolent in the conscious power of talents, as well as vulgar upstarts can be in the conscious power of their purse. The employment offered Burns by my brother would surely have been more honourable than that of an excise-gauger." We may fairly question this; but Mr. Daniel Stuart deserves thanks for leaving so good a picture of himself. In 1795, when Mr. Stuart made the purchase, the circulation was, it is stated,

350 copies a day; in the spring of 1797 it had, in Coleridge's hands, risen to 2,000; and in 1803, when Mr. Stuart sold the paper, the number is said to have been 4,500, a considerably larger circulation than that of any other morning paper. Between Coleridge and the proprietor of the *Post* there never could have been much sympathy or identity of view, and Mr. Grant states of certain articles required in 1816, on the Catholic claims, that Coleridge wrote:—"With regard to the Catholic question, if I write, I must be allowed to express the truth, and the whole truth. On this condition I will write immediately." It is pleasant to find genius thus remembering and asserting itself. The *Post* began Liberal, became Tory, glided into hearty support of Lord Palmerston, but never forgot, in sunshine or in storm, that it was born to chronicle the doings of the great. There are times when it goes trenchantly to the heart of a political question; but it never loses sight of the fact that it has a domain all its own, and with which no stranger intermeddleth—a domain in which it stands unapproached and unapproachable.

The *Morning Herald* was established by the same "Parson Bate." Mr. Grant says, "He was rector of a small church in Essex, but being fond of fashionable society lived in London." His paper at first was Liberal, but it defended "the Prince of Wales when his extravagant habits and immoral life were assailed in Parliament and out of it," and, through the combined influence of the Prince and the Duke of Clarence, Bate obtained a lucrative living in 1805, and became Sir Henry Bate Dudley in 1812. The *Herald* died in 1869. So much for one of those journalists who from generation to generation have sold their pens, and themselves.

The *Courier* was begun also as Liberal in 1792, but Mr. Grant says, that as the French armies advanced over the Continent and "Toryism was in all its glory," the Liberalism was dropped, and Tory principles adopted in 1799. As a Liberal journal the *Courier* had been twice prosecuted for libel, and seemed to improve its position by the trials. The cause of its conversion was a change of proprietary; it had become the property of Mr.

Stuart, also proprietor of the *Morning Post*, a man who drew around him for his two papers Wordsworth, Coleridge, Lamb, Southey, Mackintosh, and many similar notable men. Mr. Grant says that "Mr. Stuart virtually acknowledges that Coleridge was the principal cause of the success of both papers; and yet in a strange inconsistency charges him with idleness in his journalistic capacity." From the time Mr. Stuart bought the *Morning Post* in 1795 till about 1802, it is added that Coleridge had "sole charge of (he said) the literary and political departments." In its best days it was credited with a circulation of 12,000 copies every evening, and with a clear income of from 12,000*l.* to 15,000*l.* a year. In 1827 it ventured to become Canningite, as against Wellington and Peel, but was glad to retrace that unfortunate step when Canning had the great disappointment of his life. After a long period of uncertainty it died at an age of nearly fifty years.

The *Sun* was begun in the same year—the creation, Mr. Grant affirms, of Mr. Pitt himself. It was edited by Mr. Rose, a man "who held a high position in the Treasury, and consequently had no right, as he had no disposition, to have an opinion of his own," and who lived to retire as Sir George Rose. Another reward of the great merit that consists in subserviency. In the course of years the *Sun* became Liberal, and continued so till it died. These are specimens of how several journals moved from pole to pole in politics in these years. The Dr. Stoddart to whom reference has been made, received, Mr. Grant says, the name, from Mr. Thomas Moore, of Dr. Slop; but there cannot be a doubt that this is an error, and that the name was given, as stated, by Hone. There is no great credit to any one in the naming, unless it may be said to have assisted to expel an unscrupulous writer from the field of journalism. The loss to Dr. Stoddart, however, was slight, for he merely became Sir John Stoddart, Governor of Malta; a very fine piece of gratitude on the part of the Government, and very glorious to the press. In spite of this there were journalists whom no Government, Whig or Tory, would have so honoured; and these, it need scarcely be said, were the true journalists—the men to whom the press owes its character

and position. The remarks made in an earlier chapter as to the way in which lawyers of great ability went onward direct to the woolsack, or to a seat on the Bench, apply with tenfold force to journalism; and yet there were men, both in London and in the great provincial towns, whom no Government would have thought of buying or of offering to degrade by a title conferred as the purchase money of facile pens. The press was not honoured in those days, and would not be honoured in these by a journalist being knighted. Nor indeed was it politic on the man's own part. If Mr. Walter had been knighted, there can hardly be a doubt that it had been the downfall of the *Times*. One may well believe that his successors prefer the name and substantial property they possess in Printing House Square. Imagine Leigh Hunt receiving a title. Certainly a journalist is not bound to maintain a position or an attitude of antagonism to every Government, but he is bound to place his independence above suspicion; and to make the help given honourable and free from the charge of interested motives, the relations of a journalist to a Government should be beyond question, and, if need be, to the borders of what courtiers would call rudeness, and to what history and human instinct call manhood. It would be easy to multiply instances of journalists who altogether mistook the real purport and significance of independent journalism, as it would be easy to give instances of men who through good report and evil report preserved the individuality of the press, but these examples convey the general idea.

The *Times* was first issued in 1785 as the *Daily Universal Register*. It became the *Times* on the 1st Jan., 1788. It is remarkable that the first important step Mr. Walter took in his *Universal Register* was an utter failure, and a failure which if he had not survived to place beyond question his wonderful practical ability would in all probability have given him place among the dreamers to whom history points as warnings, not examples. Without any intimate knowledge of the business in which he was engaging he resolved to print his paper on what was termed the logographic system. That is, to have words, and terminations of words, cast in one piece, so

that instead of the compositor picking up a letter he should pick up a word, or part of a word. This scheme, to which Mr. Walter clung long and with all a father's affection, was clearly impracticable. The compositors, of course, were against him, but if that had been all he would have proved victorious, as he did in other cases. He was not easily beaten when in the right. Here he was fighting for an error, and when he turned away from it, and recurred to the old system, he, without looking backward, addressed himself to practical paths, as men with the business faculty do. It is curious to note, however, that at the very offset of a career not confined to one life, or to two, the founder of the *Times*, instead of merely looking to his weekly returns and immediate profits, directed his thoughts to perfecting his tools, to digging deep his foundations, like one who had put down his foot firmly, and resolved to remain in "Printing House Square, near Apothecaries' Hall"; for there he began, and there his great effort remained, till the name of Printing House Square had a world-wide fame.

Another principle laid down by the founder of the *Times*, was that while he would co-operate with the politicians of the time in questions wherein his views and theirs accorded, he would, as stated in an earlier chapter, preserve his own individuality and independence. He would assist ministers here and oppose them there; but in the one case or the other would act on his own convictions, untrammelled by influence from the outside. The wisdom of the decision might be termed justified by the result, but it was also justified during the period of trial, the time of probation, extending through many untoward years. The policy was not announced in heroics, it was a simple business arrangement, beyond the reach of "change of editor," "representation of committees of proprietors," "complaints of influential and distinguished persons, who deemed themselves insulted and wronged," as influential and distinguished persons in town and country often did in those days, and do in these, with respect to very trifling, and at times, to very legitimate criticism. The policy of the first Mr. Walter was continued by his son, who became manager of the paper in 1803. A proper

opportunity occurred in 1810 for explaining publicly the relation in which the *Times* had stood, and in which it then stood, to the Government, and the opportunity was seized and used with relentless logic. On entering upon his management Mr. Walter said he had given the administration (Sidmouth's) his "disinterested support, because he believed it then, as he believes it now, to have been a virtuous and upright administration, but not knowing how long it might continue so, he did not choose to surrender his right of free judgment by accepting obligations, though offered in the most unexceptionable manner. This ministry was dissolved in 1804," and Pitt, with Lord Melville, succeeded. Then came the malpractices for which Lord Melville (Mr. Dundas) was brought both to the bar of public opinion, and to trial by Parliament. "The editor's father," the statement continues, "held at that time, and had held for thirteen years, the situation of printer for the Customs. The editor knew the disposition of the man whose conduct he found himself obliged to condemn, yet he never refrained for a moment on that account from speaking of the Catamaran Expedition as it merited, or from bestowing on the practices disclosed in the Tenth Report the terms of reprobation with which they were greeted by the general sense of the country." The result was the immediate withdrawal of the Customs printing, "performed by contract, and," Mr. Walter undertook to say, "executed with an economy and a precision that have not since been exceeded. The Government advertisements were at the same time withdrawn." There are few of the best papers in the country that have not had in some less notable way to face the same difficulty that here confronted the architects of the fortunes of the *Times*. The writer could from his own knowledge adduce cases in which the same decision was taken with equal loftiness of spirit, and with the same indomitable courage. Here, however, the contest was not between a journal and a vestry, or a town council, but between a journal and the highest people in the land; men presumably selected as foremost in intellect and character, and with every incentive to a high and honourable course of political action, the Government of Pitt. In 1806,

on Pitt's death the new Government contained several of the members of the ministry, "which the editor had supported so disinterestedly," and he was asked "to state the injustice he had sustained by the loss of the Custom House work." In July "a copy of a memorial to be presented to the Treasury was submitted to the editor for his signature, but believing, for certain reasons, that this bare reparation of an injury was likely to be considered as a favour, entitling those who granted it to a certain degree of influence over the politics of the journal, the editor refused to sign or to have any concern in presenting the memorial."

It is not necessary to take this as an indication of a spirit of purity in journalism, but at least it was independent journalism. It was the act of men who were resolved that no secondary interest of any kind should interfere with the fundamental principle of their enterprise. To sign a memorial to the Treasury for the purpose of regaining a business contract would have been worse than a crime; it would have been a political folly of the first magnitude, considering the claims the *Times* had made to independence. A man who was merely looking to a few years of irresponsible journalism, with a peerage at the end of it, might have signed any number of such memorials, and probably never would have been asked to sign one; but here the case was different. Whether, after his first great success, the first Mr. Walter did or did not intend to lay the foundations of an empire, nobody perhaps ever will know, as nobody ever will know conclusively what Clive dreamt of on the night after Plassey, though it is well known how he spent the night before Plassey, in a dismalness of spirit such as he never had known before or ever knew after. Mr. Walter's decision amounted to no more than the wisdom and courage to escape a trap which had all the transparent merit of being spread in sight of the bird. How his independence acted for a time on the commercial value of his property may be judged from the fact that after making vast and hitherto unapproached arrangements for procuring the earliest war news the Government (Pitt's in 1805) stopped his

packages at the outports, while those of the ministerial papers were allowed to pass. In answer to his complaints he was referred from office to office and back again with a perfection of circumlocution never perhaps fully represented in any story of the circumstances here noticed. Would he ask for the packets to be forwarded as a favour? No, he would ask for no favour. There the struggle ended, but never was a Government more completely beaten. Again, it may be said, the whole business was transacted simply as business, and apparently with absolute coolness, without any display of temper, but with unbounded decision. "The same practices," the statement continues, "were resorted to at a subsequent period." They produced the same complaints on the part of the editor, and "redress was then offered to his grievance, provided it could be known what party in politics he meant to support. This, too, was again declined, as pledging the independence of the paper. And, be it observed, respecting the whole period during which the present conductor has now spoken, that it was from no determinate spirit of opposition to Government that he rejected the proposals made to him. On the contrary, he has on several, and those very important, occasions, afforded those men his best support, whose efforts, nevertheless, at any time, to purchase, or whose attempts to compel that support he has deemed himself obliged to reject and resist. Nay, he can, with great truth, add that advantages in the most desirable forms have been offered him, and that he has refused them. Having thus established his independence during the several administrations whose measures it has been his office to record, he will not omit the occasion which offers to declare that he equally disclaims all and any individual influence, and that when he offers individual praise it is from a sense of its being particularly due to the character which calls it forth."

This document may be taken as the manifesto of the *Times;* its great Charter, the embodiment at once of its general principles of action, and its special relation to public men. To say that it has failed to lead or accompany public opinion in certain cases where public opinion nevertheless has effected great and beneficial changes in the State is to affirm a simple historical fact. It has

had righteous opposition on public grounds, but it remained a unit on the path it first marked out for itself; and it lives. The supporters of the *Chronicle* dropped away, died off, or were converted to the other side in the course of years. The *Courier* made an error in its choice of patrons when the choice was a crucial one, and never regained its foothold on the Hill of Difficulty. Some journalists achieved honours from the crown; some retired with great wealth. The *Times* had no honours, and knew no retirements, from any cause. Here we will conclude this brief glance at the history of the leading journal. Even with respect to the perfection of its tools, its machinery and its workmanship, the object of the founder of the *Times*, in his new system of printing by words, roots, and terminations, is carried out to the fullest extent, only with an adaptation to changing times, and a regard to new inventions. Of its difficulties in the Law Courts, the *Times* rarely has made any undue talk. It had its share of those difficulties, and no more than its share, in the years from 1789 to some time after the end of the war; but it acted generally on the principle that in its purely business affairs—that is where no public object was involved—its readers could not be expected to take an interest, and would not care to be instructed. To all appearance, however, it will before long be expected with other journals to undertake a duty in defence of the freedom of the press from certain new, vexatious, and often absurd applications of the law of libel. The proprietors of the *Times* have, on their own part of late years, been made to pay very heavy penalties, and costs, in stupid cases where no culpability was even hinted at by those who represented the prosecutions; and if criticism on public men, and more than all on trade dishonesty, is not to be altogether stifled, the law of libel will possibly have to be met in some different way than by the mere payment of any costs that a jury may award. If the law, as may appear a little farther on in this chapter, did not concern the Press itself, but some other social interest, it would long before now have been attacked by every journal of mark in the kingdom. As it is journalists of mark from a not unnatural sensitiveness where

their individual interest is concerned, as a rule leave the question of the commercial dangers of the law of libel to their lesser brothers, who occasionally claim rights or license never dreamt of in the higher walks of journalism.

This brief statement, taken in connection with previous references, will perhaps give a general idea of the character of especially the daily newspaper press during the twenty years of war with France, and during a few still more trying succeeding years. Yet this, after all, is but a very partial view of a wide subject. We must pass over a number of papers, which those already noticed may be said to represent. There were, however, the satirical papers. There was the *Anti-Jacobin* (1797-98), Canning's project and means of striking deadly blows against his political antagonists. The *Age* (Tory), and the *Satirist* (Whig), were of a later date. To Mr. Canning belongs part of the honour, such as it is, of the parentage of a vile system of satire, the rebound of which may be traced in every journal throughout the country for more than a quarter of a century. The plan he laid down, and for which he afterwards paid bitterly, was to misrepresent every word uttered, and every step taken by the opponents of Pitt. There was no regard for accuracy. Private character and public virtue alike were lampooned, and as every telling word was copied into every paper on the side of ministers, and indeed into most opposition papers throughout the kingdom, the *Anti-Jacobin* had an immense influence. Its weapon of unscrupulous satire was one of the means of Canning's success; but not as Hone stated one of the chief means. He had the faculty of writing and speaking brilliantly and cuttingly, and, in right or wrong, most effectively on any subject; and, unless all evidence is at fault, his brilliance was very often directed merely to the objects of his party.

One other healthy power there was in the Press in *Cobbett's Register*, which brought many an unscrupulous journalist to his right level, and which no journalist of whatever ability or position could disregard. Reference has been made in earlier chapters to the literary work of Cobbett in America; to his

pro-English and anti-American "Peter Porcupine," whose pungent patriotism fell foul of all Americans of note, and of their English friends—Washington, Franklin, Dr. Priestley, and all whom they represented, and which absolutely gibbeted Thomas Paine. The natural result of these and other writings was several actions for libel, from which Cobbett escaped by flight to England in 1800, where he soon afterwards began that new "Porcupine," to which reference has been previously made. His *Political Register* followed, and in spite of the editor's proved predilections for Church and King, and his avowed enmity to the rogues who complained of harsh laws, the Government soon found that his writings would need careful looking after. His reply was the reduction of the *Register* to twopence a copy. Henceforth, Cobbett, standing alone, was virtually a Fifth Estate in the realm; King, Lords, and Commons—the Press, in grooves or out of grooves; and, for a time, Cobbett, "for his own hand," opposed both to Whig and Tory, to Reformers and Anti-Reformers. He was to all appearance the one best modern type of the Ishmael of patriarchal times in the sense of having a hand against every man, and every man's hand against him; but in reality he was the representative of a party of his own in every English town, and in almost every English village. Lord Lytton's beautiful conception, "My Novel," represents certain generous qualities that were opposed to the Radical packman and shoemaker who were believed to disturb the peace of villages, and upset the presumed heretofore cordial relations of the wealthy and the poor; but Lord Lytton, with all his marvellous power, and all his real catholicity and patriotism, only took into account one phase of the great drama that was transpiring at the time to which his work relates. His model cottagers were akin to, but altogether different from, the model cottagers of those almost fatal tracts that two or more generations of English workmen have laughed to scorn. The author of "My Novel" and "The Caxtons," could have pictured many kinds of human life more readily than that of the "goody" man whom tract writers made to talk nonsense. Cobbett found men of a darker and gloomier texture to whom to appeal; and he appealed to them

with an effect which outstripped the power of any other journalist. Mr. Grant tells us that Mr. Black, who succeeded Mr. Perry as editor of the *Morning Chronicle*, and who hardly feared any one, dreaded Cobbett, and was acutely sensitive to every word he wrote. One important service of Cobbett's to the press was his bold departure from the professional grooves. A certain class of men had seized upon literature as their right, and probably if the ex-soldier had sought for a post on any of the existing journals, he would at first have been derided. He did better; he made his own place and work, and thoroughly inconsistent as it often was, he made it a place and work of marvellous power; and at times of such grandeur as is only seen once in a generation.

The *Weekly Dispatch* and the *Examiner* have in some respects a history nearly akin; they were both intended as journals broadly critical, and the former in the course of years found its way into every workshop, while the latter formed the opinion of the middle class of the community by means of a trenchant ability, which at different periods when great questions were agitating the public mind, could not be disregarded by any class of politicians in power or in opposition. Within the recollection of persons not necessarily beyond what is called the turn of life, the *Dispatch*, a sixpenny newspaper, was purchased weekly by little bodies of perhaps four or six workmen, who read it in turn, or perhaps in company, and appropriated the old copies in rotation or at some stated time. This was the course taken by some very poor men, to whom a sum of twopence or even a penny a week was important. Indeed, in its most flourishing days the fact of taking and reading or altogether disowning the *Dispatch* was in many parts of England the mark of an extreme Tory or an extreme Radical. Its articles were often among the best in the London press, and some written by Mr. W. J. Fox, would compare to this day with the best of newspaper writing. It was uncompromisingly Radical, and in its admirable literary selections it gave to men to whom literature had hitherto been altogether closed a new world of beauty and enjoyment. The *Dispatch* dates from 1801. It was begun by Mr. Bell, proprietor

of *Bell's Weekly Messenger*, and went for some time under the title of *Bell's Weekly Dispatch.*

The *Examiner* was first brought out in 1808, by the brothers Leigh and John Hunt. It was announced as a thoroughly Liberal Independent journal, and at the head of its front page stood the significant words: "Party is the madness of the many for the gain of the few;" a motto since exchanged for certain well-known words of Defoe's, partly to the same effect, but implying further that if a man resolves on a course of strict impartiality as a writer, he may expect martyrdom from all sides, and then he may go on his way fearlessly. Mr. Grant says the two brothers were warmly attached to each other, a fact not so generally known as that "Mr. Leigh Hunt was a man of the most gentle and genial nature and was universally beloved." Reference has been made to the fierce onslaught on the two brothers in the Law Courts, when their paper was only four years old, and how after one triumph they were caught for ridiculing "the first gentleman," or rather some stupid and fulsome writing that had appeared in his praise in the *Morning Post.* In 1820 Mr. John Hunt was charged with a libel on the House of Commons, and was again sentenced to two years' imprisonment. On the death of Mr. Hunt the journal fell to Mr. Albany Fonblanque, termed by some the foremost journalist of his age; and then to Mr. John Forster, the friend, biographer and generous helper of Mr. Dickens, and notable besides that for literary work that will not readily pass away. The *Examiner* dared to be Radical when the persons to whom it chiefly appealed, in its literary columns, its book notices, and its dramatic and art criticisms, were not at all likely to brook so obnoxious a political creed. It, in fact, did for Radicalism what men like Milton, Bunyan, Baxter, and Howe in past times did for the Puritans, and Dr. Adam Clarke for the Methodists; it showed that a man might work with persons of very extreme views, at times very strongly stated, and aim with them as to practical results in politics, and all the same possess culture and taste and the friendship of persons whose names, altogether beyond Party, would characterise the time in which they lived.

In marked contrast to the high tone of the *Examiner*, Mr. Grant gives us the following first words of the first article in the *John Bull* in 1820:—"We commence our paper without comment or prospectus. Our object is speaking plain truth, and we will do our duty. The shameful licentiousness of a prostituted press, the infamous tendencies of the caricatures which issue from every sink of vice and infamy in and near the metropolis, the inflammatory speeches of knaves and fools, the absurd, unmeaning addresses to the Queen, and the libellous and treasonable animus given to them, are banes to our constitution, which call loudly for an antidote." Referring to Queen Caroline in a subsequent part of the same opening article, the *John Bull* says:—"On the subject of this sickening woman we shall enter into no arguments or discussions, because they go for nothing at this period of her adventures." Mr. Theodore Hook was editor, but, Mr. Grant says, not wishing to be known in that capacity, he wrote a letter to himself, denying the fact which he said had been alleged in connection with his name. Then he wrote a note for the paper, assuring Mr. Hook—that is himself—that "conceit is most abundant where talent is most scarce," and that the *John Bull* has no need or wish to be associated with him. Mr. Grant adds that "the Rev. Mr. Barham, author of the 'Ingoldsby Legends,' though a personal friend of Mr. Hook, confesses that for sheer impudence the thing might be admitted to 'defy competition.'" Well, assuredly, it was a pitiable proceeding, and one that no journalist in London, or anywhere, need ever wish to see repeated. There are cases known to the present writer in which it has been very nearly imitated, and under circumstances equally ignoble; but a wretcheder or more dishonouring story does not exist in the history of the press. No editor with any high conception of the dignity of his office would adopt the poor sham of evading responsibility by writing a letter to himself; but to see the practice in its true light the fault needs to be exaggerated into a gross falsehood, like the one Mr. Grant alleges against Mr. Theodore Hook. In this beginning of the *John Bull* surely there is something far less noble, far more reprehensible, far more

degrading to the press than the "Black Dwarf" of Mr. Wooler, or the "Poor Man's Guardian," to which we shall now allude, of Mr. Henry Hetherington. In the wildest work of Wooler and Hetherington there was at least a conscience.

It was not till the newspaper press had become a great power in the land that men dared to demand, after other trifling remissions, the abolition of the Stamp, Advertisement, and Paper Duties. The complete abolition of what became known as the "taxes on knowledge" was a new era in the history of the press, and as usual there was needed a great battle as a preliminary to a great victory. That the revenue accruing from the taxes was not the main consideration in the minds of the persons who called the imposts into being, or the persons who maintained them, never was disputed. There was, as of old, "the danger." The never-failing, never-changing, cry arose about the sun of England setting for ever, this time for certain. "Areopagitica," however, was passing calmly on to the last of its two centuries of battle; the latest of its two centuries of victory. Few persons who cannot remember so long ago as thirty years are aware how severely the press laws rested on the adults of that time. Even on such a trifling article of reading as an almanack the tax amounted to perhaps twelve times the amount of the actual cost of production. Of course the law was evaded. One instance will show the nature of many. A nautical almanack published in the Isle of Man had active agents in every seaport town on both sides of the English coast, and not only was every sailor an almanack smuggler, but almost every house, on the west coast at least, had a copy of the contraband article. The stamp on newspapers—fourpence on a sevenpenny paper—had simply the effect of curtailing the sale of a journal, not so much effect in curtailing the number of its readers, because the rule noticed in the case of the *Weekly Dispatch* of poor men's newspaper clubs prevailed with respect to every London and provincial newspaper. And the clubs increased in strength as readers generally increased in number. In 1831 the above-mentioned well-known London Radical, Mr. Hetherington, published his little newspaper or periodical

entitled, the "Poor Man's Guardian," and boldly set the law at defiance, actually marking his paper as published contrary to law. The publication was smuggled on a large scale. The publisher was fined and imprisoned, but his work went on; and eventually the "Poor Man's Guardian" was declared by a jury to be by its form beyond the scope of the Act. The trial was in the Court of Exchequer. The jury, which Lord Lyndhurst directed, found that the publication was "not a newspaper." William Lovett says that when the "Poor Man's Guardian" began in 1831, Mr. Hetherington had a fine publishing business, which was speedily destroyed. The struggle with the law officers continued upwards of five years, during which time five hundred people in different parts of the country were imprisoned for the sale of this one paper alone. The general prosecutions were very numerous, and often very oppressive. Apart from his evasion of the Stamp Duty Mr. Hetherington was difficult to deal with. Among extreme men he was characteristically extreme. He openly advocated republican government with direct reference to England. In his writing or speaking he was "Citizen Hetherington;" the King of France (Charles X.), "Charles Capet;" the King of England, "William Guelph." Much of the language, too, was wild, but it was often clever, and the man was not merely of indomitable hardihood and courage, but he was capable of sacrifice. He did what a man with more regard for private interests would have failed in doing; he defied, and in the end, defeated the Stamp Duty. How he sent out "dummy" packages by the front door of his shop to be seized by the police, while he smuggled out the contraband article by the back; how he passed in and out, disguised as a Quaker, among the very men waiting to apprehend him, while some poor fellow, dressed in the clothes of the arch-sinner, was carried before the magistrates as the veritable Henry Hetherington, are among the stories that the men who knew the London of 1831 still tell. And very humorous stories some of them are.

It is not the object here to tell at length of the victory with which the name of Mr. Milner Gibson is so honourably

connected, and which signified the final and absolute abolition of the taxes on knowledge. The year 1860 was a great year for Mr. Gibson. It was notable also in connection with the Paper Duty as placing Mr. Gladstone in the light in which history will view him as the most redoubtable antagonist of mere privilege known to this generation. The Stamp Duty reduced from fourpence to a penny in 1836, the Advertisement Duty was grappled with; and in 1853 the House of Commons suggested its total repeal. Mr. Gladstone, then Chancellor of the Exchequer in the Government of Lord Aberdeen, demurred to the total repeal, and proposed a reduction from eighteenpence to sixpence. An amendment to substitute 0 for sixpence was carried by a majority of one; and on even that doubtful defeat, which the whipper-in might easily have converted into a victory, Mr. Gladstone gracefully gave way. Then the Paper Duty came forward to claim a decent burial, and in 1860, Mr. Gladstone, again at the head of the Exchequer in the Government of Lord Palmerston, proposed to abolish the duty. This time the Lords objected. The proposal came from Manchester, and hence was Radical. The Chancellor of the Exchequer. too, had a fashion of speaking warmly, fervidly, when once his sympathies had been won; and he certainly made no attempt to sugar-coat the pill, but rather he caused it to seem more like bitter aloes than it was. Moreover, public affairs had had a vexatious turn to the House of Lords. The Palmerston ministry, to all appearance effectually crushed by its defeat on the Conspiracy to Murder Bill, in the beginning of 1858, had displaced Lord Derby's Government at the middle of 1859, and Mr. Milner Gibson, who represented the struggle of the Anti-Corn Law League, was President of the Board of Trade. The Lords had all along been thinking that a stand must be made somewhere. They would make it at the Paper Duty. And they did, "chuckling the while like a hen that had laid an egg." The history of the after proceedings is well known. "Touch a money bill!" people said, "they will next take away the mace." Mr. Bright denounced the Lords at Manchester, which had so short a time previously rejected him as its member, and under

circumstances so painful. In all parts of the land reasonable and unreasonable talk was heard of the Lords' aggression. Then Lord Palmerston stepped to the front, complimented the House of Lords, and was in his turn complimented by Mr. Disraeli; after which the House of Commons accepted resolutions affirming the privilege of the House. Still, the Lords were in possession of the field, and if Lord Palmerston only had been concerned probably the question had been quietly set aside. Mr. Gladstone, however, took a different view of public affairs. The Commons were right; the Lords were wrong; the Commons should not be defeated. Next year he made the repeal of the Paper Duty a feature of his Budget, and in this form it was beyond the power of the Lords. Lord Derby was furious, but he was also powerless, and the duty on paper passed away for ever. Altogether it was pretty as a drama. Mr. Wade, in his excellent "Chronology," says that on the reduction of the Stamp Duty in 1836 the number of newspapers published rose at once from 397 to 458, and their aggregate circulation was 53,496,207. Mr. Grant supplies some interesting figures, prepared by Mr. Francis, then editor of the *Athenæum*, for Mr. Baines, M.P. for Leeds, who read them to the House of Commons in 1864, in moving for an extension of the elective franchise. He says that in 1831, when the Stamp Duty was fourpence and the Paper Duty threepence per pound weight, the circulation of copies was 38,648,314; in 1864 the circulation in London alone was 205,462,400, and in the United Kingdom, 546,059,400. In 1870, Mr. Grant says, the circulation would not be less than 700,000,000. No man did more for the great social reform of the removal of the Paper Duty than Mr. Charles Knight, as no man had done more under all the difficulties of publication to send out over all the land a flood of cheap, wholesome, and instructive publications. Men like Charles Knight, Leigh Hunt, and William and Robert Chambers had two sorts of opposition to contend with—publications like those of Mr. Hetherington, and publications like those foolish tracts to which reference has been made. It was a grim venture, but the resolute publishers of literature at once pure and intellectual

won the day. It had been predicted that the result of the removal one by one of the taxes on knowledge would cause the land to be inundated with cheap papers whose attraction would be in their vileness. Cheap and bad papers there are, and not a few, but there need be no hesitation in saying that with the cheapening of publications people have been able to purchase higher literature at the price of the lower—nay, the highest literature at the price of the lowest; and who will say that the boon has been passed by without an appreciation of its value? Week by week literature as pure as Addison's best essays now finds its way into the cottages of poor men. Let the reader think of it, and think of the age of good Queen Anne. Then, say, has not there been something which a man may honestly to himself, in his closet, not in rodomontade before a public meeting, call progress?

May it not be said also that the newspaper press is freer from abusive language than it was sixty years ago? When Dr. Stoddart took upon him to print a string of curses against Napoleon, he so greatly offended against good taste that he lost his post; but men offended every day in more polished terms against the same taste and with impunity. One of the raciest treats of a country town from 1800 or earlier till party power was broken by the general and municipal Reform Bills and the abolition of the Corn Laws was the weekly party fight of the two rival newspapers, or the two rival editors rather, for it appeared to be understood on both sides that the poor editors were simply to attack each other and avoid the names of the persons who stood behind them enjoying and often directing the vile warfare. At length even the most servile of editors began to see that this was an amusement which only had one side, and they in some cases took steps which introduced new features into the play. One case, the facts of which are well known to the writer, will illustrate how this was accomplished. One of two rival newspapers in a certain town a generation ago had made itself famous for its power of slander, in which it left its rival far behind. It is unnecessary to say whether the successful slanderer was Whig or Tory, for the difference between the two

was only one of vituperative power, not by any means of will. The weekly treat to the community was of the richest kind. The editor who fought with least ability was pilloried and vilified beyond endurance, and at last gave up his post in despair. Another man then took the dreadful chair, and waited for the attack, which speedily appeared. He made a very brief reply to his brother editor, but made a fierce one on the people behind the scenes, and announced his determination to continue the onslaught weekly till the rival paper became decent. An old man who remembered the proceedings, in relating the facts, said, "If a bombshell had fallen in the camp it could not have caused greater consternation." That an editor should be reviled till he looked foolish in the street was amusement, but that a person on the county bench should be so treated was as if the furies had been let loose in the town. Respectable gentlemen, whose wives and daughters had enjoyed the onslaughts of their favourite editor, began to ask, "Why *do* you write so outrageously? It is a public scandal." And so it was, but the light to see it was new. To use an old but expressive proverb, "the shoe at last began to nip," and the system was abandoned; or rather was reserved for elections, and then with the clear understanding that with the week after the declaration of the poll the weapons were to be laid aside. We shall see in the course of this chapter, if, indeed, it is necessary to show to anyone, how far the press is from the high ground of freedom from slander and abuse, from low and vulgar personality, when in the hands of low and vulgar persons. But we may take it for granted that never before were there so many influences in a nobler direction. A man may now be just and fair, and may hate the filth and venom of personality and slander, and nevertheless may succeed.

Recurring once again to the days when the press was dreaded by persons in power, it will be evident that after the Star Chamber the one most effective means of crushing freedom was the law of libel, and that, as point after point was gained in favour of unlicensed printing, the persons chiefly concerned were misled into the belief that all had been gained, and that the

press was then free. The memorable struggle between Lord Mansfield, representing what may be called the Tory view, and Lord Camden, representing the Liberal view, ended in the retreat of the former great Lord Chief Justice from the field of controversy. The point then at issue was capable of being put into a convenient form as a gage of battle. Did the province of a jury in cases of libel extend no farther than whether a man had or had not written certain words, and whether certain blanks in his writing meant what they were said by the prosecution to mean? If Lord Mansfield's view had prevailed, there had been an end of trial by jury so far as cases of libel were concerned, and even after his judgment had been thoroughly riddled by Junius and Wilkes, and beaten by Lord Camden—nay, even in the teeth of Mr. Fox's Libel Bill of 1792, which explicitly made juries the authority both as to the fact and the law, it was no uncommon thing to find eminent judges recurring to the principle of Lord Mansfield as the true principle of English jurisprudence. In several notable cases it required all the eloquence of Erskine and other able advocates to rebut and defeat the obnoxious doctrine, which some of the judges clung to as if it involved the dignity and even character of the Bench. Time after time the position seemed won; time after time it had to be re-won in as hard a fight as before. Then another difficulty arose. The Crown—that is, the ministry—made out for London a jury list, which at certain periods with which we have been concerned placed at the mercy of the Government the liberty or life of almost every person who was tried for libel, sedition, or treason. Mr. Pearson did not go too far when he said at the meeting after Hone's trials that under that system men had been unjustly put to death, and many men unjustly imprisoned or transported. The jury list was revised; and the cry was again raised that the press was now free. Mr. Pearson's services were not so easily seen as Lord Camden's had been, and consequently did not evoke equal enthusiasm; but where they were seen, as in the Common Council of London, and by such men as assembled at the City of London Tavern after Lord Ellenborough's defeat in 1817

they were highly esteemed, and warmly and justly acknowledged. It must have occurred to some, however, even then, that a mere administrative victory would require a continued battle if its advantages were to be perpetuated. It is a simple matter of fact that juries were packed after the great and valuable changes of 1817; changes which for the time effectually checkmated the Government of Lord Liverpool. The changes in the law of libel may be briefly stated.

In 1792 the great bill of Mr. Fox became law, as we have seen. Henceforth juries were empowered to judge alike of the facts and the law. There remained the question as to their use of the power secured to them by this statute, which from henceforth to the present time has been the safeguard of the public in cases where justice has been arrayed against authority. During the time when the Government of Lord Liverpool was in the flush of its great victories of repressive legislation, an Act (Geo. III. cap. 8) directed against "blasphemous and seditious libels" made the crime specified in the Act punishable on a second conviction by transportation beyond the seas. This power was taken away by an Act (1 William IV. cap. 73), which on the other hand, required proprietors of new papers to find sureties. By an Act (6 and 7 Victoria, cap. 96) it was provided that a person pleading to an information for a defamatory libel might in defence allege the truth of the matter charged, and further that the publication was for the public benefit, the court however having power to consider whether in case of conviction the plea should not aggravate punishment. So effectual has this check been that it is believed the plea of public benefit has not once been submitted to a jury. The Act also contains provisions against an editor or proprietor of a newspaper being held responsible, without qualification, for a libel inserted without his knowledge. He may plead that the libel was published without actual malice or gross negligence, and that at the earliest opportunity, and before action, he published a full apology in his own newspaper, or if that were published at a longer interval than a week, in some newspaper selected by the injured person; and that he had paid into court such sums as

secured fair compensation for the injury, &c. A further Act (8 and 9 Victoria, cap. 85) renders a person liable to imprisonment, with or without hard labour for three years, for threatening to publish a libel, &c., with intent to entail wrong or procure an appointment. Of course, these facts will not be understood as stated with a view to any correct definition of law, but merely as a general view of the position of the press, in these as compared with former days. The journalist knows, by experience, that he is responsible in a host of different ways. An advertisement, a letter, a paragraph, a squib, an obituary notice even, may be the vehicle of libel, and the fact that an editor was ignorant of the nature of what was inserted, and altogether free from any feeling against the person libelled, or indeed that he was, when the libel was published, ignorant of that person's existence, does not in all cases protect him from vexatious penalties.

Here then are particulars in which the press is no more free to-day than it was a century and a half ago. Nor, it must be added, can there a time come when men will be permitted to use the mighty power of printing to hurt, on needless grounds, the feelings or interests of their fellows. When a newspaper given to scandal and abuse is made to feel that there is a limit to its power for evil, the public are immediately appealed to on the ground of freedom of the press, which might, the public never fail to perceive, be made to cover any amount of iniquity. In a previous chapter we have noted the statement of Mr. Perry, of the *Morning Chronicle*, that if the law declared truth to be libel, he, on his part, would confront and defy the law. Yet the law did, does, and must declare truth to be libel when truth is used without justification on public grounds to injure any man's interests or destroy his comfort. Respectable journalists never had, nor ever can have, an interest in shielding from punishment persons whose main business in life is to vend mere scandal and abuse. Men with no sense of responsibility, with no power to write what it would be to the advantage of any human being to read, can easily enough seize upon some fact or concoct some fallacy to wound and injure. There are persons who are born scandal-

mongers, whose lives are spent in misrepresenting the motives and acts of all with whom they come in contact. Society may abhor while it is unable to reach and punish the possessor of a vile and unhallowed tongue; but when the power of the vile tongue is multiplied a thousandfold by means of printed words, society can, and ever will, bring the heavy hand of the law on the promulgator of scandal. If it could not do this the whole fabric of social life would fall asunder. Speaking in general terms, the law of libel is a protection to the journalist who rests on the grounds of justice and fact, devoid of personal animosity or interested motives. When a journal of mark and position, either in London or any provincial town, is charged with libel, it is generally on the ground of the indiscretion of some subordinate writer or correspondent, very rarely on that of an editorial article; and if the error committed is at once and fairly set right, there is not much to fear from the verdict of an intelligent jury.

In this sense of the moral responsibility of writers, it is not too much to say that the one man to whom the freedom of the press has owed most in this generation is Mr. Carlyle, who nevertheless has been to it, so far as newspapers are concerned, the most unmerciful of satirists, and who, in his stern reproof, never has spared one of its foibles or falsenesses. Mr. Carlyle came to London with a pen for work; not, in any respect, with a pen for sale. His style was the counterpart of his thought, and people were not slow to pronounce it no style at all, but affected pedantic mannerism. The natural difficulties in his way were great, and in the eyes of many people he stepped out of his way to create more, as in the very wantonness of a new order of barbarism. One lesson he held up from the first, both by precept and example—a lesson that would have been useful to the journalists of any time, and he holds it up still, and he will bequeath it as his noblest legacy to his countrymen: the lesson that for no inducement, under no circumstances whatever, shall a man pen a line or a word, the truth of which he has reason to doubt. Not for the service of party, however laudable the object of party for the moment may be or may seem; not for

bread; not for anything whatever. It was as a message from heaven to newspapers, in many cases to the last degree servile, in few brave enough to decline to serve friends in the wrong, or to oppose enemies who were in the right. Freedom to state all truth, Mr. Perry and those who acted with him in 1817 said. Mr. Carlyle, in his quaint way, would have said—Freedom to state no fiction—a phase of the question rarely taken into account. He would not have asked any one for freedom to state truths that his conscience told him ought to be stated. But then neither would he have stated a truth calculated, without public object, to injure any human being. The freedom of the press involves responsibility of the press; and Mr. Carlyle has shown us that both involve and require a grave and earnest purpose if they are to be properly used.

When we hear talk at the present time about freedom of the press, what in most cases is meant or implied? Is it freedom from party—from advertisers who pay for place in one column of a paper that they may have improper and misleading support in another? Not at all. The general claim is for freedom from the action of the law courts, and often for freedom to hold a chastising rod over the heads of peaceful and retiring people. Many persons who write most strongly about the freedom of the press have to learn that a newspaper may be one of the strongest or one of the weakest facts in a community. When a journalist has placed it beyond dispute that no personal feeling will sway him as a writer; that his bitterest enemy shall not receive unjust treatment, and that his best friend shall not turn the journal one iota from the path of rectitude; that it shall be his pleasure and pride to encourage the young to learn—at school, and after school-years—and those of more matured years to push forward in industrious and laudable pursuits; that he will not hesitate to strike at vice, however powerful, if it is leading others to vice; while he will hesitate long before satirising virtue, even though it appeal to him and others in language the most imperfect and incorrect—then he may venture very far without arraying against himself the moral sense and feeling of a community, large or small. The

path is difficult, but that it is practicable has been, and is being, proved by many laborious and conscientious journalists whose names are very little heard of; while it is being altogether set at nought by journalists who, apart from the check of the law of libel, would be unmitigated evils to society.

Shall it then be said that because the press is liable to abuse, and because it has been, and is abused, that the term "freedom of the press" has in these days become an unmeaning term? It would be a misfortune if any such idea prevailed among Englishmen. The true freedom of the press involves a never-ceasing battle. The amendments in the law of libel cover a vast ground, and may be said to provide for nearly all cases in which the complaints are real. They do not, however, as we have seen, provide for all cases, and there are cases in which they may and do prove cruelly oppressive to honest journalists. It is possible for a wealthy person to bring an action on some technical ground, on which he knows that he cannot fail to obtain a verdict, and with respect to which, nevertheless, the editor or proprietor of a newspaper, although entirely guiltless of anything like intentional libel, may be ruined. In this respect there is a terrorism more baneful to a community than anything of the same kind wielded, with respect to private individuals, by low newspapers. In a country town—not, of course, a town like Manchester, Leeds, Birmingham, Bradford, Glasgow, or Dundee, but a small town, where the great men are greater than any others elsewhere—an amount of courage is often needed faithfully to discuss public affairs with distinct and pointed reference to local men. Yet the editor who fails in that courage fails entirely in his vocation. He becomes the mere tool of a party; and when he is so far willing to sacrifice his individuality, the party itself soon make him of small account. Why should not a small town pride itself on the tone and character of its newspaper or newspapers exactly as it prides itself on the character of its schools and other public institutions? If the same body of persons were founding a colony, they would probably be very anxious indeed as to who undertook the newspaper of the colony. They would conclude

that upon that person would depend whether the people had accurate or inaccurate intelligence; whether the paper when issued might be safely left, without any previous inspection of it, to find its way into the hands of young people; whether, if the occasion demanded, a representation of some great common interest of the colony could be made with honour and effect. Instead of this being the fact at home, a country newspaper has frequently only one of two courses open to it. In most cases, either it must depend on a party, which generally means a small clique of the community, and so remain in poverty and dependence, or it must strike out its own way, set principles and parties at defiance, till it gain the secure mercantile position from whence it can fight wealth with wealth. Then it, too, can wield the terrors it previously dreaded, and its tone does not gain from the ordeal through which it has passed.

Moreover, with respect to the law of libel, certain classes of persons are beginning to find that it is easier and pleasanter to attack in the law courts a paper of wealth and distinction, than to attack one which a successful action at law would utterly ruin. In a recent action, the case of "Rubery and Sampson," an action resting on paragraphs which appeared in the *Times* as far back as 1872, Mr. Sampson, but really the *Times*, was defeated after prolonged litigation, and it is reported at a cost to the real defendants of no less than 5,000*l*. The action here might probably have been averted by an apology; but an apology, in a case where the wrong was altogether disputed, would have been degradation, and would have rendered newspapers powerless to deal with what they deemed commercial frauds. The action was fought to the end, and the *Times* was defeated. No one dreamt of imputing culpability to the editor, and looking at Mr. Sampson's paragraphs, afterwards re-published, it would be exceedingly difficult to come to any different conclusion with respect to them. They have all the appearance of a simple desire to put the public on their guard against what the writer supposed a fraud. Here was a case in which the money-editor of a journal, basing his remarks on those of an American paper, without any possibility of knowledge on his own part of

the persons concerned, warned the public against what he deemed a speculative pitfall. The jury found that Mr. Rubery had suffered loss, and they returned a verdict accordingly. That verdict, of course, cannot in any case be disputed. But supposing, on the other hand, Mr. Sampson had won, to whom would he have looked for a recoupment of his costs? Whatever security there might be in Mr. Rubery's case—and of that the writer here knows nothing, it would be easy to conceive a case in which if such an action had been defeated, the defendant might have looked long and far before he had obtained a pound of the money. In like manner an irresponsible writer, sub-editor, reporter, correspondent, or even advertiser might inadvertently, or in the last case designedly, place the proprietors of any one of the best journals in England in a position from which there could be no escape without a large money fine. Nothing is needed but "a man of straw" to bring the action, a sharp-witted, unscrupulous solicitor to supply the funds and brains, and the question is settled. This state of affairs will not always be endured by English newspapers. Something assuredly will be devised to cause a man to consider well before he brings an action for libel. A prosecutor and his solicitor should not be able to say—"Winning, win all; losing, lose nothing." The freedom of the press—the right, just freedom of which Englishmen have long boasted—demands that when a public object can be shown in any line of criticism, and where a private motive is impossible, a purely vexatious action, if defeated, shall be punished. It would be insufferable that fair comment on public affairs or public men should be liable to an action at law at any moment. As the law stands the difficulties of libel are greater than ever they were before, because now, at last, it is not a question as between the oppressor and the oppressed, but mainly one as between the whole nation, on the one hand, and failure of the law to reach the object against which it is directed on the other. If a private person is injured by a journal, the law properly provides that he shall have redress, and the poorer he is, there is only the greater reason that the redress should be within his reach. To provide that a journal shall not be sued

without reason by a person who can, in case of defeat, make no reparation, is one problem that remains to be solved.

Take, again, a recent case of the *Examiner*. Two well-known poets, rightly or wrongly, had become angry with each other, and had given expression to their feelings in fierce and vexatious language. The editor was induced to publish a portion of this language, the drift of which placed him in a position not unlike that of the House of Commons in the case of the ingenious printer who, when the House resolved that its debates should not be published, fell back upon the device of publishing the debates of a Roman senate, and giving to the speakers on English affairs classical names. The editor published, as he believed, remarks on things in general, and then found that he had been cutting Mr. Buchanan to the quick unwittingly, while only conscious of cutting him among people generally. The damages awarded were small, but the cost to the proprietor of the paper must of course be altogether out of proportion to the fine. The severest critics said that if fault there was, the fault was Mr. Swinburne's; but the law was clear that the proprietor might be made amenable, and he was at the mercy of the view a jury might take of the error of Mr. Swinburne or the damage sustained by Mr. Buchanan. The battle of these two gentlemen was, in a marked sense, their own; but the journal was technically responsible. These two instances are taken simply because they are so clearly cases in which the real defendants never were accused of being parties to the alleged libels. Of course so far from the *Times* being less culpable than other papers in any real and wilful case of libel, its influence and authority would only make its delinquency the greater. Here was an instance in which a commercial speculation for which British capital was invited was denounced from an undoubtedly public motive in the country where the capital would be procured, and, to put the public on their guard, a liability was faced, and (according to rumour apparently well authenticated) this heavy cost incurred. In the case of the *Examiner* a different feature of the law of libel was appealed to, with success. The two cases show—and many similar ones

might be adduced—how possible it is even yet to make the law of libel to fall ruinously on persons who are innnocent of the intention to libel, who do use care in their professional avocations, and who can plead a public motive. No journalist, it may be repeated, has any interest in modifying the law of libel for the protection of one wilful libeller. All journalists have an interest in watching carefully the operation of a law which, while capable of being used as an advertisement for evil-doers, slanderers, and panderers to vice, may be made to break up and destroy the property and prospects of those who try hard as honest men "to do well." Many recipes have been given for avoiding the dread evil of libel cases, but they are generally technical and inelastic, and fail when needed. The only safe rule is the habitual regard for good-feeling and neighbourliness in a community, and a strict regard for just comment on friend or foe. The journalist who is ready to infuse a little venom here, and a little there, for the mere purpose of stinging his enemies or the enemies of those with whom he associates, never is out of danger. The journalist who is ever on the watch to lend a helping hand here or there where it may be needed, by patient merit or thought, or skill in labour, who looks rather for that which is worthy than that which is unworthy, but who nevertheless meets vice or crookedness in public action as an unalterable foe, is generally safe. People gather around such a man in the end, and tell him that he belongs, as an institution, to the community in which he lives, and which he serves. The motto of a high dignity, "I serve," implied of old something the reverse of servility, and it carries to this day a good old-world lesson, though far short of the highest. For that we must go back centuries farther—to the Great Teacher, who came not to be ministered unto, but to minister—to serve. No prouder law can be looked to by the journalist who would do his duty as a man in his generation, who abhors law courts, but who would face any court, or all the courts in the world, rather than apologise for what he does with a calm and sincere purpose, and what after consideration does not show him to be improper or wrong.

It is not too much to say, also, that if it be necessary to check and limit by just and right rules the operation of the law of libel, it is possible that an equally strenuous resolution will be needed to limit and restrain the power of judges to fine or imprison for contempt of court. There are, beyond doubt, cases in which a judge may very properly restrain the publication of evidence, but the exercise of the power requires careful and continuous watching on the part of the press. Judges cannot, any more than other men, be trusted with irresponsible power. A case came under the present writer's notice some little time ago in which, after a trial of great interest in a country town was finished, no newspaper of the town, or perhaps county, offered a word of comment upon it, or even presented a digest of the evidence. They simply published reports of what transpired in court. There can hardly be a doubt that in this particular case what was dreaded was the law of libel and the law of contempt of court; and that, to save trouble, the naturally expected comment or digest was abandoned. There is a duty which editors owe to the press, to manfully resist judges when they use unfairly the power they possess, to inflict punishment for contempt of court, and to take care, and at all risks, that the law of libel shall not be suffered to restrict fair and reasonable comment. That is, a publicist has another duty besides that of stern morality; he has the duty, professed by him, of supplying intelligence, and of assisting to make that intelligence as clear as possible to those who may be unable to find time for a careful examination of a mass of evidence. This duty involves a right which not even a judge should be allowed to infringe without good reason, and if he have what he deems such reason, it ought to be reason upon which the journalist can himself decide. Hardly a case of importance comes before a law-court without eliciting from the judge a notification that the press must be silent till judgment is given. The absurdity of this, so far as reports are concerned, is in the fact that the theory of the law courts is entire publicity. Every man in England has a perfect right in a law court, within the bounds of convenience, and a

report of proceedings is merely securing the right to a larger number of persons than room can be found for within the four walls of the court. Of course when a judge sees that publicity would interfere with the ends of justice, the case is different, and he would be a poor Englishman who hesitated to bow—who failed to bow cheerfully—to the judicial decision. How very absurd the habit of interference with publicists may become was shown in a provincial town in the north of England while these lines were passing through the press. A chairman of a trustee board, after certain business of the board had been transacted, requested the reporters to take no notice of what was about to transpire further. The right rule in such cases, of course, is that business of which reporters are to take no note is committee business, properly transacted in private, and that the result of the committee's lucubrations is public property, and as such is laid before the general body. Apparently the fight was a drawn one, and the case is only adduced here as an instance of how the habit, which seems growing on judges, is exaggerated and made an absurdity by other persons.

Among the prosecutions of the press none in English history have failed so completely as those instituted by the House of Commons, and it may be pardonable to express a hope that prosecutions by the same august assembly may continue to fail. The members of the House of Commons have the same law of libel as other men, and they need no more. We have seen in the foregoing pages that even illustrious statesmen like Fox and Burke were not beyond the weakness of appealing to the House on the score of privilege, and so of placing themselves for the moment in the same scale with very ignoble men who claimed like protection. Honourable and right honourable gentlemen have been noted for taking objection to pen-and-ink pictures of the House, and especially of themselves as part of the House, during a debate. At times there have been sound reasons for the objection; but then the complaint on the score of privilege never had any value, beyond impressing the libel, or scandal, or what it might be, or be deemed, in at least current history. Constituents have an interest in knowing how their representatives

deport themselves on great or on little occasions in Parliament. It is useful to know even how a member speaks, and how he is listened to—what, in fact, is his influence in debate. Nay, his very by-play, and, on rare occasions, even his dress, when of extreme fashion, may serve to indicate character, and so have a public purpose. When the bounds of fair criticism or caricature are overstepped, there is the law of libel. What really should we know of Earl Russell if his cold curtness were unknown to us, or of Mr. Disraeli, if we missed the fact of his affected stony attitude while listening to a debate, or of Lord Palmerston without the straw in his mouth, or of Sir James Graham without his artful cajolery, or of Mr. Hume if he never had been pictured to us as standing, with Quaker stiffness amid the catcalls and derisive cheers of the House, or of Lord Brougham without his versatile fits and starts and his memorable plaid trousers, or of Lord Eldon—a most devout man—if we missed detecting him reading his letters during prayers in the House of Lords, or of Mr. Lowe if we had not known him astride a bicycle? For many of the best traits of Parliamentary character during the last generation we are indebted to *Punch*, and for many of the best of the passing time we still are indebted to satire. The press has a tendency to two evils—to scurrility and to over-respectability; and the latter is by no means a small evil. When the respectability grows rank and vapid, the public welcome fresh air, even though it come in a storm. When party journals in country towns begin to pay outrageous compliments to opponents, some waspish little opponent slips in between them, stings right and left, for a time, without honour or decency, and remains in the field, sometimes to become respectable in turn. In London the only difference is that a small journal cannot well glide in between large ones; the new-comer must be large too; but when it can set aside conventionalities and over-respectabilities, and still is able and piquant, it goes through the country with a rapidity that sets mercantile loss at defiance. It is one of the laws of the life of free journalism.

There yet is another important responsibility underlying the just freedom of the press—a responsibility not confined to mere

cases of libel, or slander, or indecency. It is possible for an editor to avoid the grosser faults of licentious publication, and yet do serious harm by a reckless and injudicious publication of what may be called ordinary news. Very many journalists act upon the principle that they are bound to give all news; but surely this is straining the presumed sense of duty, or carrying the greed for gain in the race of competition to an extreme which may be very detrimental. A case recently came under the writer's notice, through the press, of a girl brought before a London police-court on the charge of being found in a state of destitution. Another name was given to it, but that is what was meant. In the course of the examination by the magistrate the girl was made to confess that she had been brought to London for bad purposes, and to divulge in a whisper the occupation of her father and the town in which he lived, but begging all the time to be asked no more questions. Punishment she almost seemed to pray for; she simply craved that her friends might be spared. They were not spared. The case was reported in a London paper, and probably was copied into every paper, as it certainly was into several papers, of the district to which the girl belonged. It is difficult to see what good purpose was answered by the editors declining the responsibility of omitting such an item of news, any more than that any good purpose was served by the magistrate enforcing the confession. It is easy to see what evil results were secured. The common answer of some journalists to this argument is—"I shall have no peace if I omit news; rich people will claim preposterous things, and life will become a torment." The right rejoinder to this is, that the press, from its very nature, never can, or ought to expect peace; never can expect anything but honourable responsibility; and what responsibility can be higher or more honourable than that of daring, in the face of petty lovers of scandal, to suppress a fact which would be injurious in a sense from which there might be no escape, to persons who, without having committed crime, might be irretrievably disgraced? What is an editor in his place for but to take the responsibility of suppressing news when news

would injure innocent persons without any public end being served? This illustration might, of course, be extended to any length. It is submitted here for consideration as a Responsibility of a Free Press.

On only one point more will the reader be asked to consider any remarks in relation to this wide subject. It is generally, and on good grounds, believed that Mr. Cobden, among others, was inclined to the opinion that journalists ought to confine themselves more to supplying news, and to give less space to comment on public affairs and the views of public men. It has also been said, and also with reason, that Mr. Disraeli has of late treated journalists, especially on his own side in politics, with a hauteur bordering on insult. The reply to Mr. Cobden of an independent journalist who admired the character and life of the great free-trader, would be simply a continuance of the comment, a calm and resolute maintenance of the same right that Mr. Cobden maintained against Colonel Sibthorpe and Feargus O'Connor. An editor, unable from intellect or decision of character, to express an opinion worth reading on passing events may succeed in becoming wealthy, but he is not a man whom any community has an interest in seeing in the place of an exponent of the views of other men. A newspaper, rightly conducted, will ever be the centre of the life of a community; an editor, if he claim no more than his due, will rarely have any difficulty in obtaining that due. He may set dictation at defiance if only he will not set reason and justice at defiance. We have seen the press degraded by the titles of Parson Bates, Dr. Stoddart, and others. The press is degraded also at times by social influences. Editors have been known before to-day to work hard for invitations to dinners, for boxes at places of amusement, and so on. Need it be said that when this is the case the press is not free? Need it be added that one of the responsibilities underlying the just freedom of the press is the responsibility of individual dignity and manhood? Few persons, it is hoped by the writer, will deem these remarks offensive. They are offered in sincere good faith, not to offend any one, but as a contribution to the history of the press, and as simple

suggestions of means whereby the future of at least the newspaper press may be nobler than the past. Where truth is sacrificed to what has come to be called "sensational news," where a newspaper's own interest is considered to the detriment of greater interests, then the press to that extent is ignoble, and perhaps it may even be added, is to that extent also diverted from the true path of commercial success.

CHAPTER XXI.

LIBERTY AND RESPONSIBILITY—SECURITY AGAINST FOREIGN FOES.

Error of Workmen with Respect to the Traditions of the Nation Reconsidered—The French Revolution on Ancient Models—Value to all Times of Ancient Examples and Warnings—Perpetuation in England of the Discarded Error of Revolutionary France—The Rough Awakenings of the Crimean War; The Indian Mutiny; The Franco-Austrian War; the Expedition to Schleswig-Holstein; the American Internecine War; the War of France and Prussia—English Patriotism—Kossuth's View of England—Mazzini's Teachings and Predictions—English Views Twenty Years Ago of the Power of English Opinion—Elihu Burritt—Small Account Taken Abroad of English Public Opinion—Dangers from Barbaric Force; from Russia; the vast Power that Russia may Eventually Wield—Splendid Position of England among Nations — Loyalty of Englishmen in Foreign Lands—Question of a General Arming—The Principle Already in Operation—Undoubted and Foreshadowed New Relations of Rich and Poor in England—Certain Loss to Mankind of any Successful Attack on English Freedom—No Real Compensation in the Different Freedom of America—Jew and Greek; Insularity of the Jewish Mind—The English Glass Hive—Peace Endangered by Freedom—A Law from which there is no Escape, and which therefore entails Responsibility — The Army—Views of Military Writers—Small Danger in the Free Expression of Extreme Opinions—Number of Elements in Social Life Counteracting and Neutralizing Political Action—Some Unsolved Problems.

REFERENCE has been previously made to the mistaken position taken up by workmen, at two or three different periods of history, in regard to the national autonomy as in the face of foreign powers; to the questions put in very words:—What have we to do with the glory of England? What is the Nile, what Trafalgar, what Waterloo to men who earn their bread by the sweat of their brows? In this spirit, Wellington was termed in derision the Waterloo man. Nelson escaped in the cockpit of the Victory from being the Trafalgar man to a large

number of his countrymen. His glories were national glories for the time. Trafalgar was freely voted to be of the storied wealth of England. Even the very faults or sins of Nelson became in many instances almost virtues in the eyes of the great body of the people, when those faults were virtually condemned by persons glorying in a state of society reeking in faults of the same kind and far worse in degree. But Nelson certainly would have become the Trafalgar man when Southey's prose fiction of the "Life of Nelson" had been tested by facts and put aside as misleading. The executions in Neapolitan waters would have been recalled to mind long before the century had become ten years older than it was when Pitt and Fox and Nelson died. The spirit of the untaught masses of the people during the latter years of the war, and many of the earlier years of the peace that followed, was to view the twenty years' struggle as a merely aristocratic effort to secure class privileges at home. The view was not entirely an error either, though it was so to a great extent. The people were greatly in error when they mixed up two questions so dissimilar, and in criticising the action of a party, or of classes, disowned the traditions and heirlooms of the nation. It was one of the fundamental errors of a whole generation of Radicals. Nay, only the other day men stood up in public meetings, in Trafalgar Square, at the foot of the great sailor's statue, and elsewhere, and denounced not merely all wars, a course which might have had some foundation in reason, but also patriotism itself as a folly. They objected, as the main purpose of the meetings, to England engaging in war for Turkey, and so far the object was legitimate. They objected on what are called humanitarian grounds to England considering her own interest first in the intercourse of nations—an objection about as reasonable as to say that a tradesman should not consider his own interest first in the order of business; a line of conduct for which he would have to pay the usual penalty of misplaced philanthropy. What can properly be asked for from a tradesman is that he shall not consider his interest to the injury of another man; that he shall help and benefit other men where he can, and unite with

them loyally to do in common what cannot be accomplished individually. To be of the least service to anyone—to himself, his family, the community at large, a man must first of all pay attention to his own affairs. In this and many other respects a nation is but the individual multiplied by so many. The idea which the French Revolutionists promulgated when they invited hints and advice from the wise men of all nations for the formation of a constitution for France, derided though the idea was, and still is, has a place in history from which no derision, no power of man indeed, can displace it. One other of the standing satires against the leaders of the Revolution is connected with their continued and persistent reference to Greece and Rome when the difficulties peculiarly related to an altogether different state of society, and the laugh is echoed in history to this day. They were, however, strictly right. They appealed to the example of men whose wisdom as statesmen and devotion as patriots never have been surpassed; and in asking for hints and advice as to the formation of a government for France, the violent Republicans, wild, it may be usefully repeated, at heart, simply followed in very honourable and very honoured footsteps. The great rulers and lawgivers of antiquity sought light, often by personal and laborious travel in many lands, and always by a fair consideration of the views and experience of other men. What ancient legislators did in a way that accorded with their time, the French did in a way that accorded with theirs, and the Mikado of Japan has within a very recent period done in a way that accords with his perceptions of statesmanship in a country which begins to attract the attention of Europe as with a magnet. He has, it is said, sent out, or is sending out, men to search for a new and true faith which shall serve for a basis of public morals. It is the aim of a royal philosopher, and the most that can be said against it is that philosophers never yet have been very successful in the enunciation and perpetuation of any living religious faith. One vital truth probably is as much as any people can grasp at a time. The policy of the Mikado is simply a curious experiment, not to Japan, for the destiny of the nation may depend on it, but to

the nations that are lookers-on. The French experiment was similarly curious. The idea was brilliant. It was on the old lines of the ancient philosophers, of which so much account was made. The idea was shaken so far as England was concerned when Pitt declined to follow where France led. It collapsed entirely when the King of England went down to the English fleet to thank his brave sailors for the first of a series of naval victories which would before the end assure to the country supremacy on sea. Moreover, while the proclamations of brotherhood were carried from France throughout Europe, the guillotine in France itself was the symbol of horrors so frightful that even the most ruthless despots would only have perpetrated in private what France did in the light of day. Proclamations of liberty, equality, and brotherhood, which read like passages from the Gospels, were pointed by scenes which seemed as from pandemonium, and which ended with a military despotism. Europe, including England, must ever bear the blame of much that France in her madness perpetrated in those years; but then a statesman is bound to take into account retarding as well as assisting forces; and that is just what France forgot, and what many well-meaning Englishmen have since been forgetting on a principle half a century old. The world is larger than France, said the encyclopædists and philosophers. Humanity includes country and infinitely more. And they were right—it does. "Am I my brother's keeper?" was not put on the page of Holy Writ in vain. But country, after all, is often about as much as so many millions of people can comprehend at a time; and country is an idea to which in peril men come back for safety; to which France came back, despite all her theories of government.

Yet there were, it must be granted, Englishmen who talked enthusiastically of the principles of revolutionary France, long after even the terrible crashes at the Borodino, at Dresden, at Leipsic, and even at Waterloo; long after the Holy Alliance had been formed, and the iron heel of a half-barbarous soldiery had been pressed down on France. When Napoleon went to Berlin, and there humbled the royalty of Prussia to the dust,

levied enormous money fines which fell on all classes, demanded and obtained the young men of Prussia for his own purposes, to the degradation of themselves and their country, the Prussians knew that the one remaining bond and safeguard for them, under God, was the bond and safeguard of patriotism. The poet sent out his burning and undying songs, the great organiser and administrator worked out in silence the problem of how to secure an army and seem to have none; the poorest man, woman, and child kindled up into a living flame the sacred fire —not now of an inane philosophy, but of patriotism. The same bitter lesson was brought to the doors of France after the fall of Napoleon. The Uhlan and the Cossack were masters of French homes. Deeds were done of which Englishmen know little—dream little. Strange to say, however, the old men of 1815 had not passed away before Englishmen, in some cases of ability and great power of language, began to talk of the force of public opinion—English public opinion, in most cases—as having introduced entirely new principles into the polity of nations. Poland was crushed; Italy fettered; Hungary literally pinned to the ground; the Russians had drawn their iron cordons round Circassia, had advanced into the heart of Asia, were converting the Black Sea and the Sea of Azof into Russian lakes; yet, amid all, English opinion was presumed to be omnipotent. England, it was said, had taken the weapon stronger than the sword, and the affairs of men had been revolutionised.

Then came the rude awakening of the Crimean War; of the Indian Mutiny; of the chivalrous expedition to free Italy from the Alps to the Adriatic—the war for an idea; of the joint expedition to Schleswig-Holstein; of the sharp deadly dash of Prussia at the very heart of her old ally and rival; of the slaveholders' rebellion in America. In but one of all these was there the slightest appearance of any new rules of warfare. The Americans of the North alone showed that civilised men may some day fight without resorting to the rules of barbarians; and when the war was over the same men did what perhaps no nation ever did before after a mortal struggle: they forbore to

take away the life of even the leading rebel. A still more pointed and severe lesson remained for those who could read it rightly. The crash of the French armies in the Franco-Prussian War of yesterday led to the seizure of French territory and the occupation of much more. France was made to feel that a foreign occupation may be like iron entering into the soul. The Prussians would not, it was said, dare to put to death those, of a French population, who after certain edicts had been issued by an enemy, rose to the call of the levy *en masse;* the Prussians would not dare to retain French territory, or demand a huge war indemnity. The Prussians did all three things, and they never relaxed their hold on France till the full penalty for the histrionic proceedings of the Third Napoleon had been paid. War is still war, conquest still conquest, the degradation of a nation still enters into the life of every unit of that nation, rich or poor. If England had not been patriotic, Louis XIV. had become her master, as he became the master of her two last Stuart kings. In the years from 1795 to 1815, in spite of all current theories to the contrary, a feeling had crept through England that wherever the arms of revolutionary France had triumphed, there had been French domination; and long before the end, Pitt and those who succeeded him, might have made the nation completely their own, if they had known how to rule by a more subtle force than that of coercion or repression. No one who has ever seen an Arab city, or knows anything of the sort of life that may be found in the North-west of India, or in Persia, or in Central Asia, or Western China, or that is wielded by Russia through vast territories, dreams of old things having passed away and all things having become new in the affairs of nations. M. Louis Kossuth, after seeing a few manufacturing towns in England, came to the very sincere and not unfriendly conclusion that our population was wearing out, and that unless we could find allies on the Continent of Europe—allies whom we had assisted to be free—we should be the prey of any invader. The opinion was stated with all the freedom that so distinguished a servant of freedom, personal and national, had a right to take, but nevertheless Englishmen did not like it.

They were used to hearing of the weakness of their army and navy as to numbers, but of the fine material and of the warlike character of the population they had no doubt, and they were right, so long as the conviction did not end and evaporate in the belief that danger from foreign invasion was a mere chimera of the past. An abler man than even M. Kossuth, and an equally upright man, Joseph Mazzini, dealt with the affairs of Europe with as keen an insight and as grim a purpose as ever belonged to any human being. If M. Mazzini could have answered for the perfect revolutionary loyalty of the subject races in Europe, for the disloyalty of the armies of despotic powers, and for the absolute quiescence of the material force against which he strove to array what he deemed national intelligence, there had not, with the single exception of England, been a crowned head to-day from the Frozen Ocean to the Mediterranean. To anyone who has studied the writings of Mazzini, and revered his high faith and lofty purpose, there is something melancholy in his political predictions—in those, for instance, published twenty years or so ago in the short-lived but very honourable "People's Journal." Every line of some of the papers involves an error. M. Mazzini was in no wise unduly wedded to the idea of the power of the pen; he had no objection to use very sharp swords, but he at least never gave evidence that he calculated the momentum of the mighty legions of barbaric force on the background—wielded, for instance, by Russia—or the potency of the patriotic idea that the heroism of an aged king, and the danger from a despotic state action, could arouse in Prussia. He appears now as predicting immediate convulsions which never came at all; successful outbreaks that were trampled down the moment they appeared. He certainly did not estimate with even approximate nearness to the fact the power and momentum in these times of the first rude ideas and instincts that prevailed in the hosts of Attila, or in those of Timour the Tartar. A long time hence, when the teachings and predictions of Mazzini are being considered in the same way as they are being considered in connection with this chapter, probably they may be found fully justified by events; probably

moral principles in which his sublime faith centred, and which placed him so far above his critics and calumniators, may be seen gradually to have attained the supremacy which he marked out for them with such a calm and unfaltering hand.

At present the men who twenty years ago talked so beautifully to young Englishmen of the "progress of the age," the "march of intellect," and much of the same nature, may pause and behold the triumph of sword and gun. They may behold also, if they wish, a cloud dark as night in the north of Europe. Then they may predict a future of peace and brotherhood if they dare. The good and kindly spirit embodied in the writings of Elihu Burritt will be productive of all that Mr. Burritt has aimed to accomplish if it stops short of convincing us that England and America are a fair representation of mankind; if it does not cause us to forget that the educational books and educational schemes, the churches and chapels, the literary institutions, the systems of co-operation, the trades unions, the poor laws, the factory laws, and the free press of the Anglo-Saxon, are but so much jargon to the Arab on one side of the Red Sea, and to the African on the other; to the wild hordes that China is ever and again pushing over her western frontier for exterminating war often never heard of in Europe; to the equally wild hordes that an able Mahommedan leader can attract from all manner of unknown places to repel the invasion of the followers of Confucius or Buddha; to the vast races that Russia has under her flag and trained for her service for any purpose in any land. The misfortune will be if men like Mr. Burritt should lead Englishmen to rest upon the belief that the material power now wielded by civilised nations renders another inundation of barbarism impossible in Europe. Wherever there are naturally warlike men there exists the one power of war which cannot be created by wealth. History shows that that power may long lie dormant; that what we read of as a continuous story is often a story of centuries, till at last some man, or some material fact—some living key-truth—alters the entire relations of the wild and barbarous races to those more civilised. History, in spite of the proverb, never exactly repeats

itself, though it may have that appearance. Our schoolmasters have long told, with marked unanimity, that Rome fell because she rested on a decrepid civilisation, which the young nations of Europe found no difficulty in sweeping away. No sign of decrepitude, it has been clearly shown, marks the nations of Europe now. Hence history cannot repeat itself; and we shall err if we look for an exact repetition of anything in human affairs. But the cloud in the North is not on that account any the less dark. Russia is on the borders of China as well as on the borders of India. She is mistress of the Khanates. The Circassians and the Cossacks are of her armies. She has, it is often argued, possessions too vast to continue under one rule; an empire that must fall asunder of its own weight. It might do so if the races composing it were intelligent or possessed any basis of common action. They are mostly races to whom the Czar stands in the place of God, and to whom the promise of plunder would suffice as an ample incentive to any enterprise. In fact not only are the old conditions of warfare unaltered so far as they involve the relations of the barbarous or the uneducated to the educated or civilised man, but rude forces, with all the old, natural, unchanging conditions, possess an advantage never before possessed in exactly the same form. It is all but certain that Russia will, before very long, be able to arm vast bodies of wild levies as effectively for the purpose as she already arms her steady regiments of the line.

To predict from these conditions that this or that will occur would be absurd. To be alive to the fact that sundry things may occur is only common sense. In spite of the speeches made this year in England, the instinct of Europe will not easily be directed from the possibilities of danger from St. Petersburg. The idea of Russia at Constantinople is suggestive of a century of future wars, while the ill-omened rivalry of France and Germany offers to her an opportunity not unlike that which the rivalries of Greece offered to Philip of Macedon, to divide and conquer. To give Russia every help and sympathy is right and noble; to meet her, as her surveyors and ours meet, in true friendliness in the wilds of Asia, to the

borders of China, is what she has a right to expect from an elder brother in the great work of civilisation. She is doing more in a year to bring within the domain of law and order wild savage tribes than our moral force would do in half a generation. But English patriotism is not yet out of date, or worthless as a cheap defence of nations. Europe is as a vast camp. Yet there are English workmen who still talk the old and now unjustifiable nonsense that patriotism is a folly; and there are other people who from different benevolent motives continue repeating the equally foolish idea that "it takes two to make a quarrel." Certainly if a nation like England were prepared to sacrifice her colonies, and with them the future of her people—many of them once English workpeople, settled as colonists—she might avoid wars, as men have been known to escape ravenous wolves by the sacrifice of article after article, till at last the very horses upon which all chances of safety depended were thrown away. It is not likely that England as a nation will ever perpetrate the act which this not uncommon occurrence illustrates. To live at the antipodes, or in America, or Africa, or India, and still be under English laws, is something of which many a poor man bearing the English name has been proud. It is not too much to say, indeed, that no Englishman, however poor, ever went from the Thames to Bombay or Calcutta, especially by the Canal, or over the desert, and returned to talk about the folly of patriotism. To see the flag of his country waving from the rock of Gibraltar, from the ramparts of Malta, from the bleak cinder fortress at Aden, from the forts and ramparts at Bombay, at Galle or Colombo, from the Pilot Brigs at the mouth of the Hooghly, and from Fort William, with all its great associations, at Calcutta; to see the fleets of shipping under the same royal flag; to hear in every port the same language; to know that if the voyage could be continued eastward till it ended westward, by Australia, by New Zealand, by Canada, by the Cape of Good Hope, the scenes would be repeated only in a hundred or a thousand different forms, would be to convert many a man who talks of having no part in England and her glory into one of her sturdiest and proudest patriots. It is

notable indeed that Englishmen, however inclined to disown the traditions of their race at home, are thoroughly and demonstratively loyal abroad. The greatest fear in some minds in connection with the visit of the Prince of Wales to India was that English people would vie with the people of India in making too much ado about the heir to a constitutional throne. Nobody was afraid that any Anglo-Indian, meeting the Prince, would refuse or neglect to cheer. The only fear was that the demonstrations of loyalty would be so extremely demonstrative, that with the help of certain inevitable speeches from loyal bishops and others, the festivities might become of such a nature that the Prince of Wales in the years to come would need daily cynical reminders that he is mortal. And so indeed has it been at home. Radical Sheffield was, if anything, a little too loyal or a little too hilarious for dignity when it received the Prince of Wales. In fact when speakers at public meetings elicit cheers by disowning the principle of patriotism they never stop to consider that if the Princess of Wales appeared to the same persons the reporters would have to pass from ordinary reporting to hyperbole; there would be "thunders of applause;" and so on through many varieties of style. In fact, much as remains to be done to improve the lot of poor men, so much has been done, that there is no longer any possible excuse as there once may have been, for men endeavouring to separate themselves from the traditions of the nation.

There is another error that an Englishman learns to discard when he hears and sees men in other lands; he learns that it is quite possible not to be English, and indeed not to be European, or of European blood, and still also not to be barbarian. Of public opinion in the English sense, India and Arabia know nothing. The masses of the people are unable to read; their literature is confined in the case of Mahommedans to one book, which is read and expounded to them; the literature of the Hindoos is a series of ancient poems which also are read, and which have formed the national character from age to age. Yet the poor Arab or Hindoo is a far more acute and intellectual man than the poor Englishman, and he is polite and gentlemanly by

nature, as the Englishman as a rule is not. You occasionally meet an Arab with a lofty, furrowed brow, and an eye indicating profound thought. You know by instinct that he is a lettered man, and perhaps a man of great influence. But you may see brows not dissimilar in the rude boats that trade, the property of the boatmen, from the Persian Gulf to Calcutta, and you know then that you have before you a brain, that, apart from its ordinary work, is singularly potent for mischief, and perhaps crime. The true Punjabee is a fine fellow; but if you lead him to victory he will ask no inconvenient questions as to the right or wrong involved. In fact it is this mixed quality of the highly cultivated faculties of action, and the uncultivated reasoning power, that has made the East in all times the great reservoir of those elements of strength and vitality that have overturned the landmarks of more settled and progressive nations.

Patriotic and far-seeing men have asked, and are asking, if the time has not come when a return to the old principle of a citizen army is again, to some extent, possible? In old times men fought on sea with rams, propelled against the vessels of an enemy; and to rams we have returned, as one of the most effective powers of naval warfare. In old times also Englishmen were noted as dead shots with bow and arrow, and to that principle also they are so far returning, as to make a national institution of rifle contests, and a national honour of good shooting. Cannot the principle be extended, it is asked, and the nation as a whole be made to spring to arms in case of invasion? It was in a time of rank despotism that kings began to talk of the absolute necessity of a standing army, and though, as every one knows, a standing army of some kind cannot, in the present state of human affairs, be dispensed with, a standing army able to cope with the armies of continental states is so utterly out of the question, that no military or other writer on the defence of the nation ever moots the idea. What men of different views as to exact plans of defence have arrived at with one accord is that the nation itself must take up the subject of national defence. The Tory squire is no

longer afraid of the Radical shoemaker. The point of dispute is narrowed not now into whether the former can trust the latter with arms, but into the much more cheerful question of whether the danger is sufficiently inconvenient to justify a general arming. In another particular the changes of the last thirty years have been wonderful. Drill in schools, enrolment as volunteers of men of all manner of professions and trades, and of all manner of views, are new phases of English life to persons who can remember as far back as even 1840. Our great ports have their naval volunteers. Our merchant shipping carry men closely connected with a naval organization, which, in case of war, would put on sea a force against which, reasoning on what we know of fact and history, even very formidable coalitions would be powerless. For much of this the Tory party, in Parliament and out of it, have received the main credit, sometimes with justice, sometimes with injustice to men of other views. To have struggled against current theories for the practical result of seeing the nation ready to defend its liberties and property were no small honour to any party, and that honour has been and is accorded, especially by military and naval men, to the Tories. To Liberals the safety of the nation as against foreign foes has too often seemed, when in reality it has not been deemed, of slight importance in comparison with social and political progress. As in the Church for two centuries, so in the army and navy for a couple of generations, it never was at any time easy to find men who believed that Liberalism meant anything but warlike inefficiency. Lord Cochrane, the gallant Napiers, and a host of heroes, have from time to time practically asserted the contrary; but still the stupid view has been held and perpetuated. We have seen that during the French War the distinguished Radicals, without exception, were as eager as the Tories to defend the nation's honour and safety, and of late years the party lines with respect to military and naval expenditure have been gradually weakened, as the causes of national discontent have been removed. The Liberal is not, nor ever was, less anxious than the Tory, that whatever is needed in the interests of freedom and peace shall

only be effected by British hands; and the Tory has brought himself to consider as settled questions, even in cases which are not yet legally settled questions, the equality of all men before the law—the theory of the eligibility of all men to public employment, the right of every child to elementary education, and much besides that perplexed and distressed the men of past times. As in the case of the press, so here, liberty involves responsibility; and the defence of the nation is a high responsibility resting on every man.

What, let us ask, would it involve to mankind as a whole if any despotic power could lull the suspicions of England to sleep, and ruin her before the possibility of an awakening? The history of the world is rich in instances and examples of nations being so caught and destroyed in the very height of a previously won fame. Here again England might well go back, as France went back, in the Revolution of 1789, to the guidance of ancient history. If the little states of Greece, or, among others, the commonwealths of Tyre, Carthage, and Venice, had been avowedly cut off—as we may well believe that they were in fact cut off, by omnipotent power from the main bodies of the great races from whence they sprung—that the problem of patriotism and freedom, or of patriotism and commercial enterprise, might be set off against that problem presented in servility and empire, the end of Almighty wisdom had not been more clearly marked, even to the limited vision of man, on the written page. There is not a problem in English social or political life the solution of which was not attempted by some or other of the enterprising communities in or around the Mediterranean. We may see, as in a clear mirror, how commerce and manufacture may, and how they can not, endanger freedom; in what consists the danger of military success and military glory, and in what the tremendous danger of separating from the social and industrial life of a nation the greater part of its able-bodied population, and teaching them that the nonproductive efforts of war, not defensive, are more to be desired than the wealth-producing and comfort-producing efforts of peace; and finally how law and freedom are intimately related, and

how both are also related to proper and just authority. We may learn that the Jew, destined to be the chief giver of moral law to all nations, was in himself more insular in his ideas than any other man on the face of the earth; infinitely more insular than the most insular Englishman who deems England the civilised world. To the Greek, all outside his own civilisation was barbarian. To the Jew, all was Gentile and heathen, which theoretically was tenfold worse. Plato was satisfied with his separation as a Greek from other nations on earth. Ehud, the left-handed judge, and Jephthah, and perhaps even Samuel and Elijah, expected a separation after the grave, and possibly an annihilation of all but Jews. We have not yet gone beyond the warnings and examples of these races, free or enslaved. Possibly the world gained by the enslavement of the Jews and Greeks, because their insularity, and in the case of the Jews, unalterable insularity, of mind, prevented them from communicating their ideas to other men—the hive had, on old-world principles, to be destroyed for the honey. The old-world principles with respect to hives exist no longer. We live in the age of glass hives. Every movement in the busy throngs of Manchester, and Birmingham, and Glasgow, nay, even of Woolwich, and Enfield, and Portsmouth, may be seen by any one. The defects of the constitution of the nation, the chronic sores of the social system, are seen by all the world. When a sultan, or a shah, or an emperor has driven through the parks, and stood on London Bridge, and heard the debates in Parliament, and been cheered at the opera, and found repose in the mansions of the Queen or the aristocracy, we are sure to say, "Ah, but you should have seen the back slums within a stone's-throw from Oxford Street—the Seven Dials, and the queer streets radiating therefrom; you should have seen Blackwall and Bethnal Green." For weal or woe, we glory in our glass hive. If we wish to keep the honey, we have at least no wish to keep the secret of its production, and we show even the badly-built and neglected portions of the comb. What, however, if the hive were broken? What if some iron will, wielding despotic power, found means to smash the glass

and scatter the bees? It never again would be the same hive. The freedom of America would not compensate mankind for the loss of England. The Americans are working out one class of problems; Englishmen are working out another. America is showing how men raised from a lowly origin can in these times comport themselves with the same dignity that distinguished Washington and Franklin in 1776. England is showing in the same times, and with at least equal loyalty, how a nation intensely monarchical may be free enough to have satisfied Milton if he had lived a couple of centuries later, and had been the same Milton. It is not, however, to mankind in general that an Englishman's thoughts first turn, but to England, and to her freedom and immunities. A generation hence the great mass of Englishmen and Englishwomen will read and write. The division walls of classes will have been scaled or thrown down; men will have found their way from east to west, and have drifted from west to east. The children of many poor men will be rich; the children of many rich men will be poor; and all this may be by the simple operation of a normal natural law uninfluenced by any law of an abnormal or revolutionary character. Neither rich nor poor in view of their children should forget this certain fact.

The freer the nation, the greater the danger from without; and that from several causes. In a despotic nation means can be taken that public opinion shall have at least the appearance of a dead level of respectable uniformity, entailing no real responsibility of citizenship as in the face of foreign nations. In a state of freedom the dangers are on every hand. Newspaper criticism has often caused foreign nations to become angry to the verge of war; yet all the wisdom in England would fail to restrain or curtail this danger, which is an incident of freedom. When a newspaper in London and one in New York begin a war of words, the chances are that the worst feelings of both will be excited; but the two newspapers all the same are beyond the reach of either country, or both, and that because both countries are free. It is the penalty of responsibility that free nations pay for freedom. If liberty is

pleasant, responsibility is a necessity; and first the responsibility of taking heed that the cherished freedom is not feloniously destroyed by those who do not know its value. A system of national education justifies the gradual and not dilatory establishment of a system of national defence. Sixty years earlier the idea of arming the nation would only have been worthy of Bedlam. Now it is openly discussed. If it is not an idea perfectly practicable and safe, the fault will lie with those who have the control of public affairs. It would moreover be the security for peace. It was not the professional army of Louis Napoleon that went to the war with hesitancy and misgiving, but the unprofessional army of Germany—the men who had wives and families. Herein too lies one feature of the subject that military writers are least of all inclined to touch. The cost of a standing army of married men would be enormous; and scattered abroad as the army of England is in all parts of the world, perhaps the idea could hardly be entertained at present, or till some preliminary steps are taken. Yet it must in the end come in some form. There is no sounder reason why a soldier should take his wife on a march in India, Canada, or elsewhere, than that a sailor should take his wife with him on a voyage to sea. On the other hand, there is no sounder reason in the case of the soldier than that of the sailor why marriage should be tabooed and forbidden. Half the evils complained of in the army would be removed if the great natural institution of marriage was as available to the soldier as to the sailor. It is by no means so difficult as some people imagine. In India, even, a man may have been stationed in different places for twenty years, and never once have been in action or even away on distant duty. And in cases where men have been on such duty it has generally been a short, sharp expedition merely. When military men ask, "Why cannot we now enlist soldiers as of old?" and reply to themselves, "Because pay has been raised in all civil occupations, while it has remained at a low rate in the army,"—a point upon which opinions are never wanting,—they forget that it is not in pay alone that civil life has become altered, but in independence and a consciousness of

manhood. The signs of the new times have been numerous. Many years ago Alexander Somerville, who "had whistled at the plough," ventured, as a private in a fine cavalry regiment, to write to a newspaper, and for punishment was placed in the hands of a regimental instructor, who secured to the writer to newspapers some ugly falls, and at last elicited from him a refusal to remount. This led to a court-martial and a cruel flogging, at the end of which the refractory soldier gasped out that the officers of the regiment and all England should hear of what had been done. For this he was again charged; he had used threats. All England did hear of it though, and the officers of the regiment were made to feel that military men were still amenable to civil law. The great error of the officers was that they did not perceive how greatly everything was altered with the fact that private soldiers had become readers. The abolition of purchase by the late Government will—let Mr. Disraeli and his friends fight and readjust as they may—bring about a revolution in the army. The revolution, however, will go beyond what even the abolition of purchase involves. Any English ministry could now, by arming the nation—calling upon the nation still further to arm itself—render invasion a chimera. If no ministry can or dare do this, the arming all the same will take place if ever a serious disaster occurs on sea or land to English arms; and in that case it might mean much that statesmen should possess the skill to prevent. This may be a position not always put into words, but it is an understood and admitted fact; a great problem of the future.

How little earnestness there is as to grasping the real facts with respect to the army may be seen in almost any military report. Take that for 1875 of the Inspector-General of Recruiting, and you find much besides a mere falling off in recruits—18,494 in the year reported upon as against 20,640 in 1874. The difficulty alleged, and no doubt to some extent accurately, as to recruiting is the high rate of wages in the ordinary labour market. High wages will do much, but not enough to fill up the muster-rolls of the regiments. Restraint, prohibition of marriage, impossibility of home life to a people who more than ordinarily

prize the comforts of home, are greater obstacles to the recruiting-sergeant than mere wages. The fact never is fairly faced, but it is undeniable, that the army is not popular. Englishmen, since the power of the press was felt, never took kindly to the fact that they might be sent abroad to fight, and probably die, for some purpose of which they knew nothing, It was not that they feared danger or death, but simply that the free blood in them revolted against dying at the will, and possibly caprice, of other men. Their consolation, even when balloted for the militia—which the best men detested—was, "Well, at any rate, they" (and the "they" sounded like "the enemy") "can't send us abroad;" a feeling existing to this day. The very mode of recruiting, too, is ignoble. The recruiting-sergeant, dressed up with ribbons, finds his duty at the doors, and in the taprooms of the lowest public-houses in the lowest streets of towns, and at the inns where men are most likely to be drunk at country fairs. In fact the recruiting-sergeant baits traps for men "in drink," and in this course of procedure inspectors-general and distinguished field-officers look for the *morale* of an army. The history of recruiting, the Inspector-General knows, is a history of abomination, of unwilling servitude, and, of course, also with the natural result of desertions alarming in their number.

Pass then to the searching report (1876) of a committee appointed to inquire into "certain questions that have arisen with respect to the yeomanry cavalry." Colonel the Duke of Manchester confesses that there is not so much enthusiasm now as there was even a few years ago, and a trifling difference of pay, he says, turns the balance. Colonel Oakes thinks the question is not so much one of pay as the withdrawal of young farmers from labour, and the fact that they return home dissipated. The mass of the evidence goes to show that the yeomanry, unlike the rifle volunteers, expect full pay for the work, or if not pay, some mode of conferring distinction at present altogether wanting. Is not one part of the secret deeper than this? Is it not in the fact that the spur of danger is wanting? The soldier, Cobbett was wont to say, is in peace like the fish out of water; men worth enlisting like to see an object, as the riflemen apparently

have seen one, and as the yeomanry apparently have not. The fact that the falling off in the army is chiefly in the brigade of the Guards and in the Artillery shows that the magnets at the service of the Inspector-General of Recruiting have lost their power. Skilled workmen prefer anything to the army. In fact the work of a recruiting-sergeant is one of the most disheartening in which a man can engage. He seems beginning every morning to roll a ball up-hill to see it in the evening roll down again. Libraries, schools, gardens, amusements are held up before young men, but in vain. They see the attractions, which, indeed, in these days are indisputable, but they decline the Queen's shilling. Why? The Inspector-General gives the one, and though not the sole, reason—one that in all future years will prevent England from having a standing army in peace. The labour of a soldier in peace is unproductive; and rich as the nation is, it cannot pay for unproductive labour the price that is paid for productive labour. Then there is the consciousness in every mind that the life of a soldier means a long and possibly a final good-bye to all that is meant by home. To the officer it has no such meaning; to the private it has. In India the amount of restraint is so much less than in England, and the privileges are so much greater, that recruiting from a regiment under orders for home into one remaining in the country is easy. It is quite possible, too, under the new rules of military life, for a soldier who enlists young to save money, and retire from the service in good time for entering on colonial life, if not for the life of England. There are officers too who do all that men can do to make their regiments or companies comfortable and contented. Yet how far this spirit is from reaching as high as it ought may be seen from a fact that occurred while these lines were passing through the press. A question having arisen as to the survivors of the men who guarded Napoleon at St. Helena, a clergyman made public mention of one such person, eighty-two years of age—a most respectable old man, who for fifty-one years has been receiving sixpence a day pension, on which, with a life interest in a cottage, he has brought up a large family. The case had

been brought two years earlier before the Duke of Cambridge, who, the clergyman says, "kindly awarded John Ambrose a pound from a fund at his disposal." The Duke of Cambridge is reported the reverse of unkindly; yet this case shows that he is unacquainted with the spirit of the times. It is not apparently a want of generosity to a poor soldier. It is want of knowledge. Of course the Commander-in-Chief could not send money to every old soldier whose pension was insufficient, but he had better have sent nothing than this pound—from a fund. The gift indicated something that the refusal would not, of the wide gulf that separates the Commander-in-Chief from his men. The gulf would be bridged if real danger came by the nation rising as one man, and asserting the inviolability of its homes. The question is whether it cannot be bridged sooner, and the huge cost of military expenditure actually reduced.

If we turn to the navy the question arises whether the nation has anything like value for the money expended. Of the two branches of the service undoubtedly the navy is the more popular, which may be accounted for in the main by the fact that the sailor on entering a man-of-war is not taken away from the business of his earlier years, and of his life, as the soldier is. The coastguard service, the naval reserve—the nucleus for making the merchant service available in war—are institutions as young and fresh as the spirit that sent out from every port the hornets that fastened on the Invincible Armada. 4,000 boys, at a time trained in the home ports, and the receiving vessels, not merely to seamanship, but also to read and write, and more, are guarantees for the future. The officers in the navy are perhaps as good as the best of former days. In general ability, for intelligent service, it is said, they are unrivalled. Yet it is also said that the cruise of a fleet is now a pleasure excursion. A fine fleet, a few months ago, lay in the bay of a hospitable city, as for a gala, altogether unconcerned in the examination of channels, which in themselves are a study of seamanship. Then the vessels steamed out into the very middle of a fog, with results which would have startled the nation not a little if startling events in connection with the

navy had not become so common. Finally, whenever the subject of flogging in the navy is mentioned in the House of Commons there is a solemn protest on the part of naval men in the House. "If I had been precluded flogging," one gentleman says, "I should have had at times to use my pistols." Let those thousands of boys grow up to manhood with their knowledge of books, of history, and all that it represents, and there must be an end to flogging, whatever is said of the pistols. It would be impossible to flog a soldier whose wife and children were in the camp or barracks. The life of the officer who gave the order would not be worth an hour's purchase after, if the soldier had spirit. And to this it will come afloat. The schoolmaster is aboard in a new sense. He is turning old things into new, and in so doing will add to the strength and stability of the nation, and of the great institutions on which it relies for maintaining its independence. One of the brightest features of modern times in the history of the army was the organisation of a staff of nurses by Miss Nightingale for the Crimea. Some people have said that hired nurses would have served the purpose as well, but it is an error. Nothing known to men (unless it were a wife, a mother, or a sister, which of course was an impossibility) could have carried the same peace and hope to the bedsides of dying or suffering men that was carried by those generous refined volunteers, who sacrificed so much to do a duty from which many a hardy man would have shrunk. Subscriptions to charities may be the "patron's" manner of doing good, but there was no patronage in the gentle band that administered relief to the wounded and sick soldiers in the Crimea. The soldier learnt more from that unostentatious labour and self-denial than from any number of cheers on his arrival home that he was an English freeman, not a pariah sent away to suffer or die for the honour of a "flag."

Come what may in the history of men, several problems of freedom and responsibility will have to be solved in these islands before many years are gone, or may be handed over unsolved to the men of other races in other generations. We have gained the one important point that any subject whatever

may now be discussed openly. If a man like Mr. Bradlaugh, the lecturer, had said in 1817 one half that he says now of the superiority of republicanism over royalty, his movements would not long have been free. Yet where now is the danger? A man proves certain things to his own satisfaction, and possibly to the satisfaction of some hundreds of other people in a public meeting in some large town. Meanwhile, outside his meeting, men are selling and buying, promenading, church-going, chapel-going, differing as to trades, creeds, and a hundred other things, but agreeing, in the main, that peace, property, and the right to worship God in any form, and speak to men on any theme of thought, has, from a political point of view, been effectually gained. Great poverty and distress remain; terribly gloomy questions as between capital and labour loom up on every hand; crime, and the best means of dealing with crime, are difficulties almost as great to-day as they were in the time of Romilly, Mackintosh, and Bentham. The Queen holds the even balance, in a spirit of the kindliest non-interference, while these and like questions are discussed—by wise men at times, by unwise men often, but in either case in freedom. There may be dark days in store for the nation; but there will always be the silver lining to the darkest cloud while Englishmen can see that liberty involves serious responsibility; while the front presented to the outer world is that of a united nation.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE CHANGES OF SIXTY YEARS.

Virtual End of the Long Struggle for Nationality—Disloyalty and Danger—Three Periods in the History of Manchester—The Great Problem Committed to England; the Patience with which it has been to some extent solved—Differences as to the Church, to Labour, and to Politics—Position in the House of Commons; Lord Macaulay's View—Relation to the House at various times of Distinguished Men—Mr. Hume and Lord Shaftesbury—Lady Burdett Coutts—Sunday Schools—Great Towns; Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, Glasgow, and others—Steam Power—Crime—Statesmanship—The Corn Laws—Policy of Statesmen determined by the Progress of the Nation—Robust National Life in Town and Country—A Final Reference to the Aims and Teaching of Fox and Pitt—Growth of Self-reliance—Trades Unions and Co-operation—The Chartists and Free-traders—A Real and an Imagined Danger in the Chartist and Radical Agitation—Queen Victoria—The Teetotalers—National Education; Church and Dissent—Concluding Words.

IF the foregoing chapters have any meaning beyond the record of dates and facts, it may be in showing in rough outline how the liberties of England have not merely "broadened down from precedent to precedent," but also how the greatness of England has risen, from struggle to struggle, over all lesser interests into those of a high nationality. Generation after generation had suffered and fought to win back something of what was best in the assertions of freedom in earlier times, and something of what was truest in the conception of statesmen and thinkers of all the times of which history takes note. From 1815, for a number of years, it was often a very serious and solemn question whether the power of Class could be broken at all without overthrowing the Crown, and, for the time, the Law. Down to 1832 it was a serious and solemn question, whether,

short of a revolution, Parliament could be made to represent the nation in the only sense in which the term representation could be used permanently, or would be accepted by the great body of the people. Why, it was asked, and indeed is asked by some persons to this day, in view of the claims of agricultural labourers, should not Parliament effectually represent the nation without resting on the machinery of a wide electoral suffrage? Were not some of the best statesmen England ever produced representatives of pocket boroughs, and among them that of even Old Sarum? Pitt elected for Appleby, Burke for Malton, were evidence of the value of pocket-boroughs. The people, it was freely admitted, had a right to good government; it was simply disputed that they had a right to government on any special principle—an opinion held very strongly under present conditions of life by Englishmen in India, and believed by some to embody the only principle of government ever understood in the East. The reply to all this ought to be in the events stated in these chapters. Down to a certain period the king and the aristocracy ruled. The House of Commons had merely a recording power. Nationality in any sense of right, even as simple as the right to live, there was none. A small knot of men decided on peace or war, and might cause the death of many thousands for some petty purpose which history would mention with shame. Was there no right inherent in men to know that themselves and their children should not be taken away to die like dogs in foreign lands simply because a courtier had offended a courtezan, or a king affronted some other king? Courtiers—the "King's Friends," and like persons—said "No." The nation, in a voice of thunder, said "Yes." Nothing since that time has been allowed to weaken for any long period the strength of that yes, or to deny its force and place in politics.

Moreover, at the end of the French War people doubted, as they had doubted from the beginning of it, that that Constitution which they had long been told was the perfection of human wisdom, the envy and pride of the world, was any longer abreast of the national growth in power and intelligence. Could it be altered short of revolution? Some thought it could; some

that it could not. Vast numbers of the people undoubtedly were the reverse of loyal to the Crown, and to what was termed the Constitution. To vast numbers, poverty and distress were the only heritage on which they could rely. It seemed also, through many dark untoward and stormy years, as if the free heritage of generations of Englishmen might be suddenly overthrown, and its place be lost among men, and filled by despotic rule. At length the prospect began to brighten. Privilege was touched, handled, and still the nation lived. There were men, in some cases of intelligence, men of public spirit and private virtue, who said and believed that if the Test and Corporation Acts were repealed, the sun of England would set for ever. How the opinion was formed it is difficult now to understand. That it existed is certain. The Acts were repealed; yet the sun of England rose next day as it had risen previously. The only change was, that some rough and jarring discords were removed from social and political life. The Catholics were freed—the most dreaded step of all—the King, the Duke of York, and Lord Eldon shuddering. Still the sun of England rose; the political seasons rolled on as in the ages of old. Schools were established; reading clubs founded for poor men; political meetings were openly held for the discussion of all manner of strange subjects. The healthy results were the utter destruction, not of Crown and Law, but of Revolutionary societies, and of all secret societies save those which rested on some such basis as the convivialities of the benefit society of the Freemasons. Parliament was reformed and re-reformed; the corn laws fell; yet property remained; the law was held inviolable. Nay, the law began at last, in the light of these new efforts, to be talked of as the property and pride alike of rich and poor. Church-rates were removed, tithes were commuted; the Church itself remained. Honest politicians and observers seemed, by some slow, tentative, and imperceptible process, to have arrived at the conviction that one great and trying problem had been solved; that the battles of English freedom could henceforth be fought out clearly, as for generations they had been fought barely, within the Constitution. The late Lord Althorp, in his

unconscious and almost uncouth, but beautiful honesty, retiring from court because he thought the King guilty of duplicity, and Mr. Bright, a Radical, presenting himself at court because he felt certain the Queen was true both as a woman and a queen, may be taken as parts of the same wholesome fact, glorious as compared with much we have seen in these pages of the tricks and quibbles of politicians. The minds of men became mightily changed. In 1816-17 the people of Lancashire were bent on an insane march to London to "undeceive the Prince Regent" on some matters—as if he needed, or wished to be undeceived, where Radicals were concerned. In 1819 a Manchester meeting was trampled down by cavalry under circumstances dreadful to record. In 1876 the people of Lancashire, sons and grandsons of the men who knew what has been called Peterloo, entered London armed, for the purpose of making a representation to the Prince of Wales, in the presence of the Princess of Wales and their young children. It was in all respects a very different representation from that intended to be made in the dark times sixty years ago. It was the reminder that Englishmen of all classes are now one in defence of England and England's honour. The men who came from Manchester this year differed as widely in opinion as Samuel Bamford differed from Lord Sidmouth. They were neither Liberals nor Tories, Catholics nor Protestants, Churchmen nor Dissenters, Owenites nor Cobbettites specially—though probably they comprised men of all these and many other names, and will, at the next elections, fight as resolutely against each other as they have stood fraternally—may it not be said, shoulder to shoulder—to affirm that "never but by British hands shall Britain's wrongs be righted?" How has this mighty change been effected? It is because the problem written by the hand of God, in gloom and darkness, and delivered amid storm—a problem which might have been dashed to the ground and broken like the Tables of the Law—was fairly grappled with and patiently worked out to solution. When one hand, and one class of hands, faltered and fell, other hands appeared; when aged eyes grew dim, young eyes were forthcoming to

decipher the tiniest figures; when one calm, powerful head reeled, other heads were ready to take up the duties of the hour. The efforts were not made merely by men of one party, or of two or three parties, but of many parties—some of them moderate, so-called, some extreme, so-called, but in the one case or the other including men far above the low passions of party writers—at times very ignoble—and of party speakers, titled and untitled, often very selfish and very mean. The Constitution was saved, so as by fire. One part of the problem in particular had been worked out to the very end. It had been shown, with the certainty of Euclid, that what remains to be done does not need revolution, but the same patient and courageous work, inside the Constitution, that has been given to it during the long century since the freedom of America was won. Another problem remains, but it is simple compared with that which confronted Englishmen in the days when to advocate reform of Parliament was sedition, and beyond a certain stage treason; when differences of opinion in religion debarred men from civil rights, and doomed them to social ostracism. The problem yet unsolved is how to build up still more securely a great, free nation, in which the well-being of poor and rich shall be equally consulted and public virtue held paramount. The member of the Liberation Society and the member of the Church Defence Association may say of each other sharp words, and the Radical and the Conservative working man stand opposed as in the olden times, but there is a foundation of nationality deeper and more enduring than the mere feuds. Candidates for the representation of Parliamentary constituencies also may continue the old falseness of language that disgraced some noble men, and characterised many ignoble ones, sixty years ago; but the battle against all this and much of the same character will be fought out in the national schools, and eventually the evil thing will be at least marked unwholesome and unpatriotic. Immense political work—immense social work—remains to be done, but the victory achieved is that upon which all else rested, that every battle can be fought out within the law. This is one of the lessons aimed at in this volume. It

may be desirable or undesirable to maintain an Established Church; but at least the time has come when no marked slight can safely be put, on the ground of what will long continue to be called extreme views, on the man who maintains either position. The discussion of labour questions cannot now be met with criminal charges. The right of combination and of strikes is secured even in cases where their impolicy may be affirmed, in perfect friendliness to workmen, by persons who, reasoning on the lessons of history and experience, believe—rightly in some cases, wrongly in others, according to the application of the fact—that the greatest good has been secured to labour by means of the individuality and manhood which no rules can restrict or restrain. In Parliament there certainly is a disposition to consider with respect the representations of men who at a much later period than the date of Lord Liverpool's Government were simply part of the mob. It has been argued that, in inverse ratio to popular progress, has been the deterioration of statesmanship; but the view will stand no test of fair examination. Possibly, with a few exceptions, the present Houses of Parliament have no great orators. Certainly both Houses possess men whose natural gifts and training qualify them for the responsible duties with which English statesmanship is charged.

A popular but erroneous view on this subject is perhaps worth a few words of comment. What is it to succeed, and what is it to fail, in the House of Commons? In the recently-published "Life of Lord Macaulay," the great writer has one more opportunity of expressing a favourite view of his on the subject. He wrote:—"I should say that a man's being a good writer, a good orator in debating clubs, was rather a reason for expecting him not to succeed in the House of Commons. A place where Walpole succeeded and Addison failed; where Dundas succeeded and Burke failed; where Peel now succeeds and where Mackintosh fails; where Erskine and Scarlett were dinner-bells; where Lawrence and Jekyll, the two wittiest men, or nearly so, of their time, were thought bores; is surely a very strange place. And yet I feel the whole character of the place growing upon

me. I begin to like what others about me like, and to disapprove what they disapprove. Canning used to say that the House as a body had better taste than the men of best taste in it, and I am very much inclined to think that Canning was right." This may be correct as far as it goes, but it is not the whole truth. Unless Parliamentary history is altogether at fault, a man could scarcely at any time carry with him to the House of Commons a more unfortunate gift, so far as securing the ear of the House is concerned, than that of making eloquent speeches, unless he can also impress on the House a conviction of his earnestness of purpose—of his wish, at least, to use such, and so much, language as is necessary for his purpose, and to use no other, and no more, intentionally. Unless appearances are altogether misleading, the House only endures eloquent speeches when eloquence is needed, not because eloquence is attractive, when a strictly practical object is in view. In the case of Walpole, the House had no expectation of spoken essays, but of certain plain words required for some special and direct object. That Addison's beautiful language and chaste thought were in request elsewhere the sale of his works was sufficient evidence. When his power to charm was invoked, it was sought in its proper place, in the "Spectator." The House of Commons had no more need for eloquent speeches in plain matters of business than a householder has need for eloquence, from a bricklayer or mason, as to the building of a chimney or the design of a cornice. The House left Burke speaking simply because Burke insisted on saying in a hundred words, which in combination formed a picture of rare beauty, what could have been said sufficiently well—nay, much better for the House of Commons and public business—in ten words. Mackintosh was in some, though only in some, walks of life a vastly abler man than Peel; but when the House had read Mackintosh, and needed some direct application of the principles of Mackintosh, or of some other principles, then Peel had the gift that was in demand, for he made the principles to have a direct application to life. That he was at times pedantic and stately to pomposity his admirers would now admit; but he was practical and con-

siderate, and when he spoke he had that to say which the House could not afford to lose. Besides, he could organise; and the House, and the nation, glory in good organisation, as the sound basis of good work. Erskine failed because, although a natural orator in his own profession, he often seemed a special pleader in the House of Commons. He had the appearance of acting when he was truly in earnest, and, perhaps, it may be questioned whether he studied a subject so maturely for the House of Commons as he studied a brief for the Bar. He was no match for Pitt in a House where eloquence is only admired for the definite ideas it conveys—ideas pertinent to the subject in question.

It may be safely said that men who speak to the House generally succeed, and that men who speak over the House, to constituents or others, nearly always fail. Cobbett and O'Connell were both held to have failed. Was it not because in both there was a purpose to serve beyond that before the House at the time a speech was made? Palmerston succeeded after much hesitation and misgiving on his own part. The present Lord Derby has succeeded, in spite of a cold, passionless nature, which is said not merely not to make friends, but actually to create enemies. The curtness of Earl Russell is proverbial. Yet who would say that Earl Russell failed as a speaker? He might be in error, as he was often in serious error; but he was direct; there was a purpose in what he said, and his political creed contained some of the best principles of the Whigs, with an elasticity of which the Whig creed generally was incapable. When he suggested the idea of "rest and be thankful," he was charged with an adherence to the old dogma of finality which he had outgrown. The phrase, indeed, in various parts of England, is applied to the wayside inn, or the big stone, which invites the traveller to take the welcome rest for a continuation of his journey. It has no meaning as applied to the journey's-end. In error, or otherwise, when Lord John Russell spoke in the House of Commons, there were people to listen, though he never was eloquent, and often was prolix. Prolixity itself does not appear very distasteful to the House, if a speaker have created the impression that his use

of more than apparently necessary words to express an idea is his misfortune, not his fault; but once let the House receive the impression that it is neither from awkwardness of expression nor from that welling-up of words that has made Mr. Gladstone at once the most powerful and impressive, and the most diffuse, and at times ambiguous, speaker of the time, but from an actual wish to have a couple of columns in the morning papers, and the speaker becomes, as Lord Macaulay says, the dinner-bell. Men with hobbies, vain men, solemn men in trifles, special pleaders, nearly always fail. If Sir Wilfrid Lawson should fail, as one may sincerely hope he will not, it will be from the fact that while he has real and genuine humour, he in a manner ejects humour unreasonably into grave subjects. People say, "We shall have fun to-night—it is Lawson's night;" a remark that jars greatly on the feeling of those who believe in Sir Wilfrid Lawson's genuine sincerity, admire his courage and temper, and believe him to have a direct purpose more valuable than the eloquence of Burke or Macaulay. The most marked success of the present generation in the House of Commons is that of Mr. Bright. He alone of all the House dares to quote the Bible like a divine, and he can do so without causing a smile or a doubt of his sincerity or gravity. Once indeed, at the beginning of the Crimean War, Lord Palmerston ventured to term him the "honourable and reverend gentleman," and Mr. Cobden characterised the phrase as it deserved; but Mr. Bright did not follow the example of Wilberforce under a like stigma, and his character rose greatly in consequence of his forbearance under the unseemly attack. Moreover, the burning words he has so often used in exposition of truths or reproval of fictions he has rarely used in his own defence. Men listen and believe, because they know that the speaker believes. Macaulay, quoting the Bible, would have been suspected of a sneer, Lord Palmerston of a gibe, Mr. Gladstone (unjustly) of sacerdotalism. Mr. Bright speaks as Dean Stanley might preach when he speaks of the Divine Law. That of itself were a victory over fashion. Mr. Forster in the same way, in spite of a by no means attractive style of oratory, has won a fame beyond the reach of calumny

—the fame of truth-speaking. The House evidently believes him a man of prudence, whose patience and calmness may be trusted, and who takes trouble to be fair and just. Mr. Fawcett also would be listened to if only for his courage, which never fails; but he is listened to for much more than that. He can, like Mr. Lowe, utter the most unpleasant truths; though he could not, if he tried, win the character of cynicism, which Mr. Lowe, without trying, has made his own. The House has had several men not unlike Mr. Fawcett; it never had, and perhaps never again will have, a man with the peculiar gifts and characteristics of Mr. Lowe—a man able at once to grasp the greatest questions, and foolish enough to tax lucifer matches; capable of talking rank Toryism, yet acting so as to find defenders among Radical Dissenters; laughing at people to their faces, yet compelling them to admit that the nation could spare some of the foremost men in the House of Commons more easily than it could spare him. In spite of errors, no Parliamentary position, on either side of the House, seems more secure, or more certainly beyond the reach of adversaries. These few names, among others that might be mentioned, have important lessons to Englishmen. So, rightly considered, but in a different way, have lives like Lord Ellenborough's and Lord Loughborough's. The former, not merely beaten, but actually contemned on his own ground in the trial of Warren Hastings, by Burke, Fox, and Sheridan, and beaten on the same ground by a man who had no claim to either learning or eloquence, tells a story of the poor value, in real life, of the quirks, quillets, and technicalities of the Bar. The latter carries a still more melancholy moral—the uselessness of mere words, when facts and truths are in question. It is something, on the other hand, to say of Lord Mansfield that his eloquence, like the satire of Wilberforce, never was displayed, or indeed used, to the fulness of its wealth. Therein also consisted real power in Parliament.

There are few statesmen of this generation to whom, in spite of personal success and great characteristics, Liberals are less inclined to point as an example than Mr. Disraeli. That

he has possessed tact, judgment, patience, and admirable self-control, no one disputes. A man who can leave his character, undefended, to the mercy of little men is worth observing with a view to finding wherein lies his great ascendency as a member of the House of Commons. Few who know aught of his career believe that he is by any means as careless as he seems with respect to "what people say," but the appearance is there. When Mr. Gladstone risks a possible error it is unaccompanied by any attempt to prevent the error, if it should appear to be so, from having its full effect. When Mr. Disraeli so errs he will, if the subject is probed below the surface, be found to have guarded himself on all sides; and then he remains silent, and people discuss, and will discuss long after he is dead, whether he meant this or that. Mr. Gladstone shows not only the fact at which he has arrived, but the whole process of reasoning by which he has arrived at it. If he changes his view in politics or religion, he has no hesitation whatever in saying why, and in doing so he goes to the root and marrow of the question. In other words, he, charged with all manner of compromises, never stoops to compromise. When he sees an evil or a wrong, he burns to remove it, and he goes so direct to his object, regardless of any consequences, that his directness is misunderstood for some deep design of the kind called Machiavellian. In reality he says too little, while he appears to say much, as to his motives. If he had stopped to consider "what people may say," he never would have dissolved Parliament on the question of an income tax, or written and read that squib, altogether unlike his grave and lofty genius, about the "Farmers of Aylesbury gathered to dine;" and neither perhaps would he have retired from the leadership of his party on what all stupid people were sure to term private pique. He is in reality the last man in Parliament to consider or care for what is said of him on any subject upon which his mind is made up. Yet he is always replying to somebody. In reality also there is no man in Parliament who cares more for what people say of him than Mr. Disraeli. He studies every attitude, explains artistically every motive, without appearing to explain anything. And

people say that Mr. Disraeli is reckless as to misconception of motives, where Mr. Gladstone is keenly sensitive. Mr. Disraeli affects to scorn the press, yet he uses it, or causes it to be used, for his purposes; assumes an aristocratic hauteur which the proudest peer of this generation never attempted, and does it all from first to last in an attitude. Mr. Gladstone in replying to questions as premier was naturally and studiously courteous, though he could not help it that he was also mercilessly logical. If he was confronted with a false position he could not spare the position; but he had a beautiful way at times of sparing the man. Mr. Disraeli was seldom logical, and he was often rude in his replies; but then he was careful only to insult the men who had no friends, or the men who had tired and annoyed the House with oft-repeated verbiage or inanity. In other words, he had studied the House in its greatnesses and littlenesses; and up to nearly the last he had command of it in the way that is called success. Mr. Disraeli succeeded not because he was eloquent—his eloquence had at times very nearly wrecked him—but because he had the faculty for speaking first of all directly to the House; secondly for knowing when to speak; thirdly, for not caring so much to exhaust a subject as to put a few leading points cleverly, and so exhaust the principle of a measure, leaving to others, and if possible to opponents, the responsibility of tiring the House by details. To attempt to imitate him would be great folly. To attach very much importance to Lord Macaulay's dictum as to success and failure would be equal folly. The men who will succeed best in Parliament, in the days when education is the possession of all, will be men of conviction, who can use simple words in which to express simple truths, and who in the strength of a just purpose can forget their constituencies and themselves.

Among the persons not hitherto pointedly referred to in these chapters as aiding in the solution of the great political and social problems of the last century, there are two that, for very different qualities, and very different order of work, demand special notice—Mr. Joseph Hume and Lord Shaftesbury. There are few terms more offensive really than one which has of late

seemed to find a new lease of life—the term "self-made man." No man—no man's position—is self-made. No one's career or duty in life has been marked out by himself. "Man proposes, and God disposes," is as true now as it was in old times, when it was fully believed. Yet among those who have most nearly approached to the self-made man—men like James Cook, John Dalton, George Stephenson, and Robert Burns—there will always be found the honoured name of Joseph Hume. Of his early poverty, and his struggle to qualify himself as a surgeon; of his hard work as surgeon, in the East India Company's service, to make himself acquainted with the languages, the literature, the history, and the government of India, there might be told a long story which cannot be even generally indicated here. Mr. Hume was elected for Montrose in 1818, but his influence in the House was of slow growth. His clients were not attractive persons whom he could put forward, as skilful advocates put forward attractive ladies, to aid by the eloquence of pleasant looks the oratory of the tongue. They were, from the first to the last of his life, poor, and often destitute and wretched people, whom he never deserted even for an hour. The line he marked out for himself was all the more creditable from the fact that his own lot had been cast in a part of the world where human life and suffering are thought less of than elsewhere, and where abject poverty and frightful forms of disease are deemed dispensations of Providence. Very few persons return from a sojourn in India with any sympathy for Radicalism, or any care either for the poor of the land they leave, or the poor of the land to which they return. Joseph Hume was one of the noble exceptions to the rule. Rigorously careful not to waste money, though liberal as a prince where money could be well and justly used, the member for Montrose stood upon a platform whereon he was unassailable by the taunts and jeers and bitter attacks that were directed against him, by Castlereagh and Huskisson among many others, including Palmerston, from the first day he began to direct the attention of the House to the ridiculous so-called economy of the Government. From 1818, for more than thirty years, Mr. Hume was

the real leader of a great body of Radicals—a restraining power in times of excitement, an unflinching enemy to all despotism, to class government, and to sham statesmanship, No man was ever more bitterly satirised, or had to bear more of the slander that is conveyed in bad names. He did his duty, however, exactly the same in storm as in sunshine, and the slander fell away from him as the arrows of the fiend were believed to fall of old from the knight whose virgin honour was preserved. No man did so much to bring statesmen back from the false glare of glory to true views of economy. Leaving plans of sinking funds to the followers of Pitt—Vansittart and others, pilloried by Cobbett—Mr. Hume fastened mainly on great fundamental facts of expenditure, and showed how the debt and taxation could be legitimately reduced. To sinecurists he was a terror, and sinecurists were not few in his days. With a huge national debt and great social misery before him, Mr. Hume had no need for incentives to work; and that work made him a living feature of his time in English politics. Not even with national defence in view could men be permitted again to push to the background the claims of economy. Lord Macaulay, it is true, made light of the National Debt, and Mr. Disraeli termed it a flea-bite; but the answer to all views against economy is in such facts of English life as the poverty of Bethnal Green. Nothing in Joseph Hume's case was allowed to push aside the argument of the great privations of the poor, the necessity of cutting down expenses and abolishing sinecures.

In like manner, when social reform, which has made the affairs of England in the year 1876 so different from those of the year 1817, is in question, the name of Lord Shaftesbury must rise to the mind of every Englishman who desires to be just, and inclines to be grateful for public services long and consistently given. Many men of wealth have worked by starts, in spasmodic efforts, to raise the lot of the poor. It is to Lord Shaftesbury's honour, if he care for honour, that as he began in very early life, while other men of the same age were "sowing their wild oats," so is he to-day, thinking for, speaking for, working for, in all manner of ways—reproving, encouraging,

defending against calumny, the otherwise friendless poor. It would be a real misfortune if gibes and taunts, only too common, caused any large number of workmen to forget or ignore what Lord Shaftesbury has accomplished for the factory-worker and the miner, for education for the lads of our great towns. The writer has heard—perhaps the reader also has heard—such questions as "What great measure of statesmanship is Lord Shaftesbury's name identified with? Taking the chair at public meetings where every speech is pointed with fulsome and foolish flattery of the 'noble chairman' is hardly great." Well, Lord Shaftesbury has had that even to endure, possibly in full measure, running over. But let those who ask what he has done, go to the mines and factories of the North, and, selecting some old man of keen observation, ask him what he knows of past and present times in relation to his labour. Or find a person who twenty years ago was a ragged child learning the art of theft in Whitechapel or the Seven Dials, now a respectable man or woman doing honest duties in life—the search need not be difficult. Or find some one who can look back from a comfortable cottage to a wretched hovel. Then ask to what the energies of Lord Shaftesbury have been directed, and what his example has done. Where such a man exists there some amount of hypocrisy and simulation of truth will necessarily be found following. It must be endured; it cannot be avoided, but unborn ages may yet be thankful that the cause of the evil existed. This is said quite irrespective of Lord Shaftesbury's views, political or religious. His views are his own business. His life and work are our business; and when we look back in past history upon the unwholesomeness and dishonour of so much that is known as English statesmanship, it is a duty, and it ought to be a genuine pleasure, to acknowledge this one man as a statesman —one of the men who have most materially assisted to make of rival and conflicting classes a united nation. Not perhaps that Lord Shaftesbury has laboured more than other men engaged in the same or kindred work; but because that, having every temptation to turn aside—temptations appealing alike to his ambition and his love of pleasure—he held steadily on his

way, and made the purposes of a high faith to dominate his life. Robert Owen was earlier in the field of social reform. Robert Owen gave to the labour far more of the vital energy which so given abridges the years of life. There were workmen, too, banded together in every large town, for some of the objects of Lord Shaftesbury's efforts, and for many with which his name will not be connected. Let us grant this. Then add that his help was of the first importance. When people are inclined to censure him for not going sufficiently far or sufficiently fast, the more generous course will be to be thankful that he has gone so fast and so far. When the affairs of the poor of England were at their worst, no Bishop thought of doing what Lady Burdett-Coutts, Lord Shaftesbury, and Canon Girdlestone have done and are doing to reach and influence poverty, privation, and suffering. For the work of the lady here mentioned it were not too much to claim political importance. It is Christian work; but it is also what Mr. Disraeli would call high policy; for it is bridging with noble bridges the ever-widening gulf that separates classes—the rich and poor. To Sir Sidney Waterlow; to Mr. Peabody, who laboured a whole life that he might be able to do what he nobly did; to the men who have provided free parks and free libraries all over the country, belong the same acknowledgment, not merely of charity, which is self-evident, but of a right perception of one of the great political, as well as social needs of the time in England. Neither Lady Burdett-Coutts nor Lord Shaftesbury stand higher than John Pounds the Portsmouth shoemaker; but they stand nevertheless in a position high and honourable.

Of Sunday schools as an element and a means of social progress little can be said that has not been better said in some other form and place, but the key-fact in relation to them will bear re-stating as the germ of a great feature of national progress. Mechanics' institutions, and even free libraries, had to pass a severe ordeal before they could claim a permanent place among the institutions of the nation. Every ostentatious pretender to scholastic knowledge, and many more who could make no such pretension, had something to say of the little

knowledge that is a dangerous thing, of the young men whose attention was directed from their daily work to books. No note was taken of the fact that the young man who was sitting night by night among the grand literary bequests of all the ages of men was growing up to a manhood that would not be easily imposed upon either by the cajolery of electioneering agent or the noise of stump-orator. No one now ventures to say anything to sensible men against mechanics' institutions or free libraries; but the position of the Sunday school becomes only the more questioned as the means of education increase in other directions. It is said, for instance, that however good and self-denying the intention may be, the character of persons who teach in Sunday schools is not as a rule high intellectually; that they are rarely capable of conveying any exact information, and that in the main their teaching consists in meaningless repetition of certain platitudes, which pass for "gospel truth." Nor can the accuracy of this assertion be denied in regard to at least a vast number of cases. But let us go back sixty—nay, thirty—years to estimate aright the work of Sunday schools. We have already seen that the Methodists began boldly to teach reading and even writing on Sundays; we have seen Samuel Bamford indebted to these schools for the first elements of education. Let us remember that this was at a time when work-hours were long; beginning in most cases, both in country and town, at six o'clock in the morning, and in some cases much earlier, and often only ending at bedtime at night. A night-school under such circumstances was out of the question, but the Sunday was so hedged apart from labour that if instruction could be provided thereon no respectable cupidity could intervene to say it nay. Herein was one invaluable fact for the poor. Next, the poorest lad and the lad in better circumstances often met together, and the former was, by example, taught to pay some regard to forms of at least cleanliness. Next there was a bond between a teacher—not perhaps highly educated, but generally a man of good aims—and eight or ten boys, whose week-day doings were of interest to him. If we think of these and many kindred facts in connection with Sunday schools; of

the great need for instruction, and the vast network of simple instruction provided, all through the land, we shall not doubt that the idea, and the practical development of the idea of Sunday schools, was of marvellous utility, and led to even great material results?

It were impossible to touch, with any view to instruction, the several vast subjects connected with the material progress of the nation since the political events of 1817-20. The history of steam-navigation, of steam-locomotion, of the electric telegraph, of cheap literature, would require a large volume all their own. It were equally impossible, however, to deal with the subject at all without noticing as two distinct features of the growth of the nation, the life of the country village, or the small town, changeless from generation to generation, and the life of the great town, the hive of industry, ever changing from year to year. Chancing twenty years or so ago to be residing for a time in a straggling village glorying in the name and privileges of a town, the writer directed his steps one Sunday evening to a Methodist chapel, a comfortless barn, but the only Dissenting chapel in the place. The way to it was by another and far more popular meeting-place, the corner of the blacksmith's shop, and the scorn and derision of that assembly that any man hitherto presumed to be in his senses should enter a "methody meeting" was something to be remembered. The church was closed, and its work done for the day; people were strolling fast into the "King's Head;" the assembly at the blacksmith's shop was great in ribald talk, and gibes on passers-by, but the barn alone was the lowest of all degradations. And it was indeed a dull place, difficult to connect in any way with the meetings of those poor people among whom at a critical time John Bunyan "fell" at Bedford. Indeed there was hardly any intellectual or moral life in the town; no reading, save in one or two cases, even of a newspaper; no thought higher than working hard all the week and looking forward to Sunday, and better than all to the next fair. The young men and young women would grow up to be fathers and mothers, and to have homes, perhaps, clean, decent, honest, but stamped with the ineffaceable stamp

of a caste-inferiority. In Manchester at the same time what did one see? Free libraries, mechanics' institutions, Saturday evening concerts, a free park, intellectual life in church and chapel, in lecture-hall, in workshop and mill, in the very streets. It was like a different world as compared with the village that had the name of town. Nothing is commoner than the assertion ignorantly made, that the artisans of Manchester, Birmingham, Leeds, and elsewhere have a mere smattering of knowledge. In many cases the assertion is not correct; in some it is a gross libel. Many of these men could teach their teachers. They have learned botany and ornithology in the fields, geology, with the best text-books, in the quarries, and on the far distant sea-shores; men full of kindness and neighbourliness, in spirit independent as princes, fond of their wives and children, and loyal to their fellow-men. You find many such men, poor, and little known in the life of great towns. One man, a "sailor before the mast," well-known to the writer, had a great belief in his power to demolish the Bible. The walls of Jericho falling down at the sound of rams' horns, the sun standing still upon Gibeon, Samuel ordering Saul to spare neither old nor young, infant nor suckling, ox nor ass, and Elisha issuing his Bedouin command to the she-bears, were his delight. On one occasion, when his tongue seemed to be at his wildest and fiercest, and when his mockery was most of all contagious, a bystander whispered to the writer, "But you should see him if a neighbour has to knock him up for help of a night; he is not fierce *then*." Poor neighbours often have need to "knock each other up at night," and then it is that a person's real character is seen. This case is not adduced to show that a spirit of disbelief of the Bible is characteristic of the artisans of the large towns. There are men of all views in the same workshop, opposing each other on all occasions as ardently as doctors and philosophers wrangled of old in the schools of Alexandria. It is the intellectual life only to which reference is made here; the life that sixty years ago bade fair to ruin England; the life that was dreaded alike by the Church and Dissent, and that was deemed destructive of all ideas of property. In its higher developments

it is now the best safeguard for law and order. Shorter hours of labour and free libraries have led to more eager reading. Public parks and cheap concerts and lectures have assisted to neutralise the baneful effects of the public-house. Who will say that, despite many drawbacks, the life of the great towns of England is not nobler and more to be trusted than it was sixty years ago?

To obtain a merely general view of the growth of great towns an old gazetteer and one of the present time would prove marvellously suggestive, and perhaps for such a general view no other mode of comparison would present the contrast more forcibly. Taking a gazetteer of 1815, we read of Liverpool that 'this flourishing sea-port, now second only to London, in 1565 contained only 138 householders and cottagers." Mr. Grant states that in 1812, when the first Liverpool newspaper began, the shipping-list of that paper consisted of one arrival and two departures, and the latter only for Dublin; but that is altogether an incorrect view of the port and trade. Several of the great docks had at the time been formed. The population in 1811 numbered about 90,000; in 1831 its number was about 165,000. It is now nearly 500,000, and the Mersey is laden with the produce of all nations. In 1815 the town, although large for the time, was only beginning to take shape. A strange new power was rising, to accomplish in years the work of centuries. Some time before the end of the seventeenth century steam-power had been tried, with a fair degree of success, on the Forth and Clyde canal, and about 1801 the experiment was extended to the Thames, where a boat was run against a strong current at the wonderful rate of two-and-a-half miles an hour. Ten years later all disputes as to the great new power were set at rest. American enterprise had stepped in with the necessary spur. Victories east and west of the Atlantic acted on each other "as iron sharpeneth iron," and "as a man sharpeneth the countenance of his friend." In this as in a thousand particulars indicated generally, if not noticed in detail, in this volume, the free life of America and the free life of England acted and reacted on each other with, in the main, beneficial results. From the time

that steam navigation was a demonstrated fact Liverpool began more definitely its majestic career. Its history was not altogether bright. It had sent out slavers and other questionable kinds of vessels, and had gloried in the trade. Need anything be said of what Liverpool is now, in spirit, in enterprise, in wealth, in position as an element in the general life of the nation? In 1815 the London mail arrived in Liverpool every morning at three o'clock, and the north mail at five, and left again at the appointed hours. Coaches and waggons ran in all directions—to London, Manchester, York, and everywhere southward, to Carlisle, Edinburgh, Newcastle, and everywhere to the north. And now? The trains, the steamers, the traffic by sea and land, the men of all nations crowding around the Sailors' Home and by the docks, the eager crowds in the great Free Library—a scene altogether unique of its kind.

Manchester, though at so short a distance, is a very different town from Liverpool, and Manchester, unlike Liverpool, represents a number of kindred towns. In 1815, though ancient and honourable—with 16,000 houses, nearly 100,000 inhabitants, and a cherished record which credited it with having had at one time, as far back as 130 years previously, as many as 20,000 communicants—Manchester was only, the old chronicler says, "the greatest village in England, governed by a head constable, or head borough." Yet, despite this, it had a collegiate church, a noble hospital and libraries—free schooling provided by private generosity—agricultural and philosophical societies, schools on the principles of Dr. Bell and Joseph Lancaster, and a fine trade. We have seen what Manchester was as a power in politics at times when Liverpool was voiceless and inactive. Of its spindles what a story might be told! In 1817 there were in all Lancashire 2,000 power-looms, and only a thousand in operation. In 1832 the number was 80,000, and Manchester had already become both the cotton capital of the world and the centre of a vast cotton district. It has now a population of about 350,000, and an ever-increasing trade. Birmingham, also a large village in 1815, and a little earlier termed by a great man the toy-shop of the world, was something more than a village

and more than a toy-shop even in the year 1815 when it had a population of less than 90,000. In 1831, with a population of nearly 147,000, it was in the vanguard of the struggle for Parliamentary Reform, and threw the county town, and all other Warwickshire towns, into the shade. Calling one day, some years ago, at the post-office at Walsall for an expected letter which had not arrived, the writer was asked by the postmaster how it was addressed. "Walsall, near Birmingham," was the reply. "That then is the reason of the delay," he said, scornfully; "'Walsall, near Birmingham!' Why, it ought to be 'Birmingham, near Walsall;' *we* were a town when Birmingham was nowhere,"—an amusing instance of a traditional feeling, and of a man kicking against the pricks of fate. Birmingham has now a population of nearly 350,000. It has also manufactures which distance the competition of the world. The cutlery of Birmingham and Sheffield has long had the reputation of being found everywhere, in savage as well as civilised lands. The exportation of 7,000 tons in 1820 was increased to more than 20,000 tons less than twenty years later; and "Brummagem" is no longer used as a term to signify that which is cheap and of questionable manufacture. Glasgow may be said to have progressed at still more gigantic strides—from a population of 147,000 in 1821 to 202,400 in 1831, and to 478,000 at the present time. If we extended the view to Leeds, to Newcastle-on-Tyne, to Sunderland, to Bristol, to Dublin, to Belfast, to Edinburgh, to Aberdeen, to Galway, to Dundee, to Sheffield, to Portsmouth, to Nottingham, passing over even this greatest hive of all on the banks of the Thames, what should we find of intellectual activity, of mechanical skill, of scientific research, of practical every-day work for the increase of wealth; and of work, amid all that, purely for the benefit of human kind? If the reader will step in imagination into the great workshop at Woolwich, and observe its, in many cases, self-acting machines, and its 8,000 hands, or into Enfield, where all is alive with machinery, in some cases as delicate as a watch, in some ponderous as for the work of Vulcan, it will hardly be necessary to go farther to see what an amount of power England could put

forth in time of danger—what an amount of power she puts forth for the glorious work of peace. If the inspection were extended to the huge workshops and foundries of Birmingham, and Glasgow, and Sheffield, to the mills of Manchester, and Belfast, and Leeds, and Paisley, and Nottingham, to the shipyards of Liverpool, and Glasgow, and Portsmouth, and to the potteries of Staffordshire, there would appear at every step fresh indications of power, of activity, of the manhood that is destined to carry on the great work of the past half century to other victories, moral and material, in that direction and of that kind upon which depend not the mere interests of classes, but the general well-being. The influences to which the vast changes here noticed have been owing are mostly new—the discoveries and inventions of two generations. The smelting of iron; the marvellous perfection of work alike in iron and wood by machinery; the mills, the ship-yards, all represent new appliances of labour, accompanied by new powers of intelligence.

It may be said truly that the great towns represent merely a portion of the progress of the nation. Not only is this the fact, but it may be accompanied by the equally certain fact that if the intellectual activity of great aggregates of men in such towns had only belonged to itself the prospects of the general progress had been questionable. But such is not the fact. Each large town became, as by a natural law, the centre of intellectual activity to a large district. If defects were perceived in the postal system, or in public conveyance, or, indeed, in any of a variety of particulars which are subjects of complaint from age to age, the reliance of the country was upon the town. If a clergyman claimed too much for his office, or a magistrate passed an arbitrary sentence, the appeal of the country, when all else was futile, was to where men found strength in union; and the fact remains to this day, and will remain for days to come. The country had much to give of strength and health, and of simplicity of manners. For freedom and the comforts of life it had to look beyond itself. The same law prevailed in the middle ages, but never perhaps in all the history of men did it prevail with such force and meaning as it has had in England

from some years before the end of the last century to our own time. The penny-post, the railway, the steamboat, united friends in a sense of which they knew nothing sixty years ago, when instances were known of a coasting voyage of ninety miles not ending in less than a fortnight, and when two brothers, tenderly attached to each other, and only separated by about fifty miles, were unable to meet more than once in thirty-five years. Both these cases are facts in life. A fine industrious labourer once confessed to the writer, with a little shame, that he never, although he had lived in the same place all his life, had seen a neighbouring town only separated from his home by a mountain and a distance of about eight miles. No, he said, his business had never carried him there, and he was always tired enough at night to be ready for bed. Before the penny-post, letters between poor friends were smuggled regularly, and all dangers risked. In fact, in lowly life, when once a brother and sister were separated by any distance, or a child so separated from its parents, the chances were that they never would meet again. At best, if the brother and sister did meet again, they found each other altogether changed; new "ties" had taken the place of old ones in each case, and in most instances there was a wise resolve on both sides that the one visit, looked for with such eagerness, had better be the last. People of small means—in particular, fathers and mothers, and children, and brothers and sisters—rarely think of the debt they owe to George Stephenson and Rowland Hill.

There is, it must be added, the fearful, dark side—the crime, misery, and folly of great towns. A Christian teacher, here and there, Catholic or Protestant, knows what woe, voiceful or mute, may be found at the bedsides of poor people, whose last hours have nearly come; knows somewhat of the fearfulness of the suffering that sin—the offspring of untoward circumstances and great temptation, probably more than innate wickedness—has entailed, and often rendered inevitable. If we desire to look upon the progress of the last sixty years in a vainglorious spirit, we had better look only to the fleets on the Mersey and at Spithead, to the spindles of Manchester and the work-

shops of Birmingham, to the libraries and schools that now cover the land. If we want the truth we must go deeper, to the places known to Elizabeth Fry, among others, and we shall perceive that, after all that has been done, there is work for every man and woman who, without caring for the folly of leaving "a mark on the time," would have the satisfaction of knowing at last that one human life had not been quite in vain. A record of the vice and sorrow in London alone would need a volume, but the story is better untold so far as history is concerned.

Of the reform struggle ending with the victory of 1832, and the municipal reform that followed, all that need be said here is, that the Class positions were not won till the masses of the nation were on the eve of revolution; that the Reform of Parliament was opposed by nearly the whole bench of bishops, and opposed by them to the very last. It never must be forgotten in generations to come, that when politicians halted and found it difficult to decide, when the clergy stood opposed to repealing the laws against freedom of opinion, there were vast bodies of Englishmen, many of whom were poor and obscure men, who had no such hesitation; who were ready in the reign of George III., or of George IV., as like men had been ready in the reign of Henry VIII., or Elizabeth, or Mary, to endure any penalties rather than concede to men in power the right to interfere in those matters of conscience which were rightly and justly held to be the prerogative of God alone. It was the gradual and slow development of the principle of nationality. Possibly England may have reaped advantage from the fact that her statesmen or politicians in past times did not precipitately force the nation into new principles or modes of life, but remained the retarding power in politics, the security that before great constitutional changes were effected a sufficiently large body of the people to stamp the change as national should have made the question their own. At the same time it must be conceded that the men who followed where they might have led did not evince the highest qualities of statesmanship. Lord Sidmouth answering the demand for economy

in a time of national distress by virtually asserting that more expenditure was needed, and meeting the criticism on vexatious legal proceedings by the statement that he would shortly demand increased powers to bring malcontents—that is, opponents of the Government—to justice, might elicit cheers, but it was not statesmanship nor anything at all resembling statesmanship. Let Lord Sidmouth's statesmanship be judged by its results. Every position for which he contended was taken from him, or has been taken from his followers. He lived long enough to see that he was fighting a losing battle. If he had lived some years longer, he had seen his entire policy reversed.

For administration like that of Sir Robert Walpole much may be allowed, because beneath cynicism as to state morality there was practical ability of so high an order as almost to redeem the faults. Sir Robert was a man of anomalies. In despising the press—while boasting that he had assisted to give it freedom—he evinced the same spirit as when he contemned religious convictions, yet professed firm attachment to the principles of 1688. It was a principle of unmitigated expediency, yet expediency adapted to the art of governing men in that corrupt age. In this his statesmanship differed widely from that of men like Bolingbroke, for whose principles and conduct it would be difficult to have too deep a scorn. When Lord North died, nothing was remembered of him but his patience and courage, his infinite tact, the loyalty with which he endured in silence the fiercely sarcastic and unanswerable denunciation of the policy with which he was identified. The success of Lord North would have been the ruin of England. The policy of certain of the men called malcontents in his time was identified with a proposed course of action, which even as short a period as ten years sufficed to prove would have prevented the disruption of the empire. In the case of the younger Pitt, something valuable was gained in the lofty spirit he carried into public affairs. As compared with Bolingbroke and Harley and Walpole, Pitt deserved the eulogiums that were pronounced upon him in after years. Canning's great

distinction was in foreign affairs; and in these his successor—a man of stronger nerve, and better fitted for the wear and tear of political life—was Lord Palmerston. Englishmen, Whig and Tory alike, in 1827, believed that the name of Canning had some sort of magical power in Europe; and Englishmen, thirty years later, had a like opinion—not unreasonably either—of Lord Palmerston. Yet what man among the statesmen most successful in holding power, ever distinctly pointed the way to those changes which have so materially assisted to build up the mercantile and moral greatness of the nation as we know that greatness now? It may be freely repeated that possibly the nation was fortunate in leading rather than in following statesmen; but the admission must again be followed by the assertion, that few of the men whom England accepted as statesmen during the period with which we are dealing answered to any of the ancient tests of statesmanship—of that statesmanship which was competent to the creation and stability of free nations. If a great change had been effected by Mr. Pitt, or later by Sir Robert Peel, without the public feeling leading, perhaps the new policy would have fallen with the man with whom it rose, as Thebes rose and fell with the virtues and capacity of two great men, and as many other nations rose and fell with one great hero or statesman. But this is to put an extreme case. Sir Robert Peel, one year upholding the corn laws as the perfection of human wisdom, and another year talking of sweetening the bread of the poor by taking from that bread the bad seasoning of injustice, is a fine example of a grave and conscientious statesman following, not leading; identifying his name with a policy made to his hand and forced on his acceptance. The statesmanship in connection with the corn laws was with the League which created the public opinion that repealed the corn laws, and that rendered the re-enactment of the bad laws impossible. Bright, and Cobden, and Perronet Thompson, and Milner Gibson were leaders of the statesmen in that great struggle.

The great aim of some of the foremost statesmen for a very long period was to "let well alone." The men who stood with

Charles James Fox, both before and after the great Whig division consequent on the French Revolution, were all willing to see certain changes in a constitution which some of them deemed radically defective. But Burke and the men he represented—Lord Fitzwilliam, Lord Spencer, and a party of weight, both in number and influence, whom a very real dread of the French Republicans had driven to the side of Pitt—stopped far short of the policy unhesitatingly advocated by Fox, and never had even clear glimpses of the great political changes of these last sixty years. The policy they opposed has, their descendants may now admit, stood the test of every subsequent year, though it must be granted as freely, on the other hand, that it will ever remain an open question whether the union which Fox would have accorded to France in 1790 would have conduced to the well-being of England. We may believe—we cannot prove—that the robustness and independence of English life, the sturdy patriotism which never needed much arousing when danger of England becoming a French province appeared, would almost certainly have asserted its majesty in the crisis of affairs, but there the question ends. All that it is necessary to observe is that while the policy of Fox has in this respect been the subject of conflicting opinion ever since his time, and will afford a theme for dispute to future ages, there can be no dispute that he saw, through mere administration, to those means whereby discontents might be removed and a united nation secured for peace or war. Pitt succeeded in opposing to French domination a front of determined defiance, when defiance was a virtue. If he could not win battles on land by means of subsidies, he proved, and to no one more clearly than to Napoleon, that the Frenchmen who invaded England would not readily return to France. In this, as we have before seen, the renowned minister found his life-duty, and in the performance of this duty he formed and left a compact "school." He was not, it may be repeated, eager for warlike expeditions which did not promise success, but assuredly he impressed upon the mind of the great soldier of France that a march into the very heart of Russia, or even to India, was more practicable than a nocturnal attempt

to dash across the silver streak from Boulogne to Dover. In short, cold and passionless as he appeared, Pitt was a fitting representative of the obstinate determination of Englishmen not to be subjects or tributaries of Napoleon. He left a huge debt and a most baneful home policy; but the clubs that took his name and assumed to represent his principles were not altogether in the wrong when they pledged—"the pilot that weathered the storm." It is from a conviction that Englishmen have an interest in Pitt as well as Fox, and in Fox as well as Pitt, that this final reference to the two great names and two great policies is made here. Pitt performed what appeared to him the present duty of the passing time; his followers made the gigantic error of deeming it a duty fitted for all times; his mantle indeed fell on Canning, but the virtue had passed away from it with the need. The policy of Fox fitted in the main for all times—durable indeed as humanity—was driven from public affairs, and to all appearance was abandoned. For many long and dangerous years, England had, as she had had through many more previous years, the administration of clerkly ability, with very little high statesmanship. It is the lesson of a hundred and fifty years.

If then the politicians in office since the Restoration can in few instances be called high statesmen, how, it may be asked, is it that England has been able to establish her laws, her faith, and her literature even to the ends of the earth; to secure for herself liberties which the apostles of freedom in all nations have upheld? Let us again recall in connection with this question that scarcely one of the liberties so much admired was willingly conceded by the men in power; and that of all English sovereigns since the Restoration to the time of the accession of Queen Victoria, William III. alone would, of his own will, have removed a single law that rested on the expression of opinion. It should also be remembered that of all nations England since the Reformation has stood pre-eminent in the possession of that robust and vital power which underlies the action of living and governing races. The exuberant spirit that carried Drake to the Spanish main, that defeated the Armada, that made

India a dependency of the Crown of England, that planted colonies where other nations merely sought to secure conquests, was the same spirit that demanded freedom to speak and write convictions, and that asserted that freedom in the face of all pains and penalties; the same spirit that found its way to material invention, to the improvement of laws, and which formed that individuality of character and self-dependence which are at the foundation of high enterprise. At the present time, London, perhaps, contains a larger number of self-reliant persons than all the world together outside the Anglo-Saxon race. Every working-day of the year the railway trains and the omnibuses pour into a hive of workers men of a thousand different occupations, and representing together a marvellous and unparalleled amount of quickened intellect and energy. Every man has his own little world, sealed up from the too close observation of his fellows. He enters upon daily duties which task all his mental and physical powers. If England were in real danger London could enroll an amount of robust life which would surprise those who still talk of the nation of shop-keepers. The same active life, the same invaluable element of self-dependence characterises every large town in the United Kingdom. Those Manchester lads whom M. Kossuth deemed specimens of washed-out humanity can bring to their own affairs a vast amount of intelligence and force of character. It was the national life, welling up within, that the politicians of past generations wielded and represented, when, in spite of a thousand administrative errors, manufacture and commerce increased, and battles social and political, often lost, were in the end won.

What may not be said of the vitality of a nation in which, in 1831, in a population of 5,812,000 males over twenty years of age, there were 5,466,000 engaged in some branch of labour of head or hands? Pauperism, it is true, had increased, and had become a gigantic danger, but the causes of the increase were in most cases perceptible; and meanwhile the working element of the nation increased in strength and intelligence. What also may not be said of the vitality of a people among whom, while statesmen were idle so far as regarded popular improvement,

a young and poor Quaker, Joseph Lancaster, set on foot in Southwark (about 1796) a vast system of schools, and without money-help, and before he was nineteen years of age, had ninety scholars under his care with a monitor system which in time extended all the world over—even to Persia? Twenty years of work left Joseph Lancaster very poor, but with a fame that will endure for ages. What could not be said of the national vitality when John Pounds, a poor crippled shoemaker of Portsmouth—contemporary with Joseph Lancaster—set on foot a system of evening schools, and, poor as he was, taught them without earning a penny for his labour? There was vitality and goodness here, while the real "wastrels"—as Lord Sandon might say—of society—the fops and idlers—were acting the ignoble part of London Mohawks and founding immoral clubs.

It has been argued against the continuance of this strong individuality, that the principles of trades-unionism, and even of co-operative labour tend to the production of a certain dead level of intellect and industry opposed to the best traditions of England. The reply to this is that where trades unions and co-operation tend to the restriction of individual pre-eminence in labour they will fail, and that in the meantime, while education is still the possession of, comparatively, merely the few, even though it is on the fair way to becoming the possession of all, the unions of workmen are a simple necessity. That trades unions never could exist in their present form among an educated people appears one of the simplest of social certainties. To condemn trades unions so long as the men who form them find them a necessity, and so long also as like unions exist—among barristers-at-law and others—would not merely be gross injustice, but would, moreover, be but so many words and so much action thrown away. That such unions do in many cases impair the power of individual exertion is certain; but they give to individual action the same strength of co-operation that was given to the men who struggled for parliamentary reform, to the Chartists, to the Anti-Corn Law League. They give, too, the power in reserve. Of the organisation of the Chartists it has been the fashion of late to make small account, but the men who

so treat a great historical organisation go a very short distance beneath the surface of the events of the last thirty years. The fury and white-heat of the Chartist agitation assisted more practical men to arrive at practical ends. If Feargus could return, with his noise and bluster, in these times, he would find nearly all his political programme won, or on a fair way to being won. The Chartists afford valuable lessons, and many of their principles and much of their manner of action were inherited. The Radicals of 1817 and later were often wild and reckless orators, but if the subject is examined they will be found to have far more correctly adapted their style of speech to the end in view than, for instance, many so-called great—and in any case fervid and eloquent—preachers have adapted theirs to the ends of pulpit-teaching. It is not unusual to find a preacher affecting the eloquence of Demosthenes, whereas, if preaching means anything, it means the moulding of character, as character was moulded by the calm wisdom and address of Socrates. Demosthenes strove to concentrate public opinion to one defined object, which an hour might save or ruin. So was it with Lord Chatham. So at a later time was it with the Radical speakers and writers. The duty of the moral teacher is not to excite passion, or even to form opinion so much as to form character. It is doubtful whether Demosthenes, who did so much and so well, made one human life better, morally, while it is quite certain that Socrates, who never was fervid himself, or sanctioned fervour in any other person guiding morals—who never hastened to utter his words, or stooped to use what in those days also were termed "fine words"—did influence lives and mould character. When a man uses the same power permanently to influence lives that he would use to gain the object of an hour, or the object in any case of a policy which, in the immediate sense, has no direct relation to the purification of the individual life, he may be an efficient worker, but it is clear that he is using the wrong tools. A perception of this fact, even though the perception may not have shaped itself in words, has frequently led people to doubt whether the sermons which most readily awaken enthusiasm, in anything like the same degree influence character. But it cannot

be denied or doubted that the Radical speeches were clearly adapted to the end in view. The words intended to create a real danger, created that danger. Indignation and discontent were intentionally called into being, and if the men who raised the spirit of unrest failed to effect great changes in the constitution of the nation, they assuredly assisted others to effect those changes in later years. For fervid speech was of the nature of the influences adapted to the end in view.

No more valuable political lessons remain to Englishmen from the last half century than those that may be read in the struggles of the Chartists and the Anti-Corn Law League. If any great constitutional battle is again required, Englishmen need go no farther for examples of the causes of success or failure. The Chartists seemed to have as simple and compact an organisation as the magnitude of their operations admitted. Their demands were easily understood, and in theory were strictly just, if practicable. Of practicability the men who followed Feargus O'Connor took no account. They had a complete network of committees directed from a common centre. They had clever lecturers, a fiery and fierce literature, and a basis of national discontent, in some places as of black despair. They had "points," and arguments too, of the most convincing kind, in the cost of the National Church; the wanton profligacy of a prince whom grown men remembered too well, and whom clergymen had flattered and defended; in the heavy cost of all departments of the state, and the heavy taxation by means of which the cost was provided. Nor were they at all chary about their choice and use of arguments drawn from social abuses. If a magistrate, and especially a clergyman, sent a child to prison for a trifling cause, the stupidity of the magistrate was set down to the badness of the constitution. And still more when the hated new poor law was in force, and a board of guardians broke up a poor home, and recklessly and cruelly separated a couple of people in their last years of life, as many boards did, there was for the Chartist a real argument against the poor law, the men who drew it up, and the Parliament that gave it being. They often also seized upon the facts of poverty,

privation, and sickness as arguments equally valid, and people in great suffering, and incapable in such cases of calm, hard logic, believed every assertion that seemed to promise relief. The great body of the Chartists were earnest men; some of them were men of high intelligence; but for want of better leaders they gave themselves over into the hands of persons who sported or tampered with great interests. Immense power was wasted; the Chartists had nothing in reserve. If they could not shoot down an evil, they could always burn powder; and so they fired away, often with no other result than causing intense uneasiness the entire country through, and risking lives, while unintentionally preparing the way for the success of the Free-Traders. No better picture has been given of Chartism in its early days than that in the autobiography of William Lovett. The "Charter" itself, and how it originated, the startling proposals of Mr. Lovett, and his friends, to members of Parliament, as a means of union and concerted action to abolish work for a sacred month; the suspicions and doubts, the grave hopes and joyful forecasts, the action and withdrawal from action of notable men—as Cobbett, O'Connell, Roebuck, and Hume—are given with evident faithfulness and accuracy in a picture that carries its own recommendation. On the accession of the Queen, a "workman's association succeeded in presenting to Her Majesty a loyal address," written by Lovett, and picturing in extremely florid colours the undoubtedly sad condition—the condition too sad to need overcolouring—of the poor. The State Church; "the Whig and Tory factions;" the "exclusive few," were bitterly and unsparingly denounced. The first object of the petitioners was that a deputation of six of themselves should present this document to the Queen; but Lord John Russell informed them, to their horror, that this could only be done at a *levée*, which the deputation must attend in court dress. Court dress! Did Lord John actually think they would go with "such absurdities as swords, dress coats, and wigs?" So Lord John presented the petition, which denounced himself and his friends, among others, in terms which, if the Queen ever read them, must either have given her the impression

that it was written by madmen, or that she was surrounded by some of the worst men the world ever had produced. It was the Chartist manner of working as politicians, frightening by the noise if they did not hurt by the discharge of their artillery.

The Anti-Corn Law League began in a different fashion from that of the Chartists. Its first meetings were so small that the favourite illustration of the three tailors of Tooley Street would often have been a correct representation of what went by the name of meeting. Those who met, however, were practical men, men of business and administrative capacity. The League enjoined on its speakers and writers the use of arguments strictly to the point; and the sort of arguments found most powerful were those that had been handed from father to son for generations against the cruel and iniquitous laws. The question was one of bread; the appeal was to people perishing for want of food. The leaguers were able to show to farmers that all the laws made for the prohibition of the importation of corn had been simply for the benefit of the owners, not of the occupiers and cultivators of land. Rents had increased; tithes had necessarily grown more valuable; the farmer and the labourer merely were worse off than ever. Then the leaguers, unless in moments of rage, had no wild talk about destroying the constitution. They spoke of having devised means to save the constitution. They enlisted the middle class. They met and defeated the Chartists in fair argument. They convinced people everywhere that the corn laws could and should be conquered. When the victory had been fairly won, and there was no longer a tax on bread, the League committed its most cardinal error by continuing its existence after the purpose for which it had been formed had gone. Up to that point there had been statesmanlike qualities, which history in generations to come will place higher than the qualities of the men in office when the corn laws were repealed. The error of the League consisted in not knowing when to die, as a means to a new birth, if a new birth were desirable. Feuds, animosities, differences of views, needed to be buried, and were buried in the end, in defiance of the League. It is a great and invaluable

history, however, that comes to us with the name of the Anti-Corn Law League; and if statesmanship means keen sight, a grave and sincere purpose, and a determination that battles once begun shall be won, the names of Bright, and Cobden, and Perronet Thompson, and Villiers, and Ebenezer Elliot represent statesmanship. They and the men with whom they acted—a splendidly compact party—forced into life a great policy of justice and peace. With reference to the Chartists, it may be said that a certain hesitation seems always to have existed in the English character as to the propriety of rebellion. Unless led by men of mark, nearly all our historic uprisings have been characterised by failure, and mostly by the sacrifice of leaders. The cruel death of William Fitz-Osbert—the "Longbeard," the "King (or sometimes "Saviour") of the Poor"—of the reign of Richard I.; and later the death of Wat Tyler, are useful and early historical reminders of characteristics and events which run through English history, and which contrast markedly with such events as the enforced acceptance by King John of Magna Charta, and with the expulsion of James II. Dead, the "King of the Poor" became a martyr. The people in their sorrow and compunction for his cruel death forgot all rules and dangers. They mourned openly as for a father, and dared consequences. So in another sense they mourned for Wat Tyler. Under the leadership of Hereward the Wake they were heroes; under the iron rule of the Norman chiefs they were ground to the earth; they saw their homesteads torn from them, saw great forests made for the pleasures of the chase, and, save in isolated cases, they appeared incapable of striking the necessary blows. Perhaps it is Saxon nature. At least it is English history, running down to very recent times.

Where, however, it rests upon us to inquire, was the real danger to England from Radicalism—from Chartism? Not, certainly, where some people suppose it to have been. There was one presumed danger that was altogether unreal. There was one that never was estimated at anything like its magnitude. No greater injustice was done to intelligent Radicals of either 1817 or 1834 than to charge them with a wish to divide property. The

Spenceans were of small account at any time as followers of Spence. They acquired a certain notoriety, it is true, during the Spa Fields Riot, but it was by the sacrifice of their Spencean principles, though in the name of "the old fanatical schoolmaster who proposed to re-divide property." That notoriety soon passed away, and with it even the Spencean name. It cannot, it must be granted, be denied that very many years after the Spenceans were a myth with not even a name among political powers, wild and foolish language was used in public meetings and in Radical newspapers. One memorable declaration was made in 1831 at one of the great meetings of an association, over which Sir Francis Burdett had presided, to the effect that "all property honestly acquired would be deemed inviolable." Naturally this opened a wide question, and startled the owners of property. A number of instances, however, might be given to show that such views were the mere froth on the surface of the great sea of human life, whose deeper depths were not fathomed, if indeed they have been so since. A petition from operatives in Glasgow in the same year emphatically disowned "the most distant idea of revolution," although the petitioners confessed that personally, and beyond the horrors that revolution brought, they could not see that they had anything to lose, come what might. The idea of any claim on the property of other men they utterly repudiated. Abundant proof to the same effect exists in the autobiography of William Lovett, and in all the more sober and restrained Radical literature referring to the aims and doings of the Chartists. Lovett, writing of the time when he was in prison, and of Mr. Attwood's motion with respect to the "National Petition" in the House of Commons, says:—"Mr. Attwood's speech on this occasion was mixed up with many of his currency crotchets, and the motion was but feebly supported by the Liberal members, many of them contenting themselves with a silent vote; while Lord John Russell, in his opposition to it, scrupled not to introduce all kinds of false and virulent charges against the petitioners, among others charging them with the desire for an equal division of property. The motion was lost by a majority of

189." Of the schools and many good projects of Robert Owen, the men with whom Hone was associated in 1817, and the men whom Lovett represented in 1840, spoke with the highest respect, while, as we have seen, both classes alike combated with exceeding bitterness what they deemed the political tendency of the doctrines of Mr. Owen. Anything like a community of property they utterly scouted as an idea unworthy of sane men. Lovett, all through an active life, marked at every turn by a readiness to make sacrifices, had not only the ordinary sensible English view of property, but also a keen knowledge of what is meant by the prescription of time. When he had, as he thought, probed Robert Owen's plan to the foundation—he had not probed it really—he asked himself and others the question—"Who can foresee what human beings may become when the individualism in their nature is checked by education" (that is on Owen's uniform plan), "and endeavoured to be crushed out of them by a majority—and it may be that majority not always a reasonable and enlightened one? What may become of man's inventions when some plodding, persevering schemer, content to starve in his closet in hopes of perfecting a project that may win him fame and benefit his country, is peremptorily called upon to abandon his hopes, and yield to the bidding of authority?" He adds, however, in forcible language, that though he had lost faith (he had faith at first) in a community of property, he had not lost faith in "a wise and judicious system of co-operation in the production of wealth." The political Radicals, we should not forget, saw only "materialism" in the projects of the great social reformer. They heard from him little if anything of political rights; much about growing rich. Riches were not the object of these men, but politics. Lovett, never a rich man, never, indeed, a man who would be called "well-to-do," was offered the secretaryship of Feargus O'Connor's land scheme, from which great things were expected at the time by workmen. He peremptorily refused it, and in so doing, as stated previously, put on record a more scathing picture of O'Connor than Samuel Bamford's picture of Henry Hunt. The proposal was made by gentlemen in whom Mr. Lovett had

the highest confidence. It promised wealth and position; and he refused it simply because he distrusted O'Connor. It may be repeated that proposals for a division of property were made, and perhaps frequently, as many other foolish ideas were promulgated; but the intelligent men who in real emergencies kept wilder spirits within the bounds of common sense never contemplated a division of property, or anything at all like it. All the talk of danger on this point is chimerical.

Let us not hastily form the same opinion, however, of what is represented in the position taken by Lovett with respect to the militia, or in the "inward part and thing signified" by the "sacred month" of the Chartists. It is only by looking at some such ebullition of public feeling that we see what the real danger was. The calmest and most sincere men in the country were the most alarmed. Persons not alarmed were mainly people who had nothing to lose, or who were incapable of calculating the consequences of a civil war, or who were too enthusiastic for right and too appalled at the extent of the existing wrong to weigh with nicety the gain against the loss of the struggle that seemed impending. The autobiography of Lovett shows in his refusal to serve in the militia, and his grounds for it, what a spirit the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel were challenging when they declared reform unnecessary and dangerous. "No vote no musket" carried out, as it easily could have been carried out in a just cause, would have brought about a crisis worse than any other known in our history. Lovett's own story is that on being balloted to the militia in 1831, and the question of why he refused, as he did refuse either to serve or provide a substitute, being put to him, he replied, "On the ground of not being represented in Parliament, and of not having any voice or vote in the election of those persons who make the laws that compel us to take up arms to protect the rights and property of others, while my own rights, and the only property I have, my labour, are unprotected." His furniture thereupon was sold at a great sacrifice, and a substitute provided; but the case was heard of, in strong terms, in Parliament, and the resistance of "no vote no musket"

came to an end by the ballotings for the militia ceasing. The same crisis could not occur now; but it might forty-five years ago have signified rather unpleasant consequences. When the Chartists called for a total cessation of labour—the "sacred month"—they took the one step that cut off their own supplies, and there possibly the mad scheme would, under any conceivable ordinary circumstances, have been wrecked. It is easy, though, to see how a proposal for dogged resistance, like that of the Quakers against church-rates, might have operated, not merely in the case of the militia, but in many others. No power of man has ever yet been able to compel a Quaker to take arms, and Lovett, and some of the men who acted with him, were quite as obstinate as Quakers. To stop a man from doing something, it was only necessary to shut him up in prison. To compel him to do something was quite a different matter, and in all probability the ballotings for the militia were continued quite far enough into the years of peace. The time had come when resistance to a reform of Parliament was in all truth exactly like Mrs. Partington trying to mop back the Atlantic. "We prevented the evil by resistance," say some. No, no; that lesson would be a bad one. The evil was averted by concession—calm, honest, statesman-like concession.

In endeavouring to comprehend the imminence of the danger, there is ample material for sober reflection in a well-known story which Miss Martineau re-tells in her "Sketch" of the Duchess of Kent. Referring to the anxieties of the amiable Duchess, and the danger that the Duke of Cumberland might be appointed Regent in case of the King's death, Miss Martineau says:—"There were uncertainties. The king might have children; and mysterious dangers seemed to impend from the Duke of Cumberland, the extent of which became revealed to the astonished nation in 1835, when a Committee of Inquiry, obtained by Mr. Hume, brought to light a scheme for setting aside the succession, which it would be scarcely possible to believe now but for the substantial documentary evidence which remains in our hands. The Orange leaders had got into their heads that the Duke of Wellington meant to seize the crown, and that the right thing

to be done in opposition was to make the Duke of Cumberland king. Letters were produced which proved that the notion of certain friends and tools of the future King of Hanover was that it would be necessary to declare King William insane and the Princess disqualified for reigning, by being a minor and a woman. Under the explosion of loyalty thus caused on behalf of a good-natured old king and a fatherless princess, Orangeism and its leader promised whatever was required, and disappeared from public notice. All was safe after 1836; but the preceding five years must have been heavily weighted with care to the guardian of the presumptive heiress to the throne." If we remember that these elements of mischief were brewing at the very time that the reform fever was at its height, we may have some conception of what might have been in store for England if once the flood-gates had been opened. Perhaps in all human history there never was a more healing reign than that of Queen Victoria, or a more benign personal influence extending from the throne to the private and public life of a nation. At the time of the Queen's accession to the throne there were in existence elements of discord so marked and numerous that, look in whatever direction a person might, some new feature of disorder met him. The Queen's influence from first to last has been a healing one. She never has aimed in one instance to break the bruised reed. She has aimed in many instances to raise the poor from the mire; and she has succeeded. No political party has made her a partisan. She has inherited no feud, national or individual. The "olive branch" that the Americans offered in vain to the ministers of George III., Queen Victoria has offered back, in a hundred ways, to America; and it has been more than merely respectfully received. She has heard of distress with pain which never has been questioned. She has stood above the strife of churches and of parties. She has not in all her reign interposed to prevent the enactment of a good law, or the repeal of a bad one. In short it has been her woman's—her queenly—prerogative to heal the festering wounds of many wars, without and within, and to give a higher ideal to royalty than had been known in England for many generations. Let us suppose that

instead of measures for Reform we had had Resistance and Outbreak, and instead of Queen Victoria's undisputed succession and generous royalty, a false issue had been raised by the Duke of Cumberland, in the turmoil of the time—what then? It is not pleasant to conjecture what might have been. It is pleasanter to think of what is, and of what may be still more markedly in the future if the successors of Her Majesty have the same wise spirit and the same patriotic character. One of the first good results of the Queen's accession was the separation of England from Hanover, and a "good quittance" of the Duke of Cumberland, who went away, with his sour and despotic temper more soured than even its wont, to rule in Hanover as he hardly would have been permitted to rule in England. We lost the churl called a duke, and kept the Sovereign Lady, whom very few Englishmen are not proud, and when the occasion arises enthusiastically proud, to call Queen. The time had come when men might honestly begin to talk—as they could not before in human memory, even the oldest—but as Tennyson afterwards truly sang, of

> "A land of settled government,
> A land of just and old renown,
> Where Freedom broadens slowly down
> From precedent to precedent."

The idea might have been a pure fiction. Many of our precedents, legal and otherwise, had been exceedingly bad and unconstitutional. To Queen Victoria we are indebted for very much of the good influence that makes the lines a reality, and that causes the royal name—very nearly wrecked by George IV.—to blend, in sobriety and truth, with the name of England.

It would betoken something like dereliction of duty if no mention were made here of the healthy influence of another organisation to which the welfare of England at the present time has been greatly owing—the organisation of the Teetotallers. It is not too much to say that whatever might be the action of public men of wealth and position, no intelligent workman, a leader of workmen, during the last eighty years, ever doubted that the one selfish interest that needed most to be grappled

with and combated is the interest of the public-house, ever growing in might and power. There is no intention to conclude this book with a teetotal lecture. There is an intention to try to deepen a solemn lesson which many thousands of persons are learning every day, on the way to ruin. Nearly every workman of mark who has written on political affairs has pointed to the rock on which the political efforts and happiness of workmen have been wrecked. There may be differences of opinion as to whether the evil should be met by moral means merely, or by moral means and legislative interference. It is the safest principle perhaps to say, Let it be met by both—by every means that human ingenuity can devise. Then, when it has been so met by all known means, welcome the man who can find one method more. Let the preacher talk of it, even though it be with a nasal twang; the philosopher write of it, even though it be in the worst grammar. Let any man have a hearing, as of right, if he can show how to break one of the most baneful of all trades' unions. Turning once more to William Lovett, we find this statement:—

"I drew up, as early as 1829, a petition for the opening of the British Museum, and other exhibitions of Art and Nature, on Sundays. The petition was signed by many thousand persons, and was presented to Parliament by Mr. Hume. A few extracts from it will convey its spirit and intent: 'Your petitioners consider that one of the principal causes of drunkenness and dissipation on the Sabbath is the want of recreation and amusement. . . . It is therefore not surprising that the injunctions delivered from the pulpit are often disregarded, or that labouring men seek relief from religious instruction in the oblivious and demoralizing sociality of the ale-house, which, unfortunately, too often terminates in drunkenness. Your petitioners are further convinced that many of their labouring fellow-countrymen who frequent those haunts of vice and dissipation on Sundays are tempted to spend their leisure hours in this objectionable manner more from a desire of participating in agreeable pastime than from a love of drink; thus they imperceptibly contract bad habits, and from merely sipping in the first instance the intoxicating poison, they ultimately become actively vicious, and often fall a prey to pauperism and crime."

The history of the battle against the increasing influence of the public-house will be curious, if it ever is fairly written.

First societies for "moderation" were tried, and were pronounced a failure. Then a number of mostly poor men in Preston, Manchester, and elsewhere drew together for total abstinence. Ardent themselves, and actuated by a living faith in their principles, they were often men of very scant charity in dealing with other men who saw no harm in a glass of ale, and who could not only "stop at the one glass," but who cherished that one as an essential element in the comforts of life. The arguments ready at hand for the teetotallers were unhappily too numerous and indisputable to satisfy men gifted with the power of subtle definition and exposition. It was deemed necessary to prove that a glass of ale contained so much poison, and that the wine at the marriage of Cana of Galilee was the pure unfermented juice of the grape. They might be right as to the wine, but it was unimportant whether they were so or not, since proof one way or the other is impossible. Shoeless wives and children, ruined tradesmen, workmen whom no one would employ, were far more pertinent and forcible arguments than talk about the marriage at Cana of Galilee, and to these arguments there was no possible reply, logical or otherwise. One devoted man among others stood on the solid ground of the irrefutable argument, and so became a veritable apostle, an undoubted saint, indeed, worthy of canonization. What O'Connell was as the hero of the emancipation of the Catholics, Father Mathew was as the hero of temperance, and no Church ever had a nobler apostle. At length the teetotallers, in spite of the good they had done, grew wearied of their long and apparently hopeless struggle, and they shifted the ground to a demand for a Permissive Bill. It is here that the battle became fierce. The cry was raised—"Talk as much as you please, but let us alone—we do not interfere with you; do not you interfere with us." The demand, however, is utterly out of the question. There never again can be any such letting alone in England. The owners of spirit-vaults have become princes; they control some elections; they influence every election; and they boast of their power. To find a responsible act of citizenship dominated by any trade's union would be bad;

to find it dominated by this trade's union would be unendurable. It would be unjust, then, in estimating social influences to forget the men who have worked so gallantly to induce sobriety; who have laboured amid opprobrium to make men and women sober.

It would argue a like dereliction of duty to have referred to the subject of National Education in a work on social progress and not to have indicated anything like an opinion as to the crucial differences of view now existing. When the subject of popular education began of late years to disturb the national mind, the Established Church and Dissent alike stood in the way, the latter desiring to give religious education, the former adding to this catechisms, and the general training that catechisms represent. There was felt to be a dead-lock, which Dissenters at last removed by voting for the acceptance of board-schools, and in some cases giving up their own distinctive schools to board management. No religious body has shown a larger interest in education than the Congregationalists; perhaps no religious body, with the exception of the Established Church, has done anything like as much to provide education. In this case the Established Church gave up nothing, waived nothing, stood simply on its assumed right to control education—a right never conceded to it, and never likely to be so under any circumstances by the nation at large. Many persons, warmly sympathising with Mr. Forster in his attempt to carry a Bill that would be the basis of a great system of National Education, lamented the harsh terms applied to him by leading and representative Dissenters. Some ungenerous and unjust words were spoken and written. When, however, all this has been duly allowed, it is not necessary to take the equally ungenerous course of forgetting that Dissenters saw the Established Church placed at an advantage which no staunch political Nonconformist ever conceded to it as a right, or allowed to it by courtesy. Mr. Forster had his view; and from first to last he maintained that view in the spirit of a gentleman. These Dissenters too had a great heritage of freedom not to be lightly cast away. To ask a Congregationalist

—Independent or Baptist—to concede any distinctive claim of an Established Church, is to ask him to concede the whole principle of his Nonconformity. The Methodist has not of necessity any such principle, while the Catholic has, if he, like the Independent, or Baptist, or Unitarian, would only concede the theory of the liberty he claims. It is history, and therefore not to be ignored, that the Established Church and its claims, not Nonconformity and its claims, blocked the way of National Education. High Tories among Churchmen may argue and denounce as they please, they will find nothing, when exclusive claims are in question, but a stern front and a grim defiance from the men who represent in these times the men who stood with Milton, and for Milton's principles, more than two centuries ago. It is possible, at the same time, for the front to be too stern; the defiance too grim. It is possible for Churchmen to hate exclusiveness as heartily as any Dissenter can hate it, and much more heartily than a great many do. Whatever the Church of England may have been in old times, no one can say that of late years it has been antagonistic to popular education. Its voluntary efforts are in all respects foremost now among those of religious bodies; and these efforts cannot justly be met with the ungenerous cry that they mean only sectarianism. It is not too much to say that on the efforts of able and intelligent men among Churchmen a vast number of the noblest of existing schemes for the education of the poor depend. Surely the time has come when Dissenters, standing on their distinctive principles, might yet allow that where the Established Church is doing good work no one ought to stand in the way. If it has great funds, let it use them. If it can offer greater inducements to attendance at school than Dissenters can, surely it is to the benefit of the young that the inducements should be offered. If the issue could be reduced to the one point of sound education, many of the differences would disappear. Half a century has removed many bones of contention, and made some to seem absurd. When Dr. Blomfield was appointed to the bishopric of London, he found one of his first duties in opposing a Nonconformist Society for

promoting "Ecclesiastical Knowledge." In other words, the battle that was then setting in so fiercely for political reform had a companion picture in the battle setting in for ecclesiastical reform. The society here referred to had, as one of its most belligerent members, the Rev. Thomas Binney, well known long after this as the Nonconformist Bishop, and as not only a very good, but also a very gentle and kind man, and the author of "How to Make the Best of Both Worlds"—perhaps the great mistake (so far as the title of the work is concerned) of Mr. Binney's life, for it seemed to indicate that in the view of a leading Nonconformist the great old principle of Sacrifice had given place to a new bland doctrine of "going to heaven in slippers." Mr. Binney had no such meaning, but the title of his book was none the less unfortunate. To find Dr. Blomfield referring to Mr. Binney as an ecclesiastical revolutionist reads in these days like a satire. That Bishop Blomfield, a good and devoted man, to whom the character and usefulness of the Established Church was more than houses and land, and of whom a great wit and Liberal said that he would soon, as Bishop of London, be the whole Church of England, should look upon "Bishop" Binney as an incendiary, shows how strangely men could think of opponents less than fifty years ago. Times and men have mightily changed in these fifty years, and if workmen—poor men of all occupations—are wise, they will accept, for their children, the benefit of every fund the Church of England can offer them, and will not heed the cry of "sectarianism," which Dissenters often heedlessly raise. Where there is a clergyman bent on helping the young to learn, in Heaven's name let him work, and let us trust that all good may be with him while he works well. Might not Dissenters, while true to their faith, take this course in 1876, and while the educational differences remain? Long enough we have heard "You Churchmen wish to have all the education of the people in your hands:" "You Dissenters are merely acting from a spirit of opposition to the Church." If the Radicals of 1832—or the men who drew up and signed the People's Charter, so called —had been empowered to deal with such puling nonsense,

they would have swept it away as a mass of cobwebs. It is no question either of Church or Dissent. It is a question of knowledge or ignorance. Teach our children to read and write, to comprehend the laws of their nature, the laws of economy, the laws of the land, and the laws of God, is the cry of every intelligent and patriotic man whose small means are insufficient to enable him to do what he would to make his children useful citizens, and of every intelligent and patriotic man who, having the means to do right by his own children, also wishes to do right by others. If one dared to prophesy, one might safely enough indicate a day in a by no means distant future, when questions as between Church and Dissent will be left to Church and Dissent to settle, while the one problem of education or ignorance rises above all else, and claims solution at the hands of all honest men.

Looking forward to the solution of social and political problems, surely Englishmen are justified in believing that the statesmen of the reign of Queen Victoria may, if they will, work with a nation behind them for social and political progress, labouring for the time when every English child shall be instructed, and shall have a fair field for all its ability and acquirements. The progress, in peace, in order, in loyalty, since the time of the "first gentleman," has been of such a nature and magnitude, that it is difficult to say what may not be accomplished in the next sixty years, if only the nation can secure grave and true men at the head of affairs, and can avoid the curse of war. The peace of England has often been of the first importance to civilisation, but never, perhaps, was it so important as now, if peace can be preserved without the sacrifice of higher interests; and they must be very high interests indeed if they outweigh in the balance the present and future well-being of millions of poor people to whom war would mean penury, privation, and high hopes indefinitely deferred; if they outweigh the fate of a colonial empire in which are laid the foundations of many future nations; if they divert from peaceful pursuits energies which may be directed to enterprise manlier by far than any that belongs to war. Perhaps a stray passage, here and there, in the

foregoing chapters may suggest to the reader some line which divides true from spurious statesmanship; and which marks merely ephemeral reputation from that which stands the storms of ages, and brightens under the test of every passing year.

Perhaps also, a stray passage here and there may suggest some thought of how the well-being of the nation may be promoted in very unostentatious ways. It is impossible to pass through the streets of any town without seeing a drinking-fountain, a cabman's shelter, or something, suggestive of laudable work, whose recompense is in itself. To imagine that all the dangers to Constitutional Government are ended in England would be as absurd as to imagine that all danger of disloyalty to the Crown is so ended. In both cases there are dangers that never pass away. To know that the Constitution is the best foundation and security for the Throne is one of the great lessons of English history. That the ark of liberty is precious beyond all price, and not even to be touched by a felonious finger, is worthy to be handed from father to son; to be bound "as a sign upon the hand," and "as frontlets between the eyes," and that "ye may teach it to your children, speaking of it when thou sittest in thine house, and when thou walkest by the way, when thou liest down, and when thou risest up; and thou shalt write it upon the door-posts of thine house, and on thy gates." And when the English child shall say—"What meaneth this?" thou shalt reply—"This is the truth maintained by our fathers, against many despots, in the face of cruel laws, in the old days, and this, if England need it, shalt thou maintain in the days to come."

INDEX.

A.

Abbott, Justice (Lord Tenterden). Hone charged before, 364; career, past and future, of Mr. Justice Abbott, 372; skirmishes with Hone, 380—389; not guilty, 390.

Act of Union, England and Scotland, 49.

Act of Union, Great Britain and Ireland, 222.

Addison, Joseph, the "Spectator," 56; as a Whig party writer in support of King George, ibid.; first-fruit of the reward of his zeal, 65, 66; see also Press, and 565.

Althorp, Lord, his doubt with respect to Brougham, 297, dissatisfaction with the court, 563.

"Alton Locke," Mr. Kingsley's, an incorrect picture, 259.

America, emigration of Puritans to, 12; opposition, not so much to an Established Church as to Episcopacy, 27; Roger Williams driven to the desert, ibid.; the colonies to be taxed, 110; Mr. Grenville's financial resolutions, 118; Franklin the representative of the colonies, 119; Stamp Act passed, 120; wild defiance of the Government in America, ibid.; fresh proposals of Mr. Charles Townshend for colonial taxation, 127; Wedderburn denounces Franklin, 130; the "olive branch" offered by America, and rejected, 132; decisive march of events, ibid.; Lord North's last effort to retain the form of taxation rejected by the colonists, 129; motion of the Duke of Richmond, praying the King to make peace with America by even the recognition of independence, opposed by Lord Chatham, Lord Camden, and Lord Temple, 133; surrender of Lord Cornwallis, ibid.; the Rockingham ministry, and peace with America, 134; Horne Tooke's declaration that the King's troops have butchered the American colonists at Lexington and Concord, 141; strong popular feeling in favour of the colonies, ibid.; Cobbett in America, 187; returns to England, 212; war between England and America, 233; Cobbett's flight to, in 1817, on suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, 323; the common interests of both great branches of the Anglo-Saxon race, 354, 355; noble conduct of America after the great rebellion, 541; action and reaction of the free life of America and England, 579.

Anne, Queen, beginning of her twelve years' reign, 47; a reign of wars, ibid.; warlike exploits, ibid.; character of Marlborough's wars, 48; Tory ministry and parliament, ibid.; laws against schism, ibid.; Defoe in the pillory, 49; "Semper Eadem," ibid.; the Queen and the Church, ibid.; new churches for London, ibid.; union of Scotland and England, ibid.; the Union Jack, ibid.; first Parliament of Great Britain, ibid.; influence of Lord Somers, 50; Sacheverell mobs for Church and Queen, 51; great privileges of the Church, 52-56 literature of Anne's reign, 58; national debt, ibid.; property qualification for members of Parliament, ibid.; Schism Bill, &c., 58, 59; death of the Queen, 59; Marlborough's reputed character of her, ibid.; her favourites, and intrigue to prevent the Hanoverian succession, ibid.; Walpole, ibid.; the Whig counterplot, 64-66.

Arkwright. See Hargraves.
Army, standing, in the reign of Charles II., 19, 20; the old feudal tenure gone, ibid.; James II. sends out Kirke with troops to aid Jeffreys, 37; James resolves to employ Roman Catholics in, 39; the army cheer the defeat of the King, 41 (see also wars of Marlborough and of William III.); Mutiny Act, 44 (see also Rebellions of 1715 and 1745; Chatham, America, French Revolution, and Rebellion in Ireland); new views and questions with respect to the army, 537; popular error as to great soldiers and sailors, ibid.; error of Kossuth and Mazzini as to the power of opinion, 542, 543; patriotism of Englishmen abroad, 546; questions of a general arming, 548; the real difficulties in the way of recruiting, 553—556; the Duke of Cambridge and an old soldier, 557; "No vote no musket," 598; see also Navy.
Atterbury, Bishop, his partizanship in the reign of Queen Anne, 56; character of, 70; detected in a Jacobite plot and banished, 71.

B.

Baines, Mr., of Leeds, unravels the spy system, 316, 318; statement of, in Parliament on Reform, 518.
Bamford, Samuel, the Radical, 1; his opinion of Lord Sidmouth and Henry Hunt, &c., 282, 310—313; his Reform Toast, 442.
Bank of England founded, 46.
Bartholomew's, St., Day, an anniversary of, 10; the influence of, as a memory, 14.
Bath, and its ruler, Beau Nash, 270; life of William Hone the elder, in, ibid.
Bathurst, Lord, 90.
Baxter, Richard, influence on, of the laws of Charles the Second's reign, 12; attempt to frame a liturgy, 29; in the hands of Judge Jeffreys, 38.
Beaconsfield, Lord, position of, in the House of Commons and as a statesman, 533, 569, 571.
Beckford, Lord Mayor, addressing the King at St. James's Palace, 139; statue to, in the Guildhall, ibid.
Bedloe, co-perjurer with Titus Oates, 14, 17.
Bell, Dr., National School System, 266, 580.
Bennett, Mr., son of Lord Tankerville, vigorous attacks of, on Lord Castlereagh, 305, 306, 308.
Bible Society, the, its great work, 257.
Bill of Rights, Settlement in accordance with, 44, 46.
Binney, Mr., and Bishop Blomfield, 606.
Birmingham in 1815 and 1876, 581.
Blomfield, Bishop, of London, 606.
Bolingbroke, Lord, a Tory journalist, 56; his indecent Schism Bill, 58; his intrigue, 59; meets King George I., 63; caught in treason, 64; his seals taken away, 66; goes into exile, 67; permitted to return from exile, 71.
Boyne, battle of, 45.
Brandreth, execution of, for complicity in the Derbyshire riots, 316.
Bright, John, denounces the taxes on knowledge, 517; at the court of the Queen, 563; true success of in the House of Commons, 568; the corn-laws, 586,
Brougham, Lord, his account of Wilkes, 115; his removal to the House of Peers compared with that of Lord Chatham, 126; on Horne Tooke, 141; and Junius, 145, 148; condemns Lord Loughborough's "harangue" on the trials for the Lord George Gordon riots, 161; on Horne Tooke, 210, 211; on Lord Castlereagh, 222; defence of the "Examiner" newspaper, 235; on Old Kingliness, 260; attempt to enter Parliament, 265; satirises Garrow, 292; opinion of Canning, 294; bitter attacks of Hone upon, 295; Radical opposition to, 296; his great services to the nation, 296—297; enmity between and Lord Campbell, 298; attacks on Castlereagh, 306; opposes the Liverpool Government, 308; his account of Lord Ellenborough, 395.
Bruce, James, returns from Africa, 153.
Burdett, Sir Francis, at the time of the French Revolution, 177; his election to Parliament, 230; party of, 253, 262; terms the thanksgiving for the Prince Regent "a solemn mockery," 301; opposes the Government, 305, 306: what he might have been in office, 309; on the spy system, 320; at the trial of Wooler, 349; and of

Roger O'Connor, 356 ; reference to, 442 ; speech at public meeting, 444.
Burke, Edmund, "Essay on the French Revolution," with reference to the succession of George I., 62 ; folly of the controversy, ibid; recommends the prosecution of Paine, 188 ; his position in the Government of Lord Rockingham, 122 ; Mr. W. J. Fox, M.P. for Oldham, on pension of, 203.
Burnet, Bishop, Jacobite squib on, 66.
Burns, Robert, his great merit and value as a writer, 171 ; rejects a pound a week offered to him by a London newspaper, 501.
Burritt, Elihu, efforts of, for peace, 544.
Bute, Lord, Prince Frederick's opinion of, 76 ; favourite of the mother of George III., 77, 88 ; succeeds Pitt as Premier, and retires, 111 ; opposed by the "North Briton," ibid ; "Boot Jack," 112 ; alleged intention of the court to appoint him regent, 121.
Byron, Lord, influence of, on his time, 173.

C.

Cabal, origin of, 20.
Camden, Lord, Attorney-General, 90 ; grants Wilkes a writ of Habeas Corpus, 112; great popularity of, 114 ; Lord Chancellor, 122 ; his view of Lord Loughborough, 131 ; his challenge of Lord Mansfield's view of the law of libel, 138 ; his last great service to England, 182.
Camden, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, 219—222.
Campbell, Lord, his account of Lord Mansfield, 89 ; the arena which comprised the scope of his "Lives," 91 ; reference to Wedderburn against Franklin, 131 ; account of Horne Tooke and Lord Thurlow, 140 ; on the Lord George Gordon Riots, 161 ; on Erskine's first brief, 163 ; on the case of the Dean of St. Asaph, 165 ; on Thurlow's dismissal from the Lord Chancellorship, 188 ; Erskine's defence of Paine, 189 ; the trials of Tooke and others for high treason, 205—211 ; story of Lord Chancellors, &c., 287 ; on Lord Brougham, 297 ; his own life, 298 ; on Lord Ellenborough, 350 ; on Lord Chief Justice Abbott, 372 ; picture of Lord Ellenborough, 397 ; on Lord Thurlow, 414 ; on Lord Ellenborough after Hone's third trial, 433.
Canning, Mr., reference to, 177 ; in the Government of Pitt, 227 ; duel of with Castlereagh, 232 ; policy of, 244 ; opposed to reform, 295 ; Brougham's view of, ibid. ; in the Secret Committee, 300 ; pronounced a parodist by Earl Grey, 338 ; the "Praise Lepaux," ibid. ; the charge repeated by Hone, 339 ; reference to, in relation to Southey, 358 ; Hone's denunciation of, during the trials, 386, 387, 390, 430, 434 ; Hone's denunciation of, in subsequent squibs (Lord Folkestone's attack), 467 "The Spouter of Froth by the Hour," 468, 482 ; Canning as a politician, 487 ; one of the founders of the satire that means scandal, 510 ; Canning in foreign affairs, 586.
Carlile, Richard, introductory reference to, 1 ; prevents Southey from buying up his Republican poem, "Wat Tyler," 358; curious life and character of, 357—360.
Carlyle's, Mr., view of the workmen of the Chartist days, 248, 309—311 ; his great service to the press, 524.
Cartwright, Major, generous character of, 441 ; Samuel Bamford, on, 442.
Cartwright, see Hargraves.
Cashman, John, execution of, in connection with the Spa Fields riot, 316.
Castlereagh, Lord, member for County Down, 219 ; a patriot, ibid. ; is converted to the court, ibid.; Emmett, Bond, Wolfe Tone, and others, 220 ; Lord E. Fitzgerald and the brothers Sheares, 221 ; the Irish rebellion, ibid. ; great loss of life—death of Tone, ibid. ; work of Castlereagh, 222 ; shameless bribery as a prelude to the Act of Union, 223 ; the Act of Union, ibid. ; Pitt's promise of Catholic Emancipation broken, 224—225 ; Castlereagh and the Addington ministry, 226 ; duel of, with Canning, 232 ; Foreign Secretary in the Government of Lord Liverpool, 233 ; moves the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, 305 ; is denounced by Mr. Bennett, 306 ; charges against by Lord Brougham, ibid. ; defence of spies and informers, 320 ; attacks on Castlereagh in Hone's squibs,

465—472 ; asserted regret of Hone for the injustice done to Lord Castlereagh — evidently fictitious, since Castlereagh died in 1822, and Hone republished the squibs in 1827, 487—488.

Catholics, the position of after the Restoration, 4 ; relation to of the followers of Archbishop Laud, 7 ; harsh general laws against, and against Nonconformists, 10 — 12 ; cruel persecution of Catholics, 12, 13 ; Test Act, and Parliamentary Test especially directed against Catholics, 13, 14: Protestant Parliament, 15 ; the Duke of York presented as a "Popish Recusant," ibid. ; Perjuries of Oates and Bedloe, 14—17 ; Bill to exclude James from the throne carried in the Commons, 16, 17 ; Catholics and Protestants alternately in power, 18 ; the Catholics contending for a falling cause, 20, 21 ; their unfortunate position socially, 22 ; their views of the "Church of England," 28 ; what was involved in their defeat, 31 ; privileges accorded to, by James II., 38 ; Declarations of Indulgence, 39 ; desire of the King to enrol Catholics in the army, ibid. ; Parliament refuses to repeal the Test Act, ibid. ; the King tries the law courts and succeeds, ibid. ; trial and acquittal of the seven Anglican bishops, 41 ; a Catholic defeat, ibid. ; Catholics excluded from Toleration Act, 44 ; the Catholics in Ireland in the reign of William III., 45 ; La Hogue, 46 ; Sacramental Test, 47 ; (see also Established Church and James II.) ; exclusion of Catholics from the throne, 61 ; probable influence of Catholic neighbours on Burke, 125 ; cruel laws against, 160 ; the Lord George Gordon Riots, ibid. ; promise to with respect to Emancipation distinctly made and broken, 224, 225 ; O'Connell's services to, 603.

Cave, Edward, founds the "Gentleman's Magazine," 94 ; charged with reporting proceedings in Parliament, 99 ; his victory, 101.

Charles II., enactments of the reign of, 5 ; accession to the throne, 9 ; the Act of Uniformity, 10 ; the Pension Parliament, 11 ; the Drunken Parliament, ibid. ; the Conventicle Act, ibid. ; the Five Mile Act, 12 ; the Test Act, 13 ; the Parliamentary Test, 14 ; Titus Oates, ibid. ; Habeas Corpus Act, 15 ; the Exclusion Bill, 16 ; the Duke of York, James II., presented to a grand jury by Lord Shaftesbury, ibid. ; last Parliament of Charles II., ibid. ; the King pensioned by France, ibid. ; Jeffreys and Scroggs sent out to stifle rebellion, 17 ; the Rye House Plot, ibid. ; suicide of Lord Essex, ibid. ; execution of Lord William Russell and Algernon Sydney, 18 ; Monmouth, Duke of, ibid. ; death of Charles II., 18—19 ; Whig and Tory, first use of the terms, 19 ; a standing army, ibid. ; the Guards, ibid. ; abrogation of the Feudal Tenure, 19—20 ; a penny post, the General Post Office, the "London Gazette," London lighted with oil, ibid. ; position of the three creeds—the Catholic, the Anglican, and the Nonconformist, 21—32 ; the Quakers, 32 ; literature of the Restoration, 34.—See also Church, Established, and Nonconformists.

"Chronicle, Morning," comment of on Hone's first trial, 391 ; dispute with the "Times," 392 ; on Hone's second trial, 417 ; Mr. Perry, editor, expounds the law of libel, 445 ; on the third trial, 450 ; see also Press.

Church, the Established, at the Restoration, 7 ; previous suffering of the clergy, ibid. ; their revenge, ibid. ; divine right, 8 ; forces opposed to, ibid. ; virtual claims and declaration of the clergy, 9 ; the Savoy Conference, 10 ; enactment of laws against Nonconformists begin, ibid. (see also Nonconformists) ; the Anglican Church as one of the three chief religious organisations of the time, 20 ; the apparent harshness and real tolerance of the clergy, ibid. ; their accord with the instincts of English life, 21 ; Laud and Prynne, 23 ; Bishop Ken—the Evening Hymn, ibid. ; the principle of compromise in the Church, 24 ; was an Established Church necessary at the time? 25 ; our great cathedrals, 28 ; high ground taken by the clergy as to what they deemed the rights of the Church, 30 ; if, moreover, an established church was necessary, was the Anglican Church, as then established, the best for the purpose? 31 ; the op-

position of the "Society of Friends," 32; Nonconformist opponents to the principle of Establishment, 34; feeling and position of the clergy on the accession of James II.; their dread of Roman Catholic ascendency, 37; the great Universities and benefices opened to Roman Catholics, 39; Declarations of Indulgence to be read in all churches, ibid.; Primate Sancroft and six other bishops petition the king that they may not be compelled to break the law, 40; only four clergymen read the declaration, ibid.; the seven bishops committed to the Tower, ibid.; supported by Nonconformists, 41; their trial and acquittal, ibid.; position and popularity of the National Church at the end of the trial, ibid.; Lord Macaulay's view of, 42; proposal of William III. to include certain classes of Nonconformists in the Established Church rejected, 44; Episcopacy abolished in Scotland, 45; Occasional Conformity Act, 48; mocked by Defoe, 49; Queen Anne's love for the Church, ibid.; fifty new churches to be built in London, ibid.; Queen Anne's bounty, ibid; High Church mobs, 51; Sacheverell against freedom, ibid; the most senseless and stupid of all our historical mobs, ibid.; a century of Church history, 52; what had the Church done for education? ibid.; the scholarship of the clergy, and endowments owing to their efforts, 53; the work of the clergy as teachers, 54; the parochial system altogether opposed to Uniformity, 55; the Scotch system of John Knox much more conducive to Uniformity, ibid.; but, nevertheless, a great boon to Scotland, ibid.; the exceptional and great advantages of the clergy in wealth and position, ibid.; their undoubted popularity, ibid.; Bishop Atterbury as a Tory journalist, 66; the clergy receiving George I., Mr. Thackeray's view, 63; Archbishop Tennison for George I., 65; the Duke of Ormond and High Church mobs, 67; Convocation receives notice to discontinue its sittings, 69; Bishop Atterbury exiled, 71; Sir Robert Walpole and the bishops, 81; a bishopric sold by the mistress of George II., 102; edifying verses of Bishop Porteus on the death of the King, 103; John Wesley a clergyman, 104; Horne Tooke in holy orders, 142; the penalty of great privileges, 143; case of the Dean of St. Asaph, 165; the Church and the Prince Regent, 237; Christianity as a social power, 246; Dr. Malthus a clergyman, 257; question as between the Established Church and Dissent, 260; various missionary societies, 272; the Church Missionary Society, 273; see also Hone's parodies on the Book of Common Prayer.

Clergy, *Ejection of* 2,000 of the, on St. Bartholomew's Day, 10.

Clive, Lord, see India.

Cobbett, William, remarks of, on the Quakers, 32; in America, 187; denounces Paine, Priestley, and others in "Peter Porcupine," ibid; welcomed to England as a Tory by a Tory Society, 212; Cobbett and Hone, 276; Weekly Register, 291; found guilty of libel, ibid.; resolves to leave England, if the Habeas Corpus Act is suspended, 293; the intention carried out, 323; questioned by Leigh Hunt and defended by Hone, ibid.; error of Cobbett, 327; Samuel Bamford's toast to, 442; Cobbett's position as an independent journalist, 510.

Cobden, Richard, alleged view of newspaper writing, 535; defence of Mr. Bright, 568; the Corn Laws, 586

Cochrane, Lord, elected to Parliament, 230; party of, 262; motions of, against the Government, 292, 293; ill-treatment of, by Lord Ellenborough, 302, 397, 435; Samuel Bamford on, 442; speech after Hone's trials, and subscription towards, 446; great services to England, 549.

Coleridge, S. T., 173; at the breaking out of the French Revolution, 177; editor of the "Morning Post," 501;

Commonwealth, the, its principles in opposition to the divine right clergy and laity, 8.

Conventicle Act passed, 11.

Convocation, prays Queen Anne for more churches for London, and obtains fifty, 49; suspended by the Whigs on the accession of George I., 69.

Conway, General, alone opposes the

proposal to tax the colonies, 118; in Ministries, 122, 125, 134; proposes an address to the King informing him that whoever advises the continuance of the war with America are the enemies of the country, 134.
Cook, Captain James, his noble life and character, 153.
Corn Laws, the, 249—253.
Corporation Act, passed, 10.
"Courier," the, organ of the Liverpool Government, 300; mockery of Cobbett's flight to America, 323; see also Press.
Coutts, Lady Burdett, 575.
Crompton; see Hargraves.
Cromwell, Elizabeth, granddaughter of the Protector, dies in London, 98; the Cromwellian fibre still in English life in 1731, when the "Gentleman's Magazine" began, ibid.
Cromwell, Oliver, great political liberty during the rule of, 6, 7; attempt during the Restoration to undo the marks of the Commonwealth, 7—14; his continued influence in English life, 260.
Cruikshank, Mr. George, admirable illustrations of the Political House that Jack Built, 463—469; of Sidmouth's Six Bills, 470; the "Joss and his Folly," 471; "the Bridge Street Gang," &c., 473; Mr. Cruikshank in the Westminster Aquarium, 479.
Cumberland, Duke of, defeated at Fontenoy, 84; victorious at Culloden, 85; "the butcher," ibid.; intrigues against Pitt, 86.
Cumberland, Duke of, intriguing for the throne, against the Princess Victoria, 599; finds his way to Hanover, 601.

D.

Debt, National, in 1623, 46; Bank of England founded, ibid.; in 1713, 58; in the reign of George III., 75; sinking fund for reduction of, 83; the Debt and Subsidies, 241; grappled with by Joseph Hume, 571.
Defoe, Daniel, in the pillory for his "Shortest Way with Dissenters," 49; our first great journalist, 496—498.
Disraeli, Mr., see Beaconsfield.
Dissent; see Nonconformist.
Dissenting Lord Mayor, a, attends his chapel in his robes in the reign of William III., 48.
Duncan, Admiral, victory of, 215.
Dundas, Mr., Lord Melville, 178; charged with peculation, and compelled to resign, 227; course of the *Times* with respect to, 306.
Dundee, cruelties of in Scotland, 16; at Drumclog, ibid.; death of, 45.

E.

Education, National, Established Church efforts for, 52, 53; position of at the present time, 604.
Egypt, Napoleon in, 216; an English force in from India, 217.
Eldon, Lord, Attorney-General during the Reign of Terror, in England, 188, 190; his earlier career, ibid.; brother of Lord Stowell, ibid.; Lord Chancellor, 226, 230; Lord Eldon to his wife and brother, 288, 289; retains the Great Seal, 302; position of in 1817, ibid.; his devoutness, 533.
Ellenborough, Lord, counsel for Warren Hastings, 160; derided by Burke and Sheridan, ibid.; Attorney-General for the County Palatine, 194; Attorney-General for Mr. Addington (Lord Sidmouth), 226; Lord Chief Justice, 229; presides at the trial for libel of John and Leigh Hunt, 235; a political judge, 288; Hone charged before, on an *ex-officio* Information, 332, 337; presides at the trial of the Spa Fields rioters, 343; writes a solemn prayer in failing health, 346; Wooler, editor of the "Black Dwarf," charged before, 347; danger of playing with, 350; presides at Hone's second trial, 394; his determination and career, 395; incidents of his career, 395; opposes Horne Tooke's entry to Parliament, ibid.; prosecutes Governor Wall, ibid.; presides at a Special Commission for the trial of Colonel Despard, 396; satirised by Lord Holland, ibid.; and by Charles Matthews, 397; first altercation with Hone, 403; another altercation, 405; declares he will bear no more, 409; second "Not Guilty," 415; Lord Ellenborough a Cumbrian, 419; Hone's "His Lordship is no judge of me," 423; expounds the Act of

Uniformity, 431; the third "Not Guilty," 433; Lord Campbell on what followed, ibid.; Lord Ellenborough buys red herrings, ibid.; resigns the Lord Chief Justiceship, ibid.; attacks on in lists of subscriptions for Hone, 434—440; and at public meeting in favour of Hone, 442—450.
Erskine, Lord, his first brief, 163; defends Admiral Keppel, 164; and the Dean of St. Asaph, 165; advocate for Mr. Stockdale, printer, 166; his defence of Paine, 189, and Horne Tooke, 190; varied great services during the English Reign of Terror, 194; against Fox, 195; advocate for Mr. Horne Tooke, 196; defence of Tooke and others on a charge of high treason, 204; determined conduct of Erskine, 206—211; his opinion of ministers, 212; Lord Chancellor, 229.
Essex, Lord, commits suicide on the discovery of the Rye House Plot, 17.
"Examiner," the, newspaper, prosecution of, in 1811, 235; second prosecution of, for terming the Prince Regent "An Adonis of fifty," ibid.; Leigh Hunt in prison, 236; on a Form of Thanksgiving for the escape of the Prince Regent from a stone, 300; on Cobbett's flight to America, 323; on the death of the Princess Charlotte, 362; on Hone's trials, 450; see also Press.
Exclusion Bill, passed by the Commons, 16, 17.
Eyre, Chief Justice, presides at the trial of Horne Tooke and others for high treason, 204; humour of Tooke, and great victory of Erskine, 209—212.

F.

Fawcett, Mr., in the House of Commons, 569.
Feudal Tenures and Purveyance, end of, 20.
Finch, Solicitor-General, refuses to sanction the attempt of King James II. to set aside the Test Act, 40.
Fitzwilliam, Lord, dread of the French Revolution, 218; wise and generous government of Ireland, ibid.; refuses the money offered as compensation for the losses arising from the Act of Union, 222.
Five-Mile Act passed, 12; operation of, ibid.
Fleet, mutiny of the, 213; see also Navy.
Flower, Benjamin, prosecution of, for libel, 234; his daughter writer of the hymn, "Nearer to Thee," ibid.
Forster, Mr. W. E., in the House of Commons, 568.
Fox, Charles James, maiden speech of, 129; relation to Wilberforce, 150; Fox as compared with Pitt, 151, 152; a prosecutor of Warren Hastings, 159; his view of a great speech of Erskine's, 166; opposes the slave trade, 167; mistakenly proposes the regency as the right of the Prince of Wales, ibid.; position at the beginning of the French Revolution, 176; separation from Burke, 180, 181; proposal to repeal the Test and Corporation Acts, 181; advocates Parliamentary reform, 183; his last great effort to preserve peace, 191; conflict in the law courts with Horne Tooke, 196; death of Pitt, 227; Fox, Foreign Secretary, 229; vigorous attempts to secure peace, ibid.; death of Fox, ibid.; the subsidies that in 1792 he would have granted to ministers, 286; a few final words on Fox and Pitt, 587; see also Holland.
Fox, W. J., member for Oldham, papers in the "People's Journal," 204; on war costs, 241; a writer in the "Weekly Dispatch," 512.
Franklin, Benjamin, in England as colonial agent, 119; his early career, ibid.; denounced by Wedderburn, Lord Loughborough, 130; in Paris as representative of the United States, 132; signs the treaty between France and America, ibid.; is denounced by Cobbett in "Peter Porcupine," 187.
Frederick, Prince of Wales, father of George III., 76; Pitt's relation to, ibid.; unwholesomeness of the associations of Leicester House, 77; Lord Bute, favourite of the mother of George III., 88.
Freemasons, the, as a benefit society, 562.
French Revolution of 1789, difficulty to Englishmen of the new questions it involved, 175; position and views of distinguished men in England, 176—178; echoes of the storm, 179;

writings of Burke, Paine and Mackintosh, 181; English Reform Societies, 183; the effect in England of the massacres, 185; last effort of Fox for peace, 191; reign of terror in England, 194; harsh sentences in the Law Courts, 201—207; trials for high treason, Tooke, Thelwell, Hardy, &c., 209; French attempt to invade Ireland, 215; Napoleon in Egypt, 216; an English force from India, 217; continued French intrigue, 220; caution of Irishmen with respect to France, ibid.; the peace of Amiens, 226; renewal of the war, ibid.; Austerlitz, 227; death of Pitt, ibid; Wellington in the Peninsula, 232; the Walcheren Expedition, ibid.; Napoleon in Russia, ibid.; condition of England at the end of the war, 240.

Fry, Elizabeth, slight reference to, 584.

G.

Garrick, David, arrival of in London, 95.

Garrow, Sir William, declares a petition for parliamentary reform libellous, 292; satirised by Brougham, ibid.; "Old Filch," ibid.; member of secret committee, 300; prosecutes William Hone, 330, and Jonathan Wooler, 336; takes affectionate leave of the bar, ibid.

Gatton, borough of, 321, 322.

George, King, I., birth of, on the day preceding the coronation of Charles II., 9; the Act of Settlement, 61; the royal line of descent, ibid.; controversy with respect to, of Dr. Price, Mr. Paine, and Mr. Burke, ibid.; landing of the King at Greenwich, Mr. Thackeray's account of, 63; Whig ascendency, 67; the rebellion of 1715, 69; the men who supported and the men who opposed the succession, 68; the South Sea scheme, 71; birth of the "Young Pretender," ibid.; Bishop Atterbury exiled and Bolingbroke pardoned, ibid.; press prosecutions, 72; immoral clubs, 73; death and character of the King, ibid.; Mr. Thackeray's view, ibid.; value of the change from the Stuarts, 74.

George, King, II., on the throne, 76; Frederick, Prince of Wales, father of George III., ibid.; his character and opposition court at Leicester House, ibid.; Pitt (Lord Chatham), and Walpole, 76, 77; death of the Prince of Wales, 77; the Marquis of Bute, favourite of the Princess, ibid.; Pitt's withdrawal from Leicester House, 78; fall and death of Walpole, 82; intermingling of parties, ibid.; Dettingen, 84; Fontenoy, ibid.; the rebellion of 1745 and its suppression, 84—86; cruel policy after Culloden, ibid.; Pitt in office, 86, 87; the law of libel, 89; Johnson and Goldsmith, 95—98; the press, 98; laws against combination of workmen, 99; privation of the poor, 102; death of the King, 103; Mr. Thackeray's picture of, ibid.; Wesley and Wesleyanism, 104—108.

George, King, III., a retrospect from the third year of the reign of, 75; father of the King, 76; and mother, 77; bad school for a young prince, ibid.; Lord Hardwicke hastening to the coronation of the King, 88; proceedings of the reign of, 110; Wilkes, 111; taxation of the colonies, 118; fall of the Grenville Government, 121; Grenville's discourtesy to the King, ibid.; the Rockingham Government and its fall, 122, 123; the King's Friends, 123; the Chatham-Grafton Government, 126; obstinacy of the King with respect to America, 132; the Shelburne and Portland administrations, 135; Lord Mayor Beckford addressing the King, 139; danger from the narrowness joined to the undisputed morality of the King, 147; fatal illness of George III., 167; the "Times" punished for articles on the rejoicing of royal dukes for the King's recovery, 177; Bill for protecting the King's person, 212; opposition to Catholic Emancipation, 218, 224, 225; melancholy lot of the King, 225, 230; the Prince of Wales made Regent, virtual end of the reign of George III., 233.

George IV., birth of, takes his seat in the House of Lords, 135; Fox proposes his regency as a right, and is opposed by Pitt, 167; attempt to coerce Erskine, 189; marriage of to the Princess Caroline, 219; made Regent, 233; "An Adonis of fifty," 235; position of the Prince and his advisers, 237; alleged attack upon,

289; death of the Princess Charlotte, 362; and of her father, twelve years later, ibid.; picture of, on opening Parliament in 1817, 289; fiercely satirised by Hone and Cruikshank; see Hone's squibs.
Gerald, Mr.; see Palmer.
Gibbs, Sir Vicary, with Erskine in trial for high treason, 205; prosecutes the "Examiner" newspaper, 235.
Gibson, Milner, struggle for freedom of the press, 516; for free trade, 586.
Gillray, parodies of, 387, 389; pensioned by the Government, ibid.
Girdlestone, Canon, 575.
Gladstone, Mr., invaluable service to the press, 517; position as a statesman, 570.
Glasgow, progress of, 581, 582; petition from operatives of, 596.
Glencoe, massacre of, 45.
Godolphin, rise of, to power, 48.
Godwin, William, "cursory strictures" on the charge of Chief Justice Eyre, 204; great service of, to Horne Tooke and others, charged with high treason, ibid.
Goldsmith, Oliver, life and works, 96.
Gordon, Lord George, riots, 160; escape of the principal culprit, 162.
Grafton, Duke of, Premier, with Pitt,—created Lord Chatham—Privy Seal, 125; ill-treatment of by Chatham, 128; and by Junius, 129; his retirement, ibid.; a student of theology, ibid.
Granville, Lord (Lord Carteret), character of, 78.
Grattan, Mr., his work in Ireland and great fame, 201; public spirit of, 218, 224; deceived by Pitt, 224.
Great Towns, view of Lord Kaims with respect to, 154; great progress in, 577–582; the dark side of, 583.
Greenwich Hospital, founded by Queen Mary, wife of William III., 46.
Grenville, Lord, son of George Grenville, Foreign Secretary, 186; Prime Minister, 229; member of secret committee, 300; believes the danger of revolution to be imminent, 304.
Grenvilles, the; George Grenville and Lord Temple, brothers-in-law of Chatham, 78; desert Bute, 111; George Grenville, Premier, ibid.; prosecutes Wilkes, 113; resolution to tax Americans, 118; fall of his ministry, detested both by the King and the nation, 121; Lord Temple and Pitt, 122; policy of reversed by Lord Rockingham's Government, 123.
Grey, Mr., afterwards Earl, member of the Society of the Friends of the People, 183; memorable reform petition of the society, ibid.; beginning of his long struggle for reform, ibid.; Lord of the Admiralty in "All the Talents," 229; reference to his manly refusal to join the Perceval Government, 261; character of his Whiggery, 262, 293; resists the enactment of repressive laws by the Liverpool Government, 293, 296, 307; opposition to Sidmouth's circular, 328; calls attention in Parliament to the prosecution of Hone, 338; watchfulness of, 354.
Guards, the, first formation of, in the reign of Charles II., 19.
Gwynne, Nell, commended by Charles II. to the care of his courtiers, 18; the Prebend of Winchester (Bishop Ken) refuses to give up his house to Mrs. Gwynne, 24.

H.

Habeas Corpus, Act of, passed, 15; see also Parliament, Hone, Shaftesbury, and Libel.
Halifax, Lord, a Trimmer, 22, 39, 43; prompt action of for Protestant succession, 65; death of, 67.
Hardwicke, Lord (Sir P. Yorke), hastens to court at seventy years of age, to hail the accession of George III. to the throne, 88; his condemnation of the rebel lords, 89; ruling on the law of libel, ibid.
Hargraves, James, the spinning-jenny, 154; also Arkwright, Crompton, Cartwright, and Wyatt, ibid.
Harley (Lord Oxford), intrigue of, his struggle against Walpole, 64; repulsed at the first court of George I., 67; downfall of and retirement, ibid.; the Harleian manuscripts, ibid.; revenge of, on Walpole, 79, 82; reference to, 129.
Hastings, Warren; see India.
"Herald, Morning," on Hone's first trial, 392; see also Press.
Herbert, Admiral, leaves England with an invitation to William, Prince of Orange, to rescue the nation from the tyranny of James II., 41.
Herbert, Lord Chief Justice, declares

the law to be the King's, and to be set aside at the royal pleasure, 40.
Hetherington, Henry, struggles against the stamp duty, 515; the "Poor Man's Guardian," 516.
Hill, Rowland, and popular progress, 583.
Hoadley, Bishop of Bangor, in Convocation—the Bangorian Controversy, 69; causes the suspension of Convocation, ibid.
Hobbes, Thomas, philosophical genius of the principles of the "Glorious Restoration," 8; unselfish character of, as a man, ibid.; founder of an ignoble creed, ibid.
Hoche, General, attempted invasion of Ireland, 215; "Apotheosis" of, 387.
"Hoche, La," capture of, with Wolfe Tone, 221.
Holland, Lord (Mr. Henry Fox), character of, 79; raised to the peerage as, 111; remarks on, 151.
Holland, Lord, nephew of Charles James Fox, in the Government of "All the Talents," 229; considerate conduct of, 296, 304; denounces Sidmouth's "Circular," 328; satirises Lord Ellenborough, 396.
Hone, William, father of the "Parodist," autobiography of, 267; his religious experiences, 268; strong prejudice against the Established Church, 269; view of his son's victory over Lord Ellenborough, ibid.
Hone, William, the younger, a ripe Tory at twelve years of age, 275; his political influence, 276; undue account taken of his physical suffering, 277; his much greater mental suffering, 279; the friends of his later years, 279—281; suspension of Habeas Corpus in 1817, Hone's "Reformists' Register," 291; his parodies, 303; his defence of Cobbett, 324; arrest of Hone on an *ex-officio* information, 330; charged before Lord Ellenborough, 333; second interview with Lord Ellenborough, 337; his case brought before the House of Lords by Lord Grey, 338; a third time before the Court, 339; strong animus of Lord Ellenborough, 341; Hone's comment on the trials of Wooler and Thistlewood, 351; great service rendered to him by Mr. Pearson, 352; Hone's view of his position, 364; blasphemy or political satire, 367; points in his favour, 369; first trial before Mr. Justice Abbott, 371; Sir Samuel Shepherd, Attorney-General, 373; parody of the Apostles' Creed, 375; Hone's production of parodies that had not been prosecuted, 381—384; Mr. Canning a parodist, 386; not guilty, 390; the London press on the trial, 391; second trial, before Lord Ellenborough, 395; parody on the Litany, 399; fierce altercations of judge and defendant, 403—414; second—not guilty, 415; third trial for the Sinecurist's Creed, 417; Hone takes his "stand" against Lord Ellenborough, 422; his account of Dr. Stoddart, 425, and of his own poverty, 427; more parodies by eminent men, 428—430; the third—not guilty, 433; bitter feeling of Lord Ellenborough, 435; public subscription for Hone, 437; curious signatures of subscribers, ibid.; public meeting, 442; opinions of the daily press, 450; Hone's position and prospects, 452; cruel persecution of him through his brother, 455; Apocryphal New Testament, 458; Hone's mistake, ibid.; his squibs, 463; Mr. Cruikshank, ibid.; imprudent imitation of the Prayer Book, ibid.; "The Political House that Jack built," ibid.; the Prince Regent, Lord Castlereagh, Lord Sidmouth, Mr. Canning, and others, as pictured by Mr. Cruikshank and Mr. Hone, 464—473; satirical advertisements, 475; Mr. Cruikshank in the Aquarium, 479 Hone's "Every Day Book," "Year Book," &c., 480; keeper of a coffee-house, 481; pictures of him by his later friends, 481—485; politics and religion, 485; absurd representations 487; Hone's death in 1842, 490.
Howe, John, a foe to Hobbesism, 8; the friend of Archbishop Tillotson, 21; reproves Tillotson for a divine right sermon, 25.
Howe, Lord, victory of, 193.
Huddleston, Father, Catholic priest, attends the last hours of Charles II., 18.
Hume, Joseph, his great position in the House of Commons, 572.
Hunt, Henry, connection with the Spa Fields Riot, 262; Bamford's and Lovett's opinion of, 313.

Hunt, John and Leigh. See the "Examiner."
Huntingdon's, Lady, preachers in Bath, 271, 492.

I.

India, reminiscences of, 1857, 68; influence of India on England, 156; beginning of the Great Company, ibid.; Job Charnock, Warren Hastings, and Clive, 157; death of Clive, 158; trial of Hastings, 159: force from in Egypt, 217; victories in, ibid.; Wellington leaves for Europe, 227; the old and the present civilisation of India, 547.
Ireland, shut out from the common interests and action of England and Scotland at the time of the Commonwealth, 11; campaign of Schomberg, 45; battle of the Boyne, ibid; Sarsfield's defence of Limerick, and his voluntary exile with 12,000 of his men, ibid.; Marlborough, Schomberg, and Ginkell in Ireland, 47; O'Connell at St. Omer's College, 177; bitter discontent in, 215; attempted invasion of by General Hoche, ibid.; Lord Fitzwilliam, Lord-Lieutenant, 218; Lord Castlereagh in two phases of character, 219; the Act of Union, 223 (see also Castlereagh); Pitt's promise to emancipate the Catholics broken, 225; first Parliament of Great Britain and Ireland, ibid.; curious case of Mr. Roger O'Connor, 355; rejoicing for the death of Lord Castlereagh, 468; O'Connell's service to Ireland, 603; see also Grattan, and Pitt.

J.

James II., Test and Parliamentary Acts directed against, as Duke of York, 13, 14; James withdraws to the Continent, 15; presented to a jury as a "Popish Recusant," ibid.; bill to exclude him from the throne, 16, 17; the Rye House Plot for the same purpose, 17; James on the throne, 36; his relations to the Established clergy, 37; his treatment of the Duke of Monmouth, ibid.; the Bloody Circuit, ibid.; the name of James as the future watchword of the Jacobites, 38; issues a Declaration of Indulgence, 39; tries to make Kirke of the Bloody Circuit a Roman Catholic, ibid.; attempts the repeal of the Test Act and the Act of Habeas Corpus, and fails, but succeeds in the law courts, 39; trial and acquittal of the seven bishops, 41; birth of a son to James, ibid.; Admiral Herbert carries an invitation to the Prince of Orange, ibid.; the expelled king at St. Germains, 42; relations with Marlborough, 43; James in Ireland, 45; La Hogue, 46; see also Rebellions of 1715 and 1745; Prince James Edward, son of James II., and Prince Charles Edward, grandson of James II.
Jeffreys, Judge, begins the bloody circuit, 37; his fearful work within a year, 38; Baxter in the hands of, ibid.
Jervis, Sir John, victory of, 193, 215.
Johnson, Samuel, life of and influence on literature, 94; his alleged sorrow that he had ever made, while affecting to report, speeches in Parliament, 99.
Jones, Gale, influence of, on his time, 1, 360, 361.
Junius, introductory reference to, 1; the secret of, 144; great value and place of Junius in history, 146—149.
Jury, trial by, victory of, in the acquittal of the seven bishops, 41; endangered by Lord Hardwicke, Lord Mansfield, and others, 88—89; see also Libel, law of, and Press.

K.

Kaims, Lord, on great towns, 154.
Ken, Bishop, refuses to receive Nell Gwynne, 23; the Evening Hymn, 24.
Kent, Duke and Duchess of, married, 363; Miss Martineau on the life of the Duchess of, 599.
Kenyon, Lord Chief Justice during the Reign of Terror in 1794, 188, 190; refuses a verdict, 194; is browbeaten by Horne Tooke, 196; passed over for Justice Eyre in the trials for high treason, 204, 205.
Killiecrankie, battle of, 45.
Knight, Mr. Charles, his account of the spy system, 319; and of Hone's trials,

371 ; on the Manchester massacre, 466 ; services of, to literature, 518.
Knox, John ; see Scotland.
Kossuth, M., his views of English great towns, 542, 589.

L.

La Hogue, battle of, 4, 46.
Lancaster, Joseph, and British Schools, 266, 580, 590.
Langley, Sir Hugh, foreman of jury on the trial of the seven bishops, 41.
Laud, Archbishop, the Laudian view of the Reformation, 7 ; Laud prosecutes Prynne, 23 ; prosecuted by Prynne, ibid. ; unanswerable facts against the character of, ibid.
Lawson, Sir Wilfrid, in the House of Commons, 568.
"Leeds Mercury," exposure of the spy system in, 316.
Libel, law of, Lord Hardwicke and Lord Mansfield endeavour to make juries in case of libel mere judges of the fact, and not the law, 88, 89 ; Wilkes and the "North Briton," 112—117 ; view of Lord Mansfield vigorously disputed and refuted by Lord Camden and by Junius, 138 ; case of Mr. Woodfall, the doctrine of Lord Mansfield rejected, ibid. ; Erskine's effort to defeat the ruling, in the case of the Dean of St. Asaph, 165 ; Fox's Libel Bill, 167 ; prosecution of Paine's "Rights of Man," defended by Erskine, 188 ; cruel prosecutions for libel in England during the Terror, 1794, and later, 194—196 ; and in Scotland, 202, 203 ; case of Gilbert Wakefield, 233, and of Benjamin Flower, 234 (see also "Press" and Trials of Wooler, Hone, and R. Carlile) ; general view of "The Press"—its Liberty and Responsibility, 492—536.
Liberty of the Press conceded in the reign of William III., 46.
Liverpool, Lord, first (Mr. Charles Jenkinson), in the Government of the Duke of Grafton, 126.
Liverpool, Lord, second, as Lord Hawkesbury, in the Addington Government, 226 ; Prime Minister, 233 ; reference to, 262 ; see also Castlereagh, Canning, and Sidmouth.
Liverpool, town of, 579 ; progress of, 579, 583.
"London Gazette," see Press.
London, Great Plague in, 12 ; lighted with gas, 19 ; General Post Office, ibid. ; Temple Bar, 38 ; see also Press ; fifty churches ordered by Queen Anne to be built in, 49.
Loughborough, Lord (Mr. Wedderburn), opposes Franklin on the Massachusetts Petition, 130 ; his Red Indian warfare, 130, 131 ; change of party, ibid. ; defends Clive, 158 ; presides over a Special Commission for the trial of the Lord George Gordon rioters, 161 ; his "opening harangue" condemned, ibid. ; Lord Chancellor, 188 ; attempts to cause Erskine to prove untrue to his principles and profession, 189 ; refuses to commute a harsh sentence, 195 ; further account of, 288, 289.
Lovett, William, representative Chartist, 1 ; his view of Cobbett and Henry Hunt, 313 ; and of Feargus O'Connor, 314.
Luddites, the, 238.
Lyttelton, Lord, Chancellor of the Exchequer, 78.

M.

Macaulay, Lord, on the literature of the Restoration, 34 ; his stern picture of the clergy, 42 ; and of Marlborough, 43 ; on the absence of Lord Chatham when the American Stamp Act was passed, 119 ; on "the King's Friends," 123 ; on the fall of the Rockingham Government, 134 ; view of as to success in the House of Commons, 565.
Malthus, Dr., and his teachings, 275.
Manchester, Mr. Carlyle on operatives of, 309 ; blanket meeting, 310 ; in 1817 and 1876, 463 ; massacre at, 466 ; progress of, 581, 589.
Mansfield, Lord, appointed to negotiate with Lord Chatham, 87 ; Lord Shelburne's extreme view of, ibid, ; attempt to undo the jury system in cases of libel, 89 ; relation to the great traditions of the Bar, 90 ; sentences John Wilkes, 116 ; attacks on by Junius, 138 ; and by Lord Camden, ibid. ; judge at the trial of Horne Tooke, 141 ; delivers the verdict in the case of the Slave Somerset, 153 ; house of, wrecked by the Lord George Gordon mobs, 161 ;

Erskine's opposition to in the case of the Dean of St. Asaph, 165; Mansfield and Camden, 521.
Mar, Earl of, in rebellion and defeat, 67, 68.
Margarot; see Palmer.
Marlborough, Duchess of, 43; her rule over Queen Anne, 59; her intrigue for power, 65; her picture of herself. 66; her legacy to Pitt (Lord Chatham) for his denunciation of Walpole, 78.
Marlborough, Duke of, assists to defeat the Duke of Monmouth, 37; his successful career, 42; position under James II., ibid.; his high qualities, ibid.; Lord Macaulay's picture of, very questionable, 43; sent to the Tower by Queen Mary, 46; Marlborough in Ireland, 47; his great victories, ibid.; receives the thanks of the House of Commons for "retrieving the ancient glory of the English nation," 48; character of his wars, ibid.; his reputed opinion of Queen Anne, 59; Mr. Thackeray's view of, 63; description of Marlborough in a Jacobite ballad, 66.
Mary, Queen, influence of her reign on English life and character, 14.
Mary, Queen, wife of William III., 44; her rule in William's absence, 46; commits Marlborough to the Tower, and releases him, ibid.; founds Greenwich Hospital, ibid.
Masham, Mrs., favourite of Queen Anne, 59, 66.
Mathew, Father, apostle of temperance, 603.
Mazzini, Joseph, his view of an ever active Divine influence kindred to the view of the Quakers, 33; his view of the state of Europe, 543.
Miall, Ed., misrepresentation of, 496.
Milton, John, in opposition to Hobbesism, 7; Areopagitica, 8; "Old Priest Writ large," 27; Milton's great battle partly won, 46; the last struggle for Areopagitica, 515; the successors of Milton, 605.
Ministries—the Cabal, 20; the Trimmers, 39—43; the Tories in power under Anne, 48; Lord Somers, Walpole, and the Whigs appealed to in the time of danger of rebellion, 49; Lord Somers, 50, 51; Walpole, 51; plot of the Tories and counterplot of the Whigs on the approach of Queen Anne's death, 65; victory of the Whigs, 65—67; Walpole in power, 67; first Prime Minister, 81; defeat and resignation of Walpole, 82; Pelham in power, 84; the Broad-Bottomed ministry, ibid.; the Duke of Newcastle, ibid.; Pitt and Newcastle ministers, 87; the Marquis of Bute, 88, 110; the Grenville Government, 111; defeated, 121; the Marquis of Rockingham, 123; fall of the Rockingham Government, 124, 125; Pitt again in power, the Duke of Grafton Premier, 125; retirement of the Duke of Grafton, 129; Lord North Prime Minister, ibid.; Lord Rockingham's second administration, 134; the Shelburne Government, ibid.; defeated, 135; the Portland, or Coalition, Government, ibid.; the second Mr. Pitt Prime Minister, ibid.; the Addington Government, 226; "All the Talents," 229; the Portland Government, 230; Mr. Perceval Premier, 233; the Government of Lord Liverpool, ibid.
Missionary Societies, formation of, 273.
Mississippi scheme, 71.
Mob, first use of the term, 20; High Church and Tory mobs in the reign of Queen Anne, 48 and 51; like mobs in the reign of George I., 67.
Monk, General, raises the regiment which afterwards became the Coldstream Guards, 19.
Monmouth, Duke of, son of Charles II., victory in Scotland, 16; plot to secure the throne for, 17; escape to France, 18; defeated by Feversham, 37, 38; executed by order of James II., 38.
More, Mrs. Hannah, on Content, 329.
Muir, Mr., barrister, prosecution of, in Scotland, 202.

N.

Nash, Beau, 270.
Nation, state of, at the end of the French War in 1815, 3—6; political freedom during the Commonwealth, 6; demoralization of the Divine-Right dogma, 18, 27; London as compared with ancient Pompeii, 35; state of the nation in the reign of James II., 37; in the reign of Queen Anne, 58; immoral clubs, 73; bad example of George I., ibid.; and of Frede-

rick, Prince of Wales, 76; education, 98; law to prevent combinations of workmen, ibid.; impressment of seamen, and strikes of workmen, 101; scarcity of food, and lowness of wages, 102; immorality from the court of George II. downward, ibid.; George II. canonized by a bishop, 103; Wesley, 104—108; various features of social progress, 153; large towns, 154; influence of India on England, 156; views and position of poor men, 168; the Reign of Terror in England, 200; causes of the mutiny of the fleet, 213; miners, labourers, prisons, &c., 245; the Corn Laws, 249; journalism, 265; spies and informers, 315; profane swearing, 413; influence of the press on, 493, 518; growing independence, 553; material prosperity, 555; one problem solved, 563; influence on of philanthropic persons, 570; of Sunday schools, 577; of great towns, 579; robust life of the nation, 589; influence of the Queen, 601; of the teetotalers, 603; of national education, 604.

Navy, its service to the nation at La Hogue, 46; mutinies in, 213 (see also Nelson, Howe, Jarvis, Duncan, Cochrane); questions of national defence, 540, 550; the manning of the navy, 557; the service no longer disliked by sailors, ibid.; the coast-guard and naval reserve, ibid.; training vessels, ibid.; flogging in the navy, 558; see also Army.

Nelson, Admiral, a post-captain when the Great War began, 177; attack on Santa Cruz, 215; the Nile, 216; Trafalgar, 227; snubbed by Lord Ellenborough, 396; mistaken view of, 537.

Newcastle, Duke of; see the Pelhams.

Nightingale, Miss, in the Crimea, 558.

Nonconformists, their position from the Restoration downwards, 4; legislation against, 5—9; the Savoy Conference, 10; the Corporation Act, ibid.; the Act of Uniformity, ibid.; the Conventicle Act, 11; the Five-Mile Act, 12; the Test Act, 13; the Parliamentary Test, 14; the Nonconformist position as compared with that of the Established Church and the Church of Rome, 20—22; John Howe, 25; the Nonconformists in America, 27; Roger Williams driven to the desert, ibid.; the stern principle and habits of the Nonconformists opposed to the instincts of English life, 28, 29; the terms on which they were invited to union by the Conforming clergy, 30; the Quakers, 32; Richard Baxter handed over by James II. to Judge Jeffreys, 38; the Nonconformists and the Trial of the Seven Bishops, 41; proposal of William III. to admit Nonconformists to civil rights rejected, 44; Toleration Act, ibid.; a Nonconformist Lord Mayor attends his chapel in his official robes, 48; fierce Act against Nonconformists rejected by the Lords, but subsequently passed, ibid.; Defoe's "Shortest Way with Dissenters," 49; property of Nonconformists destroyed by the Sacheverell mobs, 51; disadvantageous position of Nonconformists as compared with the Established Church in education, 53, 55; Schism Bill, moved by Lord Bolingbroke, 58; Occasional Conformity Act, 59; Bishop Burnet, "a true Dissenting zealot," 66; property destroyed by "Ormond" High Church mobs, 67; Bishop Hoadley in favour of Toleration in the reign of George I., 69; Sir Robert Walpole's contempt for Nonconformist "grievances," 80; the Puritan fibre in English life in the eighteenth century, 98; Wesley and Wesleyanism, 103—108: Stern Nonconformity, 243; the Established Church and Dissent, 260; Nonconformist Missions, 273; Lord Ellenborough's exposition of the Act of Uniformity, 431; recent position of Nonconformists with respect to National Education, 604.

North, Lord, at the time the proposal was made to tax America, 110; moves that "No. 45" of the "North Briton" contains a seditious libel, 113; succeeds Charles Townshend as Chancellor of Exchequer and renews proposals to tax America, 127; beginning of his twelve years' administration, 129; resignation of, 134; member of the Shelburne Government, 135; required by the King to give up his seals immediately, for his support of Fox's India Bill, ibid.; opposed to the younger Pitt, 178; death of, 185.

Northington, Lord (Mr. Henley), as a

lawyer, 89; unmanly intrigue against Lord Rockingham, 123.
Nottingham, Lord, author of a fierce Act against Nonconformists, 48.
Nottinghamshire, Luddite riots in, 238.
Noy, Sir William, prosecutes Prynne for an attack on the Queen, 23.

O.

Oates, Titus, the perjurer, 14, 17.
Occasional Conformity Bill, passed on the accession of Queen Anne, 49; repealed in the reign of George I., 59.
O'Connell at St Omer's College, 177; in the House of Commons, 567; service to Ireland, 603.
O'Connor, Feargus, and Chartism, 591, 596; picture of, by Lovett, 597.
O'Connor, Mr. Roger, curious charge against, in Ireland, 355.
Orange, see William III.; plot to seize the crown for the Duke of Cumberland, 599.
Owen, Robert, reference to, 1; alleged views of property, 247; social and political reformers, 254; character of, 360; the originality of his work, 575; opposition of Radicals to, 597.

P.

Paine, Thomas, his "Rights of Man," and the Succession to the Throne, 62; attacked in France by Marat, ibid.; denounced by Cobbett, 188; first prosecution of his "Rights of Man," ibid.; defended by Erskine, 189; prosecution of his "Age of Reason," 359.
Palmer, Mr., Rev., prosecuted in Scotland, 202; with Muir, Skirving, Margarot, and Gerald, ibid.
Palmerston, Lord, reference to, as Prime Minister, 81; Secretary of War, 233; defeat of, 517; success in the House of Commons, 567, 568; successor of Canning, 586.
Parliament, oaths to be taken by members of, 4; demand for reform of, 5; Pension Parliament, 11 (see also Charles II.); Drunken Parliament, 11; Scottish Parliament in the reign of Anne declares against Episcopacy, ibid.; marked changes in the temper of the Pension Parliament, 14; the Parliamentary Test, ibid.; Dissolution of the Pension Parliament, 15; passing of the Exclusion Bill, 16; dissolution of the third and fourth Parliaments of Charles II., ibid; fifth Parliament meets at Oxford, Exclusion Bill again carried, 16; Dissolution of the last Parliament of Charles II., 16, 17; haughty treatment of the House of Commons by James II., 38; Test Act maintained in defiance of James, 39, and broken by the judges, 40; settlement on the basis of the Bill of Rights, 44; Mutiny Act, ibid.; Toleration Act, ibid.; dissolution of Parliament by William III., 45; new Parliament (1690), Tory, ibid.; consolidation of the King's revenue, 45; National Debt begun, 46; Bank of England established, ibid.; refusal of William III. to pass a bill for Triennial Parliaments, ibid.; Triennial Bill passed, ibid.; Treason Bill passed, ibid.; Liberty of the Press, ibid.; the twelve Parliaments of Queen Anne, 47; first Parliament (1702), Tory, 48; insult offered by it to the memory of the late King, ibid.; harsh Occasional Conformity Bill against Dissent, ibid.; vote of fifty new churches for London, 49; Act of Union of England and Scotland, ibid.; the first Parliament of Great Britain and Ireland, ibid.; impeachment of Dr. Sacheverell by the Commons, 51; complaint of the Commons that England had been made to pay the war expenses of Queen Anne's allies, 58; property qualification of members of the House of Commons instituted, ibid.; Schism Bill passed, ibid.; repeal of, and of the Occasional Conformity Bill, at a later period, ibid.; repeal of the Triennial Parliament Act, 69; Septennial Act, ibid.; First Septennial Parliament, 70; wicked Act to Encourage Loyalty in Scotland, ibid.; Whig attempt to restrict the number of Peers defeated by the Lords, 70; a "Prince's Party" in Parliament, 76; Mr. Pitt (afterwards Lord Chatham) in Parliament, ibid.; Walpole and the "Boy Patriots" (see "Walpole"); the new men with and against Walpole, 78, 79; motion to dismiss Walpole

from the service of the King, 81; resignation of Walpole, 82; Secret Committee to examine his administration futile, ibid.; Pitt in office, Militia Bill carried by Pitt, 86; Fall of the Pitt ministry, 88; lawyers in Parliament. 90—91; law to prevent combination of Workmen, 98; Samuel Johnson, reporter of Parliamentary debates, 99; non-publication of the proceedings of Parliament, a reflex of the rule of English public life generally, ibid.; Mr. Cave and Mr. Astley made to apologise to Parliament, 101; claim of Parliament to tax the American colonies, 110; Wilkes, member of Parliament, 111; expelled by vote of the House, 113; elected five times member for Middlesex, 117; the House orders the minutes for his expulsion to be erased from its records, ibid.; Mr. Grenville's resolution to tax the colonies, carried, 118, 119; Parliament opened 1765—the Stamp Act in force, 120; fall of the Grenville Government, 121; Lord Rockingham's brief term of office, 122; Pitt again in office with the Duke of Grafton, 124; and raised to the peerage as Lord Chatham, ibid.; Mr. Charles Townshend proposes fresh taxes on the Colonies, 126; difficult position of the Duke of Grafton, owing to Pitt's caprice, 128; Chatham and Lord Camden denounce the policy of the Government, 128, 129; maiden speech of Mr. Charles James Fox, 129; Lord North in office, ibid.; punitive measures towards America, 130; motion of the Duke of Richmond, begging the King to make peace with America, 133; death of Chatham, ibid.; resignation of Lord North, 134; Lord Rockingham called to the Premiership, ibid.; death of Lord Rockingham, ibid.; the Shelburne Government — Pitt, son of Lord Chatham, Chancellor of Exchequer, ibid.; Peace with America; and with France, Spain, and Holland, ibid.; Fox's India Bill defeated by the unconstitutional interference of the King, 135; Mr. Pitt, the younger, Prime Minister, ibid.; Lord Camden challenges in the House of Lords the ruling of Lord Mansfield in cases of libel, 138; curious dispute of the House of Commons and the City of London, 140; freedom of Parliamentary reporting secured, ibid.; attempt of Mr. Horne Tooke to enter Parliament, 142; Fox's Martyrs, 151; prosecution of Hastings and Clive, 159; the Lord George Gordon Riots, 161; Erskine in the House of Commons, 164; Fox's last effort to preserve peace, 191; debate in the Lords on Lord Fitzwilliam's Lord-Lieutenancy of Ireland, 218; Lord Castlereagh a "patriot," 219; the Act of Union of Great Britain and Ireland, 223; retirement of Pitt, 225; the Slave Trade doomed, 229; the National Debt, 241, 242; the Corn Laws, 249; electioneering falseness, 260; a new spirit in some of the Whigs, 261; Lord Castlereagh, fresh from the victories of the Treaty of 1815, 262; beginning of the repressive measures of the Liverpool Government in 1817, 284; insult to the Prince Regent, 289; Parliamentary Reform, 293; denounced by Canning, 295; Secret Committees appointed, 305; the struggle for reform, 322; Lord Sidmouth's circular, 327; attacked in Parliament, 328; case of William Hone before Parliament, 338; leading men in, 565—573.

Parliamentary Reform, first proposal of Chatham, 129; see also Charles James Fox and Earl Grey.

Parliamentary Test enacted, 14.

Party action; see Whigs and Tories.

Peabody, Mr., reference to, 575.

Pearson, Mr. Charles, solicitor, his manful conduct for the revision of the jury lists, 352; testimony to, of Sir Francis Burdett, 444; speech of, at a public meeting after the trials of Hone, 447.

Peel, Sir Robert, in the House of Commons, 565; relation of to the Anti-Corn Law League, 586.

Pelhams, the, Mr. Henry Pelham and his brother, the Duke of Newcastle, 79; character of both, ibid.; Pelham Prime Minister, 84; his death, 86; the Pitt-Newcastle Ministry, 87; the Duke of Newcastle in the Government of Lord Rockingham, 122; warns the Marquis against Burke, 124.

Penn, Richard, Governor of Pennsylvania, descendant of William Penn, sent to England with the "Olive Branch" by the colonists, 132.

Penn, William, receives the grant of land afterwards Pennsylvania, 20.
Perceval Government, 232; murder of Mr. Perceval, 233.
Phipps, Captain, voyage of, to the Polar Seas, 153.
Pitt, William, the first, birth and parentage, 76; a member of Prince Frederick's party, ibid.; cornet in the Blues, and dismissed therefrom by Walpole, ibid.; in the "household" of Prince Frederick, 76, 77; nicknamed by Walpole, 77; receives a legacy from the Duchess of Marlborough for his hatred to Walpole, 78; his lofty spirit, 82; in office with Pelham, 85, 86; agrees to take office with the Duke of Newcastle, 87; his great triumphs in war, 87, 88; displaced by Lord Bute, 88, 111; anomalous conduct with respect to the proposals of his brother-in-law, George Grenville, to tax the American colonists, 119; large lagacy to, ibid.; adheres to the Grenvilles, 122; presumed adherence to the Rockingham Government, ibid.; Privy Seal in the Government of the Duke of Grafton and created Lord Chatham, 125; strong public feeling on his elevation to the peerage, 125, 126; his ill-treament of the Duke of Grafton, 126—128; pleads for conciliation towards the colonists, 132; opposes the Duke of Richmond's motion, praying the King to make peace with America, 133; death and burial, ibid.; reference to character, 151.
Pitt, William, the second, Chancellor of the Exchequer at 23 years of age in the Shelburne Government, 134; Prime Minister at 25 years, 135; statue to, in the Guildhall, 140; numerous defeats in Parliament, 151; great majority after a general election, ibid.; character of, as compared with Fox, 151; difficult position of, in view of the French Revolution, 176; his opponents, 178; influences Mr. Addington's election to the House, ibid.; compliments Burke, 180; beginning of repressive domestic administration, 184, 185; Reign of Terror in England, 194, 201; called as a witness by Horne Tooke, 210; policy towards Poland, 214; rejects Lord Fitzwilliam's calm policy towards Ireland, 218; the Act of Union, 223; Pitt's promise of Catholic Emancipation, 224; broken, 225; his retirement, ibid.; return to power, 226; the blow of Austerlitz, 227; his death, ibid.; his power as a minister, 228; his home policy, 238, 244; a few final words on, as compared with Fox, 587.
Plague, great, in London, 11
Poland, partition of, 214.
Portland, Duke of, his administration, 135; introduces the future George IV. to Parliament on his coming to age, ibid.
Portland, Ministry (of 1807), 230; Canning and Castlereagh members of, 230, 232; resignation of, 232.
Post Office, General, and Penny post for London, established, 19.
Pounds, John, the Portsmouth shoemaker, educational work of, 575, 590.
Presbyterian Church; see Scotland.
Press, the, during the Commonwealth, 6; the Mercuries and Intelligencers of the time, ibid.; Milton's Areopagitica, 8; Hobbes and Hobbesism, ibid.; Prynne's book on females acting on the stage, 23; "A Friendly Call to Unity," 29; literature of the Restoration, 35; Richard Baxter prosecuted for a paraphrase on the New Testament, 38; Defoe's "Shortest Way with Dissenters," 49; literary works of Lord Somers, 50; great theologians of the Established Church, 53; new era in the history of the press—the "Spectator," the Tory and Whig Examiners, the "Tatler," the "Guardian," &c., 56; Dr. Price on "Love of Country;" Burke on the French Revolution, and Paine's "Rights of Man," with reference to the succession to the throne, 62; the song "Lillibulero," 65; prosecution of a Jacobite journal—the "Weekly Register," and of Richard Burridge and Nathaniel Mist in connection with it, 72; execution of John Matthews for a pamphlet, ibid.; honours to Addison and Steele, ibid; Sir Robert Walpole's contempt for literature 80; his wholesale bribery of the press, ibid.; great, writers gone, 94; Mr. Edward Cave and the "Gentleman's Magazine," ibid.; Samuel Johnson, a reporter for, 95; Johnson's great services to the Tory party and the nation, 96; Oliver

Goldsmith, the "Vicar of Wakefield," ibid.; the "Gentleman's Magazine" and the "London Magazine" before Parliament, 101; the Rev. Sydney Smith on Wesleyanism in the "Edinburgh Review," 105; John Wilkes and the "North Briton," 111; the "Briton" edited by Dr. Tobias Smollett, ibid.; Wilkes arrested, 112; the "Essay on Woman" pronounced libellous, 113; prosecution for the sale of the "North Briton," 116; (see also Law of Libel;) literary work of Edmund Burke, 124; "Life of Lord Shelburne," the view it presents of public men, 127; Junius, 129, 138; prosecution and acquittal of Mr. Woodfall, publisher of Junius, 138; the brothers Woodfall, 139; the daily newspapers begin to publish the debates in Parliament, 140; apprehension of printers and their discharge at the Guildhall, ibid.; issue between the House of Commons and the City of London, ibid.; the Commons quietly drop the prosecution, ibid.; numerous actions for libel, 141; Horne Tooke apprehended on an *ex-officio* information for a denunciation of the American War, ibid.; sentenced to a fine and imprisonment, 142; his "Diversions of Purley" and other works 144; Junius, statement of Lord Shelburne with respect to, ibid.; dedication of Junius to the English nation, 146; great value of the letters, 146—148; the Dean of St. Asaph sued for libel, 165; case of Mr. Stockdale, the printer, 166; literature not yet for the poor, 168; Robert Burns, 169; Gibbon's "Decline and Fall," 177; Mr. Walter imprisoned, ibid.; Fox's Libel Bill, 182 (see also Lord Camden); Paine defended by Erskine, 189; cruel press prosecutions in Scotland, 201; prosecution of the Rev. Gilbert Wakefield, 233; two prosecutions of the "Examiner" newspaper, 235; imprisonment of the brothers Hunt, 236; prosecution of and habits of blasphemy, 246; writings of Robert Owen and others, 254; Dr. Malthus on population, 257; "Alton Locke," 258; the "Quarterlies," 264; newspapers out of London, 265 (see also Canning, Hone, Cobbett, Pearson, and Wooler—the Black Dwarf); the daily press on an outrage on the Prince Regent, 290; opposition of the "Quarterly Review" and the "Edinburgh Review" to Radical literature, 295; Lord Brougham and the Rev. Sydney Smith, 298; law against irreligious publications, 307; Samuel Bamford, Radical poet, and Lord Sidmouth, 310; William Lovett, 312; Mrs. Hannah More on Content, 329; "Silas Marner," 330; Southey's "Wat Tyler," 358; the freedom of the press, 493; Puritan literature, 495; a representation of the "Nonconformist" newspaper, 496; old provincial newspapers, 497—499; Defoe an editor in Edinburgh, 498; Defoe's "Review of the State of Public Affairs," the "North Briton," and the "Public Advertiser," 499; the "Morning Chronicle," the "Courier," the "Morning Post," and the "Oracle," 500—501; the "Morning Herald" and the "Sun," *502, 503*; the story of the "Times," *504*; Canning and satirical productions—the "Anti-Jacobin," the "Age," the "Satirist," 510; Cobbett as a fifth estate, 511; the "Examiner" and the "Weekly Dispatch," 512; the "John Bull," *514*; Hetherington's "Poor Man's Guardian," 516; repeal of the stamp, advertisement, and paper duties, ibid.; struggles for a free and honourable press, 517—519; an editor's stratagem, 520; the law of libel as altered from time to time, 522; Mr. Carlyle's great service to the press, 524; recent libel cases—the "Times" and the "Examiner," 527.

Price, Dr., sermon of, on "Love of Country," 61, 62, 177.

Priestley, Dr., at the hearing of the case of the Massachusetts Petition in 1774, 131; receives the Copley Medal, 153; his house wrecked by the High Church mobs, 182.

Prince Charles Edward, birth of, 1720, in the reign of George I., 71; see rebellions of 1715 and 1745.

Prince James Edward, son of James II., birth of, in the year of the expulsion of James from the throne, 41; lands in Scotland in the reign of Queen Anne, 49; see rebellion of 1715 and 1745.

Prynne, prosecution and suffering of, 23; prosecutes Archbishop Laud, ibid.

Pulteney, Mr., opponent of Walpole, 79; supports Pelham, 84; witty verse on Lord Hardwicke's ruling as to the law of libel, 89.
Puritan and Puritanism; see Nonconformists.

Q.

Quakers, the, rise of, 32; great influence in politics, 32—34; relieved from the necessity of giving evidence on oath, 69; Edmund Burke educated by a Quaker schoolmaster in a Catholic country, 124; address of Quakers on the birth of George IV., 465.

R.

Raikes, Mr., establishes a Sunday school, 105.
Rebellions, 1715 and 1745—proclamation in 1715 of Prince James Edward in the north of England and Scotland, 67; Lord Mar and Mr. Forster advance into England, ibid.; landing of the prince at Peterhead, ibid.; retreat of the rebels, 68; defeat of Mar at Sheriff Muir, ibid.; flight of the prince, ibid.; punishment of the rebels, ibid.; traditions of the rebellion, ibid.; landing in 1745 of Prince Charles Edward at Inverness, 84; defeats Cope at Prestonpans, ibid.; march into England, ibid.; retreat, 85; defeats Hawley at Falkirk Moor, ibid.; is defeated by the Duke of Cumberland at Culloden, ibid.; the Duke of Cumberland after Culloden, ibid.; cruelties of the Government, 85, 86; Mr. Pitt (Lord Chatham) in the Government at the time, 86; Lord Hardwicke as judge condemning the rebel lords, 89.
Reform, Parliamentary, societies for, in 1789, 177, 183; memorable petition for, of the Society of the Friends of the People, ibid.
"Register, Reformists'," see Hone.
"Register, Weekly;" see Cobbett.
Restoration, the importance of, in English history, 2; protest of against the Reformation and the Commonwealth, 7; see also Charles II., Established Church, and Nonconformists.
"Review, Edinburgh," its opposition to the Radicals, 264, 296; Brougham, 297; and Sydney Smith, 298; see Press.
"Review, Quarterly," in opposition to Whigs and Radicals, 264; see Press.
Richmond, Legh, influence on his time, 170—360.
Rights, Bill of, 44; the settlement of the Protestant succession in accordance with, ibid.; first great result of the Bill of Rights, 46; Lord Somers one of the chief authors, if not the author of, 48.
Robespierre, blasphemy of, 17.
Rockingham, Marquis of, his first administration, 122; defeated by the intrigue of Lord Northington and others, 123; second administration of Lord Rockingham, 134; Lord Macaulay on, ibid.; death of Lord Rockingham, ibid.; uncle of Lord Fitzwilliam, 218.
Romilly, Sir Samuel, parentage, 177; Solicitor-General, 229; proposes to abolish the slave trade, ibid.; advocates Parliamentary Reform, 293; opposition to the Liverpool Government, 305, 308.
Russell, Earl, unwavering course of, 262; in opposition to the Liverpool Government, 307; in the House of Commons, 567, 593.
Russell, Lord William, execution of, 17.
Rye House Plot, discovery of, 17.

S.

Sacheverell, Dr., preaches against Nonconformity and the Revolution of 1688, 48—51; trial of Sacheverell, ibid.; the High Church riots, ibid.; Samuel Johnson a Sacheverellite in petticoats, 95.
Saltoun, Fletcher of, in the Scotch Parliament that declares episcopacy an "iniquity," 11.
Sancroft, primate, and six bishops, beg King James II. not to compel them to break the law by reading the Declaration of Indulgence, 40; the primate and bishops sent to the Tower, ibid.; their trial and acquittal, 41; Sancroft refuses to crown the Prince of Orange, and is expelled from the primacy, 46; a promoter of education, 53.
Sandys, Mr., moves the dismissal of

Walpole from the King's Councils, 81.
Sarsfield, his glorious defence of Limerick, 45; and voluntary exile, ibid
Savoy Conference, 10; utter failure of, ibid.
Schism, infamous, Act, passed at the instance of Lord Bolingbroke, 58; repealed, 59.
Scotland, during the Commonwealth, 6; hatred of Charles II. to Presbyterianism, 8; Presbyterians in the Savoy Conference, 10; the Solemn League and Covenant burned by the common hangman, ibid.; the Drunken Parliament, 11; declaration of a Scotch Parliament against episcopacy, ibid.; Scotch sermons, 13; preachers from, to England during the Commonwealth, 14; Claverhouse, 16; the Bishop of St. Andrews murdered, ibid.; Duke of Monmouth in Scotland, ibid.; Drumclog, ibid.; the Duke of York (James II.), supersedes Monmouth, and perpetrates fearful cruelties, ibid.; "Presbyter Old Priest Writ large," 27; adherence of Scotchmen to James II., 38; Scotch regiments refuse to embark for Holland, leading to the passing of the Mutiny Act, 44; massacre of Glencoe, 45; Act of Union of England and Scotland, 49; the Union Jack, ibid.; first United Parliament, ibid.; landing of Prince James Edward, son of James II., in Scotland, in the reign of Queen Anne, ibid.; education in Scotland, John Knox, 52; the Scotch system as compared with that of England, 54, 55; the rebellion of 1715, 67; Mr. Forster and Lord Derwentwater advance into England, ibid.; landing of Prince James Edward, ibid.; final collapse of the rebellion of 1715, 68; what followed, ibid.; traditions of the rebellion in the north of England and Scotland, ibid.; Act for Encouraging Loyalty in Scotland, 71; birth of the Young Pretender, ibid.; Prince Charles Edward lands at Inverness, 84; battle of Prestonpans, ibid.; the march into England, ibid.; retreat from Derby, 85; defeat of General Hawley at Falkirk Moor, ibid.; Culloden, ibid.; cruelties after Culloden, 85, 86; first Highlanders enlisted by Mr. Pitt (Lord Chatham), 86; Mr. Wedderburn grossly insults the Dean of Faculty, and leaves Scotland for ever, 91; Robert Burns, 170; cruel prosecutions of Muir, Palmer, Skirving, Margarot, and Gerald, 202; execution of Robert Watt, 207.
Scroggs, Chief Justice, defeats Lord Shaftesbury's presentment of the Duke of York, 16; sent out to root up rebellion, 17.
"Semper Eadem," the motto of "Good Queen Anne," 49.
Septennial Parliament Act, a Whig Measure, 69.
Septennial Parliament, first, 70.
Shaftesbury, Lord, and the high statesmanship of moral and social improvement, 571—574.
Shaftesbury, Lord, the Trimmer, author of the *Habeas Corpus Act*, 15; character of *Shaftesbury*, *ibid.*; presents the Duke of York as a recusant, 16; marked dangerous, 22.
Sharp, Granville, elicits the decision of the judges that a slave who lands on English ground is free, 153.
Shelburne, Lord, life of, and attack on Mansfield, 87; pitiable view presented of politicians, 127; premiership of, 134; and retirement, 135.
Sheldon, Bishop of London, in the Savoy Conference, 10.
Shelley, influence of, on literature, 173.
Shepherd, Sir Samuel, succeeds Sir William Garrow as Attorney-General, 350; has charge of the prosecutions of Wooler, ibid.; and of Hone, first trial, 371—378; second trial, 398—402; third trial, 420.
Sheridan, Mr., his work in literature and entry into Parliament, 151; a manager of the trial of Warren Hastings, 159—167; withdraws from Parliament, 213.
Sidmouth, Lord, as Mr. Addington, speaker of the House of Commons, 225; Prime Minister, 226; and Viscount Sidmouth, 227; "All the Talents," 229; Home Secretary, 233; curious intercourse with Samuel Bamford the Radical, 282, 311; bitterly attacked by Hone, 301; moves the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, ibid.; a mass of repressive legislation moved for by, 307; famous circular of Lord Sidmouth against irreligious litera-

ture, 327; Hone's testimony to the reputed amiability of, 380; bitter attacks upon, by Hone in his squibs, 464—472.
Sidney, Algernon, his influence, 8: execution of, 18.
"Silas Marner," George Eliot's, a true picture of one class of English workman, 330.
Skirving; see Palmer.
Smith, Rev. Sydney, on the Methodists, 105; his great service to the country, 298.
"Solemn League and Covenant" burnt by the common hangman, 10.
Somers, Lord, one of the authors of the Bill of Rights, 48; President of the Council, 49; his character and powerful influence, 53; for the Protestant succession, 65; traditions of, in the law courts, 90.
Southey, Mr., Poet-Laureate, references to, 173, 177; satirised by Canning, 338; futile endeavour to buy up his Republican poem, "Wat Tyler," 358; Hone's attack on, 463, 475; curious correspondence between, and Hone, 475, 477; reference to, 487.
South Sea scheme, 71.
Spence, Mr., name of, given to Radical clubs, 247; the Spenceans at the Spa Fields Riot, 262; denunciation of, by Lord Albemarle, 264; effete character of the Spencean clubs, 595.
Spy, the, system, 315; the spy Oliver, 316; public spirit of Mr. Baines, ibid.; relation of the spy to Lord Sidmouth and the Government, to Sir John Byng and others, 318; defence of the spy system in Parliament, ibid.; the spy Reynolds, 320; his infamy and his reward, ibid.; the spy Castles, exposure of, by Sir Charles Wetherell, 344; the spies and Richard Carlile, 359.
Stanhope, Earl, President of the Revolution Society, 177, 180.
Steele, Richard, a Whig journalist, 56; made Sir Richard, 72; see also the "Press."
Stephenson, George, England's debt to, 583.
Stowell, Lord; see Eldon.
Sunday-schools, in connection with Wesley and Raikes, 105; Samuel Bamford taught at, 310; general view of, 575.
Swift, Dean, his powerful writing against the Hanoverian succession, 57; his keen satire, ibid.; for Church and King, ibid.; satire against him affixed to the cathedral door when he was made dean, ibid.; see also the "Press."

T.

Temple, Lord; see the Grenvilles.
Tennison, Archbishop, at the declaration of the succession of George I, 65.
Terror, Reign of, in England, 188; see also Wedderburn, Kenyon, and Eldon.
Test Act passed, 13; repeal of, demanded by James II., 38; refusal of Parliament, 39; Act illegally set aside by eleven judges, including Lord Chief Justice Herbert, 40.
Thackeray, Mr., on the landing of George I., 63; and on the lines which an "eminent divine" wrote on the death of George II., 103; appeal of, to America, 354; "this fribble of a prince," 414.
Thurlow, Lord, reference to, 90; entreating the Lords to put down adultery, 91; his cant derided by Wilkes, 92; Attorney-General, 129; Lord Chancellor in the Shelburne Government, 134; prosecutes Horne Tooke vindictively, 142; first meeting of Thurlow and Tooke after the trial, ibid.; their subsequent cordial intercourse, ibid.; defeated by Lord Camden on the law of libel, 182; ignominiously dismissed from the Lord Chancellorship by Pitt, 188; Thurlow a "patriot," ibid.; relation to Tooke, 207; reference to, 412, 414.
Tillotson, Archbishop, the friend of John Howe, 21; reproved by Howe for a divine right sermon, 25; raised to the Primacy, 46.
"Times," prosecution of, 177; attack upon by Hone, 324; comment on Hone's first trial, 391; dispute with the "Chronicle," 392; on Hone's second trial, 418; on the third trial, 450; see also Press.
Tooke, Horne, introductory reference to, 1; a clergyman of the Established Church, 141; charged at the Guildhall on an *ex-officio* information, ibid.; first meeting and subsequent

intercourse with Lord Thurlow, 143; is refused admission to the Bar, 144; his valuable contributions to literature, ibid.; denounced by Cobbett, 187; action of, against Fox, before Lord Kenyon, 196; trial of, for high treason, 204—211; specimens of his wit and sarcasm, ibid.; death of, in 1812, ibid.

Tories, the, introductory reference to, 2; party spirit of, and of the Whigs, 4; watchword of, 5; first use of the term Tory, 19; Tory supremacy in the Ministry and Parliament in the reign of Queen Anne, 43; long lease of Government under Lord Liverpool, 233.

Tower of London, Lord Essex commits suicide in, 17; the seven bishops sent to, 40; Marlborough sent to, by Queen Mary, *46*; Oxford, Lord, committed to, *67*; two members of the House of Commons committed to, 140; attack on of the Spa Fields Rioters, 263.

Townshend, Charles, Chancellor of Exchequer, 125; proposes new taxes on the Americans, 126; death and character of, 127.

Townshend, Lord, brother-in-law of Sir R. Walpole, 78.

Treason Bill passed, 46.

Triennial Parliament Bill rejected by William III., but carried subsequently, 46; repealed by the Whigs, 69.

Trimmers, political, the, in the reign of James II., 39; their predecessors and successors, ibid.; the Trimmers against James, 40; the clergy as Trimmers, ibid.: Trimmers in the reign of William III., *42*; Marlborough, *43*.

U.

Uniformity, Act of, passed, 10; Lord Ellenborough's view of, 431.

Union Jack, the, adopted as the flag of Great Britain, *49*.

V.

Victoria, Queen, the succession, 62; relation of the Duchess of Kent to Prince Leopold, 363; impartiality of the Queen as between parties, 559; John Bright's allegiance to, 563; Radical address to, 593; healing influence of the Queen's reign, 601.

W.

Wakefield, Rev. Gilbert, prosecution of, 233.

Walpole, Sir Robert, 59; temporary disgrace of, 64; skilful intrigue for the Hanoverian succession, 65; rise to power, 67; deals with Convocation, 69; Septennial Parliament Act, ibid.; press prosecutions, 72; opposed by the party of Prince Frederick, 76; and especially by Pitt, ibid.; hatred of the Duchess of Marlborough to, ibid.; his many enemies, 78; his isolation, 79; his contempt for Nonconformity and for literature, *80*; cajoles the bishops, *81*; motion that he be dismissed from his Majesty's councils, ibid.; first Prime Minister, ibid.; Lord Orford, 82; threatened with impeachment, ibid.; retirement of, ibid.; death, ibid.; and character, 83; attempts of, to reduce the debt, ibid.; reference to his latter days, 84, 129; final reference to, 565, 585.

Walter, Mr., imprisoned; see the "Times" and the Press.

Washington, George, "Esquire," 132; retirement from public life, 215.

Waterlow, Sir Sydney, 575.

Watt, James, and steam-power, 154.

Wellesley, Marquis of, Governor-General of India, *217*; Secretary for Foreign Affairs, *233*; pronounces all theories of reform impracticable, *294*; objects to suspending the law, *304*.

Wellington, Duke of, position of, at the breaking out of the French Revolution, 177; in India, 217; leaves Madras for England, 227; secretary for Ireland, 230; commands the force sent to seize the Danish fleet, 231; embarks for Portugal, 232; satirised by Hone, 469, 536.

Wesley, John, great work of, 103.

Wharton, Lord, a leading Whig, author of the famous ballad, "Lillebulero," *65*; character of, 70.

Wharton, Lord, son of the above, offers in the House of Lords to defend immoral clubs against the bishops and

from the Bible, 73; Pope's description of, ibid.

Whigs, public services of, 2; party spirit of, and of the Tories, 4; Whig watchword, 5; the term Whig first used, 19; see also, Charles James Fox, Earl Grey, Press, and French Revolution.

Wilberforce, Mr., his high position in the House of Commons, 149; motion against the slave trade, 167.

Wilkes, John, birth and position of, 111; the "North Briton," ibid.; attack on the King's Speech, 112; arrested on a general warrant, ibid.; released by Sir Charles Pratt, Lord Camden, ibid.; his "Essay on Woman" condemned by Lord Sandwich, 113; disgust arising from Lord Sandwich's noted immorality, ibid.; recovers damages for unlawful arrest, 114; Lord Camden denounces the arrest, ibid.; Wilkes withdraws to the continent, ibid.; his return and imprisonment by Lord Mansfield, 116; the judgment challenged by Lord Camden, 117; elected High Sheriff, and Lord Mayor, and five times member for Middlesex, ibid.; Minute against, on the records of the House of Commons reversed, ibid.; character of, 117, 118; releases two printers imprisoned by order of the House of Commons, 140; quarrel of, with Horne Tooke, 144; his conduct during the Lord George Gordon riots, 161.

William III. as Prince of Orange invited to rescue England from the tyranny of James II., 41; his difficult position on the throne, 42; the intrigue against him, ibid.; his high title to the throne, 43; the Bill of Rights and the Mutiny Act, 44; William's proposal to admit Dissenters to places of trust, ibid.; the Toleration Act, ibid.; William in Ireland, 45; his error in casting off Sarsfield, ibid.; the massacre of Glencoe, ibid.; a Tory Parliament, ibid.; foundation of the National Debt and the Bank of England, 46; Queen Mary, ibid; La Hogu[illegible] Greenwich Hospital, ibi[illegible]ien-nial Parlia[illegible]hen accepted [illegible]son Act, ibid.[illegible]; William [illegible] to Louis [illegible], ib[illegible]is wars and his kingliness, ibid.; insult offered to his memory in the reign of Anne, 50.

"Wonderful Walker," a clergyman of the old time, 54.

Wooler, Jonathan, and the Black Dwarf, 335, 336; libel of, 347; trial and able speech, 347—349; great service to liberty in revision of jury lists, ibid.; his victory, 356; speech at the London Tavern, 447.

Wordsworth, influence of his writings, 173; opposition to railways to the lakes, 259.

Wyatt, see Hargraves.

Y.

Yarmouth, Lady, the King's mistress, sells a bishopric, 102; the last woman of her class ennobled in England, ibid.

Yorke, Lord Chancellor, son of Lord Hardwicke, 90.

THE END.

LONDON
R. CLAY, SONS, AND TAYLOR, PRINTERS,
BREAD STREET HILL,
QUEEN VICTORIA STREET.

00078824

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 18 July, 2018